A

THIRD COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE and VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

Intereſting and *Entertaining* Subjects:

But chiefly ſuch as relate to the

Hiſtory *and* Conſtitution *of theſe* Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print* and *Manuſcript*, in the ROYAL, COTTON, SION, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries;

Particularly that of the

Late LORD *SOMERS.*

Reviſed by EMINENT HANDS.

VOL. II.

The Bent and Genius of the Age is beſt known, in a free Country, by the Pamphlets and Papers that come daily out, as the Senſe of Parties, and ſometimes the Voice of the Nation. Preface to KENNET's Regiſter.

Judex qui aliquid ſtatuit, unâ parte auditâ tantum, & inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum ſtatuerit, haud æquus fuerit. *Ld.* COKE & JUST. *Inſt.*

LONDON:

Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*, in *Fleet-Street.*

MDCCLI.

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LA. COKE Ch. Just. 11th.

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MDCCLI.

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A THIRD

A THIRD COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

An ABSTRACT, or brief DECLARATION of the preſent State of his Majeſty's Revenue, with the Aſſignations and Defalcations upon the ſame: All Monies brought into his Majeſty's Coffers from time to time, ſince his coming to the Crown of *England*, by what Means ſoever: The ordinary annual Iſſues, Gifts, Rewards, and extraordinary Diſburſements, as they are diſtinguiſhed in the ſeveral Titles hereafter following.

Printed in the Year 1651.

Ordinary Receipts.

Great Cuſtoms.

Aſſignations.

TO the Cofferer . . . *l.* 20293
To the great Wardrobe . . 3065
To the Duke of *Lenox* . . .
Fees to Cuſtomers . . .
Fees to Officers of the Exchequer } . . 9899
Annuities and Creation Money . .

—— 33257

Defalcations.

Wares imported and exported . . . 5425
Building of Ships 1500
Ready Money into the Receipt . . . 100718

140900

Impoſitions.

Aſſignation. Earl of *Nottingham*	*l.*	2700
Ready Money into the Receipt		43300
		46000
Three Pence upon Strangers Goods		2850

Receivers General of the King's Lands.

Aſſignations.

The Queen in Lands	*l.*	4000	
In Rents		6500	
In Fee-Farm for her Annuity		9500	
To the Prince in Lands and Rents		2906	
Coffers		9200	
Fees and Wages		1176	
Alms		1294	
Annuities, Perpetuities, *&c.*		4830	
Diets of the Lord Preſidents		2408	
Reparations of Caſtles, Parks, Lodges, *&c.*		1000	
			42814
Defalcations. Portage of Moneys			500
Ready Money into the Receipt			21186
			64500

French and *Rheniſh* Wines, 200 Tons for the King's Houſe.

Aſſignations.

Great Wardrobe	*l.*	13000	
Sir Fulke Grevill		300	
James Bowey for High Country Wines		1584	
Wines for the King's Houſe with Leakage		5475	
			20359
Defalcations. Impoſt Bills for 1200 Tons			2520
Ready Money into the Receipt			4121
			27000

Sheriffs in the Pipe.

Aſſignations.

To the Queen in Fee-Farm Rents	*l.*	3500	
Cofferer		833	
Wardrobe		451	
Fees to Officers and Allowances		1360	

Creation

Creation Money	*l.* 240	
		6384
Ready Money in the Receipt		3858
		10242

Sea Coals.

Assignations.

A Grant to Sir *Baptist Hicks* and others, for Remain of ten Years bought of the Earl of *Dunbarre*	*l.*	2000
Defalcations. Coals imported free		2000
Ready Money into the Receipt		2300
		6300

Court of Wards.

Assignations.

Coffer	*l.* 12000	
Wardrobe	2000	
Treasurer of the Chamber	1000	
Annuities	6000	
		21000
Ready Money into the Receipt		

Duchy of *Lancaster*.

Assignations.

Cofferer	*l.* 7500	
Treasurer of the Chamber	3000	
		10500

Alienation and Hanaper.

Assignations. Wardrobe	*l.* 200	
Ready Money into the Receipt	8000	
		8200

Chief Butlerage.

Assignations.

To Chancellors, 96 *l.* Lord Chief Justice, 13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* Lord *Hobart*, 13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* Lord Chief Baron, 13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* Master of the Rolls, 6 *l.*

6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *Eaton* College, 15 *l.* King's College, 10 *l.* The Auditors, 10 *l.* Sir *Thomas Waller*'s Fees, 100 *l.* In all . . . . *l.* 278
Ready Money into the Receipt 222

500

Ulnage of Cloth.

Assignations.

Cofferer . . . . . *l.* 173
Ready Money into the Receipt 647

820

Assigned.

New-year's Gift to the Privy Purse 1100
Impost of Sugars to the Queen 4000
Dutchy of *Cornwall*, with the Pension of Tin to the Prince . 12000

17100

Sweet Wines.

Assignations.

Earl of *Southampton* . . . . . *l.* 2000
Great Wardrobe 5000

7000

Ready Money into the Receipt 2000

9000

Silks.

Assignations.

Lord Privy Seal . . . . . *l.* 500
Earl of *Salisbury* 4000
Earl of *Mountgomery* 3000
Lord *Liele*, now Earl of *Leceſter* 1200
Sir *Horatio Vere* 800
Sir *Edward Conway* 500

10000

Ready Money into the Receipt 4977

14977

Licence to ſell Wines 2700
Tobacco by Eſtimate 4000
Currants 2800
Annual Tenths of the Clergy 11000
Poſt Fines 2272

Unwrought

Unwrought Cloaths		*l.* 1000
Iſſues of Jurors		1000
Glaſſes aſſigned in Fees		1000
Cottons and Bayes		200
Silver and Gold Lace		200
New Drapery		98
Fines de Banco		133
Original and Judicial Sales		75
Sheeps Pelts		30
Smalt		20
Rents ad wardum caſtri Dover		82
Deal Wines		13
Cuſtom of Carliſle		13
Steel		10
Wool, 20 *l.* Lead, 5 *l.* Arithmetical Inſtruments, 3 *l.*		28
Allum by Eſtimate		10000
Eſtalled Debt and Compoſition of Debts		3000
Seizures		2000
Firſt-fruits		5000
Mint		3000
Recuſants		6000
Clerk of the Faculties		200
Reſpite of Homage		500
King's Bounty aſſigned, being Money upon Forfeiture, *&c.*		3000

Sum total of all the Receipts aforeſaid, *viz.*

Aſſignations	*l.* 190265	
Defalcations	11045	
Ready Money	249553	
		450863

Ordinary Iſſues.

The King.

Privy Purſe		5000
New-Years Gifts by Aſſignation		1100
		6100

The Queen.

Receivers-General, by Aſſignation	*l.* 16500	
Fee-farm Rents in the Pipe-Office	3500	
Sugars by Aſſignation	4000	
		24000
In ready Money		500
		24500

The

The Prince.

Out of the Dutchy of *Cornwall* and Tin	*l.* 12000	
In Lands and Rents for Receivers-General	12906	
		24906
In Ready Money, and New-Years Gifts, *&c.*		21094
		46000

Cofferer.

Out of the great Cuſtoms	*l.* 20293	
From Receivers-General	9200	
Out of the Court of Wards	12000	
Out of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*	7500	
Out of *French* Wines	7059	
From Sheriffs	833	
Out of Ulnage	173	
		57058
In ready Money		18000
		75058

Great Wardrobe.

Out of the Great Cuſtoms	*l.* 3065	
Out of the Court of Wards	2000	
Out of the Hanaper	200	
Out of the *French* Wines	13000	
From Sheriffs	451	
Out of the ſweet Wines for the Robes	5000	
		23716
In ready Money out of the Receipt		2284
		26000

Treaſurer of the Chamber.

Out of the Court of Wards	*l.* 1000	
Out of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*	3000	
		4000
In ready Money out of the Receipt		16000
		20000

Navy.

Treaſurer of the Navy for *Harborough* narrow Seas and Cordage	*l.* 30000	
Surveyors of Marine Victuals in ready Money	10000	
		40000

Repair

Repair and enlarging Parks, &c.

From Receivers-General	*l.* 1000
In ready Money out of the Receipt	2000
	3000

Diets ready Money.

Aſſignation.

Lord Privy Seal	*l.* 626
Star-Chamber	1200
Juſtices of Aſſize	2000
Lord *Cobham*	516
Grooms of the Bed-chamber	900
King's Riders	260
Walter Meeke the King's Barber	100
His Preſidents from Receivers-General	2408
	8010

I R E L A N D.

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In ready Money out of the Eſtabliſhment	403000
Caſtles and Forts	4917
Berwick and Commiſſioners of the North	3440
Lieutenant of the Ordnance	6000
Maſter of the Armory	400
Supply of Gun-powder	3200
Lieutenant of the Tower	4000
Keeper of the Gate-houſe	300
Gentlemen Penſioners	6000
Proviſion of Horſes	1600
Secret Affairs	1400
Ambaſſadors	10000
Maſter of the Poſts	3000
Liveries of the Guard	1150
Works	10000
Repair of Stables	100
Jewel-houſe	6000
Revels 300 Pounds, Tents and Toils 200 Pounds	500
Rewards to Officers and others	3000
Barons of the *Exchequer*	300
Liberalities of the *Exchequer* and Receipt	1400
Blank Books for Cuſtoms and Impoſition	200
Hay for Deer	140

Non-

Nonſuch Gardens	*l.* 200
Grooms and Pages	206
Sundry Perſons out of the Receipt in ready Money, *viz.* in Fees 25927 *l.* Perpetuities 515. Penſions 41494.	67936

Fees, Annuities, Perpetuities, &c.

Out of the great Cuſtoms	*l.* 9899	
Out of the new Impoſitions, Lord Admiral	2700	
From Receivers-General	16006	
Out of the Court of Wards	6000	
Out of the Impoſt of Sea Coals	2000	
Out of the *French* Wines	300	
From Sheriffs	1600	
Out of the chief Butlerage	278	
Out of the Impoſt of ſweet Wines	2000	
Out of the Silks	11000	
Out of Glaſſes	1000	
		52783
		120719

Aſſignations.

Alms	*l.* 294

Defalcations.

Great Cuſtoms for Goods imported free	4525
Out of *French* Wines	2520
Sea Coals exported and imported free	2000
Portage of Monies	500
Building Ships	1500
	11045

The King's Bounty by Aſſignation out of Money for Forfeitures, &c. 3000

The whole Sum of all the Iſſues aforeſaid, *viz.*

Aſſignations	*l.* 190265
Defalcations	11045
Ready Money	286170
	487480

Inequalities between the ready Money received, and the ready Money iſſued upon the Ordinary, the ſaid Iſſues exceeding the ſaid Receipts *l.* 36617

Money extraordinary raiſed ſince his Majeſty's coming to the Crown.

Given by the Parliament *Anno Tertio Regis Jacobi* three Subſidies, and ſix Fifteenths, and Tenths of the Laiety, and four Subſidies of the Clergy, payable

payable at eleven ſeveral Payments, all which, by Eſtimation, amounteth unto . . . . . *l.* 453000
Given by the Parliament, *Anno Septimo Regis Jacobi*, one Subſidy and one Fifteenth and Tenth of the Laiety, which amounteth unto . . 106166
Sale of Lands, ſome in Fee-ſimple, and ſome in Fee-farm; Mills and Parſonages 755020
Sale of Woods 47543
For Conformation of the Earl of *Hartfort*'s Title unto certain Lands 15534
Compoſitions made upon defective Titles of Lands . . 37535
Compoſitions made for Aſſart Lands . . . 23608
Fines of Copy-holders, and Leaſes of the mortgaged Lands . 18600
Silver Ore out of the *Scottiſh* Mine . . . 1000
Aid Money, collected throughout *England*, to make Prince *Henry* Knight 21800
Aid Money, collected throughout *England*, to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* the King's eldeſt Daughter 20500
Loan Money, upon Privy-Seals, borrowed in the ninth Year of King *James*, yet unrepaid 111046
Money repaid by the *French* King, due to the late Queen *Elizabeth* 60000
Money repaid by the Lords of the State of the Low-Countries due to the late Queen 248000
Beſides 160000 *l.* in full Diſcharge of that Debt now paid in, which makes the whole Payment to be 421000
Money raiſed by creating Knights Baronets, towards defraying of the Charge of the Army in *Ireland*; beſides ſome few ſince . . . 98550
Old Debts of King *Henry* the Eighth's Time, paid in by Sir *Thomas Shirly* upon their Grant 10000
Farmers of the great Cuſtom for renewing their Leaſe . . 20000
For the Fine of the Leaſe of *French* and *Rheniſh* Wines . . 16000
For the Fine of the Leaſe of the Sweet Wines . . . 28500
For the Fine of the Leaſe of Tobacco . . . 2000
The Earl of *Northumberland*'s Fine in the Star-chamber, compounded for 11000
The Lord Viſcount *Mountagu*'s Fine in the Star-chamber, compounded for 4000
The Lord *Stourton*'s Fine in the Star-chamber, compounded for 1000
For the Grant made to Sir *Lionell Cranfield*, for two Years and a half, to grant Licenſes to keep Taverns 5536
Sale of *Burgundy*, Jewels left there in pawn . . . 3412
Sale of the Goods confiſcated in the Ship called the *Pearle*, late returned from *Eaſt-India* 8281
Paid in by the Executors of *Thomas Sutton*, Eſq; to be diſpoſed for pious Uſes 10000
Given by the Lord *Wotton*, of Free-gift to his Majeſty . . 1000
For the Fine of the Leaſe of Chief Butlerage of *England* . 2000
Given to the King, by way of Benevolence by the Lords and others 52909
Money raiſed for Fines of new Buildings in and about *London* 4000

The total Sum is Two Millions, One Hundred Ninety-three Thouſand, Three Hundred Seventy and Four Pounds.

His Majeſty's extraordinary Diſburſements, ſince his coming to the Crown, beſides the ordinary annual Iſſues.

The Expence of his Majeſty and his Train, in his Journey from *Scotland* to *London*	*l.* 10752
The Funeral Charge of Queen *Elizabeth*	17428
The King's Coronation and Royal Entry	36145
Ambaſſadors and others ſent into foreign States, beſides the Charge of Ledgier Ambaſſadors	20790
The Diets of Ambaſſadors and others, ſent hither from foreign States	31400
His Majeſty's Houſhold Expence over and above the yearly Aſſignments and Allowances	232200
In Diſcharge of Debts due in *Ireland* in the late Queen's Time, and in Diſcharge of ſundry Proviſions there, over and above the Eſtabliſhment	247433
To the Treaſurer of the Chamber over and above his ordinary yearly Aſſignments	21362
The Queen's Child-bed, and other neceſſary Proviſions for that Time	52542
To the Gentleman of his Majeſty's Robes, over and above the yearly Aſſignment	8680
For Jewels, Pearls, Plate, *&c.* over and above the Aſſignment to the Jewel-houſe	158119
The Charge of the Mine in *Scotland*	3059
The Charge of divers Maſks, beſides the Proviſions had out of the Wardrobe, and Materials and Workmen from the Office of the Works	7500
For Proviſion of Tents and Toyls, over and above the ordinary Allowance	1800
For Making and Graving of ſundry Seals for his Majeſty's Service	1514
Purchaſe of Lands, Parks, Houſes, *&c.*	125705
Building and repairing of Houſes, Lodges, Parks, Gardens, *&c.*	139900
For ſecret and extraordinary Services	12897
To the Commiſſioners for the late Borders adjoining to *Scotland* 7649	
To the Commiſſioners for the Iſle of *Jerſey* 905	
To the Commiſſioners for Depopulations 500	
	9054
Pottage of Loan, Aid and Wood-Money	5600
Allowances out of aſſart Lands and defective Titles	17400
For Cordage, Maſts, and building of Ships above the Aſſignments	63764
Charges about Deer and Fowl	100
For Apparel, Victuals, Tranſportations, and Pay of the Soldiers ſent into *Swedeland*	5775
For the like Charges of Soldiers ſent into *Cleve*, Sir *Edward Cecill* being General, whoſe Allowance was five Pounds by the Day for himſelf, the whole Charge	17695
Prince *Henry*'s Funeral Charges	16016

The

The Lady *Elizabeth*'s Marriage, with the *Palſgrave*'s Diets, and other Charges appertainent to the ſame, *viz.*

For the *Palſgrave*'s Diets, at his ſtanding Houſe	*l.* 6000
For his Diets at his Inſtallment into the Garter	4000
For Diet at the Solemnization of their Marriage	2000
For Lodgings for the *Palſgrave*'s Servants	830
To the Lord *Hay* to provide Apparel and other Neceſſaries for the Lady *Elizabeth*	6252
More to the Lord *Hay* for more Neceſſaries for the Lady *Elizabeth*, and for furniſhing her Marriage-chamber	3023
To the Lord *Harrington* to provide Apparel and like Neceſſaries for the Lady *Elizabeth*	1829
More to him for Jewels for her, and for Apparel for her Servants	3914
To divers Merchants for Silks and other Neceſſaries	995
For Charges about the Lords Maſk at her Marriage	400
To the Treaſurer of the Navy for the Naval Fight performed on the *Thames* at the Marriage	4800
For the Fire-works of the *Thames*, then	2880
To Sir *Edward Cecill*, appointed Treaſurer for her Journey to *Heidelburg*, for her Purſe	2000
To certain Gentry, to take the Aſſurance of the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Jointure, and for ſettling the ſame	800
To the Farmers of the great Cuſtoms to pay Bills of Exchange, when ſhe arrived beyond the Seas, for Charges of her Journey	8000
For her Tranſportation to *Fluſhing*	5555
Total Charge of her Diets, Marriage, Proviſions and Tranſportations	53294
Paid over to the *Palſgrave*'s Agents for her Portion	40000
To the Earl of *Suffolk*, as ſo much due to the late Earl of *Dunbar*, for ſo much diſburſed by him by his Majeſty's Direction	11000
To Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, Ledgier Ambaſſador in *France*, to be diſpoſed of there according to Direction	15000
To the Earl of *Pembroke*, for his Eſtate in the Iron-works, in the Foreſt of *Dane*, with the Materials to the ſame belonging	4100
For Tombs for the late Queen, the King's two Daughters, and the late Queen of *Scots* the King's Mother	3500
The Charge of the Allum-works in the North and Weſt Parts of *England*, ſince his Majeſty took thoſe Mines into his Hands	64988
His Majeſty's Charge towards the bringing of the New River to *London* from *Anwell* and *Chadwell* for the New Water-work	7856
To the great Wardrobe, over and above the ordinary Aſſignments	319647
Intereſt-Money paid by his Majeſty, ſince his coming into *England*, after the Rate of Ten in the Hundred to the Citizens of *London*	127789
Rewards to Officers, *&c.* over and above the ordinary Iſſues for that Cauſe	49784

To the Earl of *Nottingham* for the Hangings of the Story of the Fight in 88, containing 708 *Flemiſh* Ells, at 10 *l.* 6 *s.* the Ell. In all *l.* 1628
To Pirates lately pardoned, by way of Compoſition for their Ships, *&c.* reſtored to the Owners 4930

The whole Sum of theſe extraordinary Diſburſements . . 2968970
To which being added the ready Money given away in Free-gifts, which is 424469 *l.* as appeareth in its own Place, will make the total Extraordinaries to be 2393429

And ſo it exceeds the Monies extraordinarily raiſed the Sum of - 199065

To which the Inequalities between the ordinary annual Receipts, and ordinary annual Iſſues being alſo added, will leave a very great Debt upon the King.

Ready Money paid out of the *Exchequer*, ſince his Majeſty's coming to the Crown, by way of Free-gift, to theſe ſeveral Perſons following, *viz.*

Anno I. *Regis Jacobi.*

To the Lady *Mary*, Counteſs of *Southampton* . . . *l.* 600
To the Earl of *Downbarre*, the Lord *Howme* . . . 1266
To Sir *John Ramſey*, now Viſcount *Haddington* . . . 900
To Sir *Robert Croſſe* 700
To the Lady *Arbella* 666
To the Earl of *Marre* 500
To the Earl of *Murray* 2600
To Maſter *Bevis Bullmere* 100
To Sir *James Linſey* 500
To *David Lavingſtone* 133
To Sir *Patrick Murray* 300
To Sir *George Elphingſton* 500
To the Earl of *Lithcowe* 3000
To Sir *Robert Melvill* 500
To Sir *Charles Hales* 120
To *David Murray* 200
To Sir *Richard Perſon*, now Lord *Dingwell*, out of Recuſant's Goods 150
To Sir *Roger Aſton* 2000
To *Aliſon Hay* 200

The Total Sum is —— 10014935

Anno II.

To *Adam Newton*, Prince *Henry*'s Tutor . . . 300
To Sir *John Ramſey*, now Lord *Haddington* . . 100
To Sir *Edward Stafford* 100
To Monſieur *de Sourdeac* 1200

To

To the Duke of *Holſt* the Queen's Brother . . . *l.* 4000
To *Philip Tiſe* 2000
To the *French* Ambaſſador 500
To the Earl of *Arroll* 1000
To *Anthony Balbany* 1600
To *Henry Hall*, Eſq; 307
To *Richard Lecavell* 100
To Sir *Robert Melvil* 1500
To *Richard*, then Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* . . . 1333

The Total Sum is 10014040

Anno III.

To *George Zadwadſky* ſent with Horſes out of *Poland* . . 100
To *David Fenwick* 200
To *David Jenkins* 100
To *David Moiſes* and *William Rider* out of Green-wax . . 2000
To Sir *James Creighton* and Sir *George Howme*, junior, out of Green-wax 2000
To *John Gib*, out of Recuſants Lands and Goods . . 3000
To *George Hay* out of the Profits of tranſporting Iron Ordnance 1662
To *William Shaw* out of Fines in the *King's-Bench* . . 800
To *Robert Browne* out of Goods confiſcated . . 2000
To Mrs. *Jane Dormond*, now Lady *Roxbrough* . . 2200
To *Adam Newton* Prince *Henry*'s Tutor . . . 2000
To Doctor *Martin* 100
To *Arthur Mills* 100
To Sir *John Ramſey* now Lord *Haddington* . . . 400
To *Samuel Rickpatrick* 400
To *John Neſmith* 66
To *Gilbert Primroſe* 66
To Sir *Melker Levens* 150
To the Duke of *Holſt*, the Queen's Brother . . . 1000
To *Alice Dennice* 100
To Sir *William Steward* 600
To *Dorothy Steward* 200
To Monſieur *Ottoman* 66
To Sir *James Murrey* 100
To *Marian Hipburne* 100
To Sir *Richard Weſton* 200
To *Michael Borſtade* 337
To the Earl of *Downbarre*, then Lord *Howme*, for his Intereſt in the Manor of *Hartington* in *Com. Derby*, formerly granted unto him 6000

The Total Sum 10026047

Anno IV.

To Maſter *John Murray* of the Bed-chamber, not of Recuſants Lands and Goods . . . . . *l.* 2000

To

To Sir *James Sandilandis* out of Recuſants	*l.*1500
To *Robert Walker*	100
To *Richard Braſſe*	100
To *Patrick Morton*	200
More to *John Murray*	100
To the Earl of *Eſſex*	761
To the Earl of *Arroll*	1000
To the Earl of *Rutland*, his own Arrears of Rent due	424
To the Lord *Lundourus*	500
To *David Spence*, *& al.*	240
To Sir *James Sandilandis* more	150
To *Samuel Rickpatrick*	400
To Sir *Richard Weſton*	300
To Sir *John Ramſay*, now Lord *Haddington*	900
To *Levine Stallenge*	200
To *Alice Dennis*	100
Rewards to the King of *Denmark*'s Servants	1235
To the Earl of *Clanricard*, out of *John Daniel*'s Land	2000
To *John M. Kime*, out of Goods confiſcated	200
The Total Sum is ——	10012410

Anno V.

To *John Anchmontie* out of Recuſants Lands and Goods	*l.* 2000
To *Martin* and *Abraham Harderet* out of Recuſants Lands and Goods	3000
To *Alexander Hay* out of Debts due to the King	1000
To Sir *Richard Weſton*	1700
To *Peter Vanlore*	1625
To *Thomas Levingſtone*	66
To Dr. *Neale*, then Dean of *Weſtminſter*	200
To Sir *Thomas Terringham*	1000
To the Lord *Danvers*	750
To Sir *John Lindſey*	100
To *John Spence*	40
To Dr. *Martin*	100
To Sir *Levis Bulmere*	100
To *John Neſmith*	66
To *Gilbert Primroſe*	66
To Sir *Thomas Edmonds*	240
To *William Bellenden*	200
To *Charles Fortie*	100
To the Earl of *Downbarre*	4106
To Sir *Henry Broncker*	100
To the Lord *Lundourus*	2500
To *Francis Steward*	100
To Sir *Edward Grevill*	500

To Sir *Roger Aſton* . . . . . *l.* 1500
To the Merchants of the *Levant* Seas, for a Preſent to be given by them to the Grand Signior for eſtabliſhing Capitulations of Intercourſe 5322
To *John Patten* out of Recuſants Lands, *&c.* . . 200

The Total Sum is . . 10026681

Anno VI.

To Sir *Bevis Bullmere* 500
To the Lord *Hay* out of eſtalled Debts and Seizures due to his Majeſty 11500
To *Richard Braſſe* 20
To the Lord *Gourdon* 250
To *John Barkley* 60
To Maſter *Francis Steward* 220
To *Robert Carliell* 100
To the poor Watermen of *London*, for their Relief in the great Froſt 200
To *John Griffeth* 100
To *David* and *Katharine Jenkins* 100
To the Earl of *Perth* 1000
To the Lord *Obigney* 375
To *Henry Gonntrode* 250
To the Lord Viſcount *Haddington* 2000
To *Daniel Burgrave* 2500
To *Paul Starling* 2500
To *James Steward* 1500
To the Earl *Home* 2000
To Sir *Robert Melvill* 2000
To *John Johnſon* 100
To *John Norden* 200
To Sir *Oliver Cromwell* for relinquiſhing of his Grant of 200 *l.* by the Year out of his Majeſty's Lands, given to him of Free-Gift . 6000
To Sir *Edward Grevill* out of the Money raiſed by Compoſition for Aſſart Lands 2000
To Sir *Henry Guilford* 68
To *Rowland Woodward* 60
To the King of *Denmark*'s Servants in Reward . . 148

The Total Sum is . . 10035751

Anno VII.

To Contractors for Parſonages, *&c.* in Reward for their Pains in taking up divers Sums of Money for the King . . 1300
More to them for the like Service . . . 1400
To the Earl of *Downbarre* 2000
To Sir *Stephen Proctor* 80

To

To the Earl of *Suffolke* being an Arrearage of Rents due by him to his Majeſty	*l.* 4838
To Sir *Patrick Murray* and Sir *James Oughterlony* for relinquiſhing their Grant of Concealments	1500
To the Lord *Obigney* for relinquiſhing his Grant of 1000 *l.* by the Year in Fee-ſimple given unto him by his Majeſty	18000
To *Thomas Warwick*	400
To Sir *Patrick Murray* more	300
Paid over to Merchants to be diſburſed for the Reſtitution of the Prince of *Moldavia* to his Eſtate of the King's Free-Gift	3000
To the King of *Denmark*'s Servants for bringing of Deer in Reward	100
To *Henry Mynors*	500
To Sir *Robert Gray*	800
To *Arthur Ingram*	673
To the Lord *Gourdon*	1000
To Sir *Robert Drewry*	500
To the Earl *Home*	1000
To *William Shaa* for relinquiſhing his Grant of old Debts	480
To *Gilbert Primroſe*	200
To the Earl of *Montgomery* for ſurrendering Part of his Grant of Cuſtodies	6000
To Sir *Richard Weſton*	1664
To Sir *Charles Cornewallis*	1000
To *William Belon*	250
To *George Marſhall*	100
To Sir *Thomas Bartlet*	170
To the Lord Viſcount *Haddington*	7200
To Sir *Robert Douglas*	200
To Sir *Henry Gray*	3000
To *Jehu Webb*	50
To the Lord *Hoth*	200
To *David Moiſes* and *William Dampart*	450
To Dr. *Millwood*	66
To *John Berwick*	52
To *Peter la Coſta*	100
To *John Elphingſtone*	500
To *William Browne*	66
To *Andrew Downes*	50
To the Lord *Bruce* Lord of *Kinloſſe*	2000
To Sir *Alexander Hay*	500
The Total Sum is	10061687

Anno VIII.

To *Thomas Pott*	*l.* 100
To *Richard Braſſe*	100

To

To *William Dampor*t	*l.* 50
To *John Barkley*	200
To *Claud Rolf* for bringing of Hawks	20
To Sir *Alexander Hay*	1500
To *John Marſhall*	100
To *Henry Gibb*	170
To Sir *Henry Guntrode*	1300
To *Adam Newton* Prince *Henry*'s Tutor	2000
To *William Tipper*	600
To *William Stirrel*	50
To the Earl of *Embden*'s Servants in Reward	60
To Sir *Henry Gray* out of Sir *Thomas Shirle*'s Money paid in for Debts due in King *Henry* the Eighth's Time	2000
To Sir *Edward Apſley* and *Edward Woodward* out of the ſame Money	4000
To Sir *Stephen Proctor*	42
To Sir *John Hungerford*	160
To *John Berwick*	48
To *Richard Hall*	160
To Sir *Sigiſmond* and *Henry Alexander*	100
To Sir *Thomas Bartlet*	100
To *Robert Walker* and *Richard Braſſe*	86
To *Claud Ruſſel*	40
To Sir *Richard Martin*	110
The Total Sum is	10013096

Anno IX. 1611.

To *Robert Cunningham*	*l.* 80
To *John Eldred* & al.	690
To the Earl of *Downbarre* for relinquiſhing his Grant of Logwood	2000
To Sir *Robert Carre* late Earl of *Somerſet*	500
More to him for his Intereſt in the Manor of *Sherborne* lately given unto him	20000
To the Lady *Helen Mac Carty*	40
To Sir *Richard Martin*	300
To the Earl of *Eſſex*	3000
To the Lord Viſcount *Haddington*	8000
To the Earl of *Montgomery*	8000
To the Lord Viſcount *Fenton*	8000
To the Lord *Hay*	8000
To *Thomas Warwick*	500
To Sir *Sigiſmond* and *Henry Alexander*	100
To Sir *John Eyres*	500
To *Andrew Melvin*	60
To the Lord Knivett	500
To Sir *William Lane*	50

To *William Ramſey*	*l.* 600
To *William Stockdale*	80
To the Earl of *Marre* for his Intereſt in the Manors of *Hunden* and *Chipley* in *Com. Suff.* now ſold to the Lord *Cavendiſh* for 15000 *l.* and given to the ſaid Earl, as of his Majeſty's Free-Gift	15000
To *John Vachell*	100
More to the Lord Viſcount *Rocheſter* late Earl of *Somerſet*	5000
To *Patrick Maulde*	600
To Sir *John Grahame*	220
To *John Barkley*	100
To *Katharine Bridges*	100
To *Patrick Abercromby*	40
To the Duke of *Mantua*'s Servants	40
To the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*'s Servants	40
To *John Murray* the Queen's Servant	228
To *John Howme*	50
To *Chriſtian Schonero*	150
To the Lady *Raleighe* for Compoſition for *Shereborne*	8000
The Total Sum is	10090668

Anno X. 1612.

To Prince *Henry* of Free-Gift	8100
To *Roger Polkinghorne*	72
To *Patrick Gourdon.*	66
To the Lord *Obigney*	2000
To Sir *Roger Aſton*	2000
To the Lord Viſcount *Rocheſter*	15500
To *William Ramſey*	600
To *Edward Bridges*	150
To *Patrick Maulde*	600
To the Lord *Knivett*	500
To *William Shaa*	500
To *William Stacy*	100
To *Julio Cannilla Crema*	100
To *James Johnſon*	400
To Sir *Patrick Howme*	200
To *Edmond Bradſhawe*	100
To the two *Alexanders*	100
To *Perundine*	60
To Sir *Robert Douglas*	2000
To Sir *Richard Wigmore*	310
To Captain *William Murray*	666
To *Robert Buchannon*	50
To *Lawrence Newmeke*	30
To *John Levingſtone*	1000

To

To Sir *James Howme* . . . . . *l.* 500
To *Henry Smith* 40
To the Lord Viſcount *Liſle* for his Intereſt in *Alton* Woods, and for his faithful Service 3000
To Sir *Robert Shirley* Ambaſſador from *Perſia* of Free Gift . 666
To the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*'s Servants for bringing of Silks . 40

The Total Sum is . . 10039450

Anno XI. 1613.

To *William Pinches* . . . . . *l.* 120
To *Henry Zinzan*, alias *Alexander* 100
To *David Dormond* 100
To *Jeronimo Cavalaſco* 60
To Sir *James Areſkin* out of the Money brought by Sir *Thomas Shirley*, for Debts due in King *Henry* the Eighth's Time . . 1014
To the Earl of *Northampton* 6000
To Sir *David Murray*, being Part of the Lord Viſcount *Mountague*'s Fine 2000
To the Earl of *Clanricarde* 3000
To *Charles Chambers* for relinquiſhing a Grant of 3000 *l.* out of Recuſants 750
To the Lord of *Loreſton* for the like Grant of 6000 *l.* out of Recuſants 1500
To Sir *William Waade* for the like for 2000 *l.* . . 500
To *Ralphe Bowes* for the like for 1000 *l.* . . . 250
To Sir *Richard Wigmore* for the like for 1000 *l.* . . . 250
To Sir *James Simple* and *Thomas Lee* for the like Grant for 4000 *l.* 1000
To Sir *Hugh Beeſton* for the like Grant for 3000 *l.* . 750
To *Thomas Wilſon* out of the Money reſerved for the King's Bounty 300
To Sir *James Oughterlony* out of Bounty . . . 200
To Sir *Francis Steward* out of Bounty . . . 200
To Sir *William Cunſtable* out of Bounty . . . 133
To *Ellis Rothwell* out of Bounty . . . 200
To Captain *William Steward* out of Bounty . . 666
To Sir *John Shaa* out of Bounty . . . 200
To Sir *William Steward* out of Bounty 500
To *Archibald Napper* 200

The Total Sum is . . 10019993

Anno XII. 1614.

To the two *Zinzans*, alias *Alexander* . . *l.* 100
To *Peter la Coſta* 60
To *Salomon de Caux* 50
To Monſieur *de Tournon* 100
To the Earl of *Suffolk* for ſurrendering his Grant of the Impoſt of Currants 10000

To the Lord Viſcount *Haddington*, and the Lord *Dingwel*, out of Sir *Henry James* his Lands, Goods, eſcheated for refuſing the Oath of Allegiance . . . . . *l.* 6000
To Sir *Richard Wigmore* out of the ſame Lands and Goods . 1000
To the Lord *Sheffielde* for ſurrendering his Eſtate in a Penſion of 1000 *l.* by the Year, formerly given unto him by his Majeſty . 6370
To the Earl of *Nottingham* for ſurrendering his Eſtate for the granting of Licenſes to ſell Wine in Taverns . . . 11072
To *Franciſcus Julius* Duke of *Saxony* of his Majeſty's Free-Gift . 2000
To the Lord Viſcount *Haddington* out of the Arrearages now paid in by Recuſants 2000
To the Earl *Howme* 660
To *Ellen Felton* 300
To *John Barkley* 333
To *Alexander Mongrief*. 660
To the two *Zinzans*, alias *Alexander* 1000
To *David Ramſey* 1000
To *John Sandilandis* 600
To *Francis* and *John Bonham* 300
Sent unto the Lady *Elizabeth* by Maſter *Maxwell*, as of his Majeſty's Free-Gift 1100
To Maſter *John Dackombe* of Free-Gift 140
To Sir *Edward Cecil* 500
To *John Murray* 150
To Sir *James Sandilandis* and *Patrick Abercromby* . . 100
To *Andrew Boide* out of Bounty 500
To Sir *William Steward* out of Bounty 1500
To Sir *John Graham* out of Bounty 1500
To Sir *William Conſtable* out of Bounty . . . 500
To *John Murray* 1000

The Total Sum is 10050595

Anno XIII. 1615.

To *William Shaa* out of Bounty . . . . *l.* 1500
To Sir *George Ramſey* out of Bounty 1000
To Sir *James Oughterlony* out of Bounty . . . 1800
To *Francis Tirrel* 300
To Sir *David Murray* of Free-Gift to pay his Debts . . 5200
To Sir *Robert Douglas* 1000
To *Peter de Moulyn* Doctor of Divinity lately come out of *France* . 300
To *Philip Jacobſon* Merchant, out of the Goods forfeited in the Ship called the *Pearl* 6000
To the Earl of *Nottingham* 1500
To *John Berkley* 250
To *Thomas Dempſter* Hiſtoriographer 200

To

To *John Garrett* . . . . . *l.* 20
To the Lord Viſcount *Haddington* 800
To Sir *Arthur Ingram* in Reward for his Pains taken about the Allum Buſineſs 666
To *William Parkhurſt* 500

The Total Sum is . . 21036

Anno XIV. 1616.

To *Adam Valett* and *John Tetart* . . . *l.* 80

The Total Sum of all the Free Gifts 424469

Memorandum. Moſt of thoſe Perſons before mentioned hath or had Penſions, with Jewels, *&c.*

Anno XIV. *Jacobi* 1616.

To *Adam Valett* and *John Tetart, Frenchmen* . . *l.* 80
To *John Garratt* 20
To the King of *Denmark*'s Servants for bringing Deer . . 100
To Sir *William Bronker* out of the Bounty-Money . 2000
To the Officers (in Recompence of their Places) in *Fluſhing* upon Surrender of the Town 1915
The like to the Officers at *Brill* 1785
To *Clement Edmonds* of a Grant made unto him of the Reverſion of Muſter-Maſter of *Brill* 400
To *George Thoreſby* Commiſſary of the Muſter in *Brill* in Recompence of his Place 400
To Sir *James Simple* and *Thomas Leighe* out of Recuſants Lands and Goods 310
To *Morgan Colman* 20
To Captain *Barnaby Rich* 100
To Sir *James Hamilton* for ſurrendering his Grant of the Cuſtoms and Impoſts in the Ports of *Logh Coyne* and Bay of *Knockfergus* in *Ireland* 1300
To *Archibald Napper* out of the Bounty-Money . . 1800
More to him for ſurrendering his Penſion of 200 *l.* . . 600
To Sir *Thomas Cornewallis* 300
To *Lawrence Dundas* 50
To Sir *James Sandilandis* 150
To *Barnard Lindſey* 1000
To Sir *William Cornewallis* out of Bounty . . 2000
To Maſter *Coppier* 100
To the Earl of *Nottingham* 1500
To the Lord Viſcount *Haddington* 6000
To *Chriſtian Steward* the Dwarf 20
To *Richard D'Olive* 160
To *James Maxwell* . . . . . *l.* 150

To

To Sir *James Oughterlony*, out of Bounty 800
To *Walter Balconquall* 200
To Sir *Cary Raleigh* 100
To *Richard Connock* 666
To *James Chambers*, the King's Phyſician 250
To the Lord *Obigney* 5000
To *Jehan de Tour*, Frenchman 100

The Total Sum is 29376

Anno XV. *to Regis Jacobi* 1617.

To the Lady *Elizabeth Murray* . . . . . *l.* 100
To *Francis* Earl of *Cumberland*, in Recompence of the Loſs by him ſuſtained upon the Grant made unto *George* late Earl of *Cumberland*, in the third Year of the King, for the Licenſing of all manner of Clothes to be tranſported beyond the Seas. For 19858 Clothes undreſſed, now reſtrained to be tranſported, which cometh unto (after the Rate of Two Shillings Eight-pence the Cloth) the Sum of . . . . . 2647 *l.* 14 *s.* 8 *d.*
To the Lady *Roxborough*, formerly Lady *Dormond* . . *l.* 3000
To *Richard Seimor* 100
To the late Earl of *Somerſett* to pay his Debts . . . 5083
To the Lady *Walſingham* 1000

Knights Baronets.

Every Knight Baronet paid One Thouſand Four-ſcore and Fifteen Pounds, (divided into Three ſeveral Payments, to be paid proportionably yearly, during Three Years) towards the Maintenance of thirty Footmen (for three Years) in his Majeſty's Forces, ſerving in the Province of *Ulſter* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, for the quiet Eſtabliſhment of that Province, every Footman to be allowed Eight-pence by the Day, during the ſaid Term. The Names of thoſe Baronets, and their Priority of Place, are as followeth, *viz.*

Suff.	Sir Nicholas Bacon	*Weſtm.*	Sir Richard Muſgrave
Lanc.	Sir Richard Mollineux	*Norff.*	Sir Henry Hobart
Glamorg.	Sir Thomas Manſell	*Ceſtria.*	Sir George Booth
Leic.	Sir George Shirley	*Cant.*	Sir John Peyton
Glamorg.	Sir John Stardling	*Suff.*	Lionel Talmaſh, Eſq;
Derb.	Sir Francis Leake	*Nott.*	Sir James Clifton
Suſſex.	Sir Thomas Pelham	*Lanc.*	Sir Thomas Gerrarde
Lanc.	Sir Richard Houghton	*Staff.*	Sir Walter Aſton
Wilt.	Sir John St. John	*Norff.*	Sir Philip Knivett
Suſſex.	Sir John Shelley	*Eſſex.*	Sir John Wentworth
Ciſtria.	Sir John Savage	*Eboru.*	Sir Henry Bellaſſer
Eſſex.	Sir Francis Barrington	*Eboru.*	Mr. William Conſtable
Leic.	Mr. Henry Barkley	*War.*	Sir Thomas Leighe
Eboru.	Mr. William Wentworth	*Rutl.*	Sir Edward Nowell

Hunt.

Hunt.	Sir Robert Cotten
Ceſtria.	Mr. Robert Cholmonde
Devon.	Mr. Edward Seymore
Kancia.	Sir Moile Finch
Oxon.	Sir Anthony Cope
Lincolne.	Sir Thomas Mounſon
Lincolne.	Sir Thomas Uaviſor
Derb.	Mr. George Greiſley
Glouc.	Mr. Paul Tracye
Eboru.	Sir Henry Savile
Derb.	Mr. Henry Willoughby
North.	Mr. Lewis Treſham
North.	Mr. Thomas Brudenell
Lincoline.	Sir George St. Paul
Lincoline.	Sir Philip Tirwhite
Lincoline.	Sir Roger Dalliſon
Lincoline.	Sir Edward Carre
Lincoline.	Sir Edward Huſſey
Norff.	Mr. Leſtran. Mordant
Eſſex.	Mr. Thomas Bendiſh
Carmert.	Sir John Wyme
Glouc.	Sir William Throgmorton
South.	Sir Richard Worſley
Bedd.	Mr. William Goſtwick
Warr.	Mr. Thomas Puckering
Cant.	Sir Miles Sandes
Nott.	Mr. John Mollineux
Eboru.	Sir Francis Wortley
Eboru.	Sir George Savile
Derb.	Mr. William Kniveton
Norff.	Sir Philip Woodhouſe
Oxon.	Sir William Pope
Rutl.	Sir James Harrington
Staff.	Mr. Richard Fleetwood
Oxon.	Mr. Thomas Spencer
Kancia.	Sir John Tufton
Kancia.	Sir Samuel Peiton
Hertf.	Sir Charles Morriſon
Kanc.	Sir Henry Baker
Eſſex.	Mr. Roger Appleton
Kancia.	Sir William Sedley
Kancia.	Sir William Twiſden
Kancia	Sir Edward Hales
Kancia.	Sir William Moyns
Eſſex.	Mr. Thomas Mildmay
Eſſex.	Sir William Maynarde
Buck.	Mr. Henry Lea
Wiltes.	Sir Edward Gorges
Eſſex.	Sir Harbot. Grimſton
Warr.	Sir Thomas Holt
Lincoline.	Sir Nicholas Sanderſon
Somerſet.	Sir John Portman
Lincoline.	Sir John Wray
Berk.	Mr. William Eſſex
Eboru.	Sir Marmaduke Wivell
Wiltes.	Sir Francis Englesfield
Staff.	Mr. John Peſhall
Eſſex.	Sir William Ayeloffe
Warr.	Sir Edward Devourax
Devon.	Sir Thomas Ridgeway
Cornb.	Sir Reynold Mohun
Eſſex.	Sir Paul Banning

Total of the Baronets were 90

Dunolm.	Mr. Thomas Blackiſton
Ceſtria.	Mr. Rowlan. Egerton
Norff.	Mr. Roger Townſhend.

Fees and Annuities payable out of his Majeſty's *Exchequer*, diſtinguiſhed in their ſeveral Natures, Titles and Payments, *viz.*

Juſtices of the King's-Bench.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
To Sir *Edward Coke*, Knight, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, for his Fee at 224 *l.* 19 *s.* 9 *d.* by the Year, and 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year for his Circuits . .	258	6	5
To Sir *John Dodridge*, Knight, one of the Juſtices of that Bench, for his Fee at 154 *l.* 19 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year, and 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year for his Circuits . .	188	6	8

To

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To Sir *John Crook*, Knight, for the like . .	188	6	8
To Sir *Robert Houghton*, Knight, for the like . .	188	6	8
Total Sum by the Year is	823	6	5

Beſides their yearly Allowances for their Diets in their Circuits.

Juſtices of the Common-Pleas.

To Sir *Henry Hubberd*, Knight, Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, for his Fee at 161 *l.* 13 *s.* 1 *d.* by the Year, and 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year, for his Circuits. Total is .	194	19	9
To Sir *Peter Warburton*, Knight, one of the Juſtices of that Bench, for his Fee, at 154 *l.* 19 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year, and 34 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year, for his Circuits. Total is -	188	6	8
To Sir *Humfrey Winch*, Knight, for the like . .	188	6	8
To Sir *Auguſtine Nicolls*, Knight for the like . .	188	6	8
Total Sum by the Year is	759	19	9

Beſides their yearly Allowance for their Diets in their Circuits.

Juſtices of Aſſize in the County of Suffolk.

To Sir *Peter Warburton*, Knight, one of the Juſtices of Aſſize in the County of *Suffolk*, for his Fee yearly . .	12	6	8
To Sir *James Altham*, Knight, for the like . . .	12	6	8
To *Thomas Willis*, Clerk of Aſſize, for his Fee yearly . .	0	20	0
In all yearly	26	13	4

Maſter of Requeſts.

To Sir *Roger Wilbraham*, Knight, one of the Maſters of Requeſts, for his Fee by the Year . . .	100	0	0
To Sir *Daniel Dunne*, one of the Maſters of Requeſts, for his Fee by the Year	160	0	0
To Sir *Ralphe Winwood*, another of the Maſters of Requeſts, for his Fee by the Year. . . .	50	0	0
To Sir *Chriſtopher Perkins*, another of the Maſters of Requeſts, for his Fee yearly	50	0	0
To Sir *Richard Williamſon*, another of the Maſters of Requeſts, for his Fee yearly	50	0	0
To *John Daccombe*, Eſq; another of the Maſters of Requeſts, for his Fee yearly	100	0	0
The Sum is	450	0	0

The

The King's Serjeants at Law, and others of the King's Council at Law.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To Sir *Henry Montague*, Serjeant at Law	41	6	10
To Sir *Randolph Crewe*, Serjeant at Law	41	6	10
To Sir *John Davys*, Serjeant at Law	41	6	10
To Sir *Francis Bacon*, Attorney-General	81	6	8
To Sir *Henry Yelverton*, Sollicitor-General	70	0	0
Maſter *Henry Martin*, Advocate for all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes	20	0	0
In all yearly	295	7	2

The Chancellor, Under-Treaſurer, Barons, Officers, and Clerks of the Exchequer.

To Sir *Fulke Grevill*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, for his Fee by the Year	26	13	4
To him as Under-Treaſurer of the *Exchequer*, by the Year	173	6	8
To Sir *Lawrence Tanfeil*, Lord Chief Baron, for his Fee, at 154 *l.* 19 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year, and 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year, for his Circuits. In all yearly	188	6	8
To Sir *George Snigg*, one of the Barons, for his Fee at 80 *l. per Annum*, and 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* yearly for his Circuits	113	6	8
To Sir *James Altham*, one of the Barons, the like Fee	113	6	8
To Sir *Edward Bromley*, one of the Barons, the like Fee	113	6	8
To *John Sotherton*, Eſq; the fifth Baron for receiving the Receivers-General their Accounts	66	13	4
To him for his Attendance on the Sealing Days	13	6	8
To him for his Attendance, as well in the Terms, as after the Terms, yearly	16	13	4
More to him, as the fifth Baron, for his Fee, yearly	66	13	4
To Sir *John Pointz*, one of the Chamberlains, for his Fee	52	3	4
To Sir *Nicolas Carew* alias *Throgmorton*, one of the Chamberlains, for his Fee yearly	52	3	4
To *John Bradſhaw*, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains	10	0	0
To *George Auſtin*, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains	10	0	0
To *Alexander Stafford*, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains, for joining of the Tallies	5	0	0
To *William Page*, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains, for joining of the Tallies	5	0	0
To *John Hunt*, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains, to write the Counterpell	6	0	0
To *John Beſt*, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains, to write the Counterpell	6	0	0
To ——— *Fanſhaw*, the King's Remembrancer	55	17	4
To *Arthur Salway*, one of the Secondaries in that Office	4	0	0
To *William Bourchier*, one of the Secondaries there	4	0	0
To the Clerks of that Office, in Reward amongſt them, for writing and inrolling the Amerciaments there	15	6	8
To *John Oſborn*, Eſq; the Lord Treaſurer's Remembrancer	30	0	0

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To *Richard Smith*, one of the Secondaries in the Lord Treaſurer's Remembrancer's Office yearly	5	0	0
To *Henry Oſborn*, one of the Secondaries there	4	0	0
To the Clerk's there in Reward, for writing the Amerciaments in that Office	22	10	0
To Sir *Arthur Manwaring* Clerk of the Pipe	47	4	2
To *Robert Baker* Controller of the Pipe	40	0	0
To *George Allington*, one of the Secondaries there	10	0	0
To *Alexander Williams*, one of the Secondaries there	10	0	0
To the Clerks there for writing the Amerciaments	9	3	4
To *Alexander King*, one of the Auditors of the Revenues of the Crown, for his Fee yearly	20	0	0
To Sir *Thomas Neale*, another of the Auditors	20	0	0
To *William Hill*, another of the Auditors	20	0	0
To *Francis Neale*, another of the Auditors	20	0	0
To *Hugh Sexey*, another of the Auditors	20	0	0
To *Thomas Hutton*, another of the Auditors	20	0	0
To *Nathaniel Fuller*, another of the Auditors	20	0	0
To *Francis Gofton*, one of the Auditors of the Impreſts	66	13	4
To *Richard Sutton*, one of the Auditors of the Impreſt	66	13	4
To *William Cholmley*, Foreign Appoſer in the Exchequer	40	0	0
To *Francis Fuller*, Clerk of the Extracts in the Exchequer	33	6	8
More to him for drawing down and writing the Amerciaments of divers Counties in Reward	10	0	0
To *Thomas Allen*, Clerk of the Nichils, for his Fee	20	0	0
To *Thomas Turner*, Clerk of the Pleas in the Exchequer	5	0	0
To the Clerks in the Office of the Pleas, for writing the Amerciaments in that Office	3	0	0
To *Edmond Thorolde*, Marſhal to the Court of Exchequer	5	0	0
To *Edward Wardour*, Clerk of the Pells in the Receipt of the Exchequer, for his Fee, at 90 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* by the Year for himſelf, and 20 *l.* by the Year for a Clerk under him, for writing the Pell of *Exitus*, in all yearly	110	13	4
More to him for keeping the Pell of Receipt	61	13	4
For a Clerk under him to write the Pell of Receipt	5	0	0
To *John Bingley*, Writer of the Tallies and Counter-Tallies in the Receipt of Exchequer	91	13	4
To his Clerk under him for writing the Tallies	9	0	0
To Sir *Edward Cary*, one of the Tellers in the Receipt	31	13	4
To Sir *William Bowler*, one of the Tellers there	31	13	4
To Sir *Francis Egioke*, one of the Tellers there	31	13	4
To Mr. *Watſon*, one of the Tellers there	31	13	4
To *John Rowdon* Bag-bearer there, his Fee yearly	6	13	4
To the Under Clerks of the Receipt for their Attendance in the Vacation Times	46	0	0
To *Richard Staunton*, one of the Meſſengers there	6	16	10
To *Iſaac Buſh*, one of the Meſſengers there	6	16	10

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To *Henry Greene*, one of the Meſſengers there	6	16	10
To *William Taylor*, one of the Meſſengers there	6	16	10
To the Boys of the Receipt for their Attendance	2	0	0
The Total Sum is	2175	8	10

Officers in divers Courts of Records.

To Sir *Francis Bacon*, Clerk of the Council in the Star-chamber, his Fee yearly	26	13	4
To *Francis Anderſon*, Clerk of the Extracts there	20	0	0
To *Thomas Fanſhaw* and *William Mitchell*, Clerks of the Crown in the King's Bench	10	0	0
To *Thomas Waller*, one of the Prothonotaries of the Common-Pleas, being an Allowance for poor Suitors	10	0	0
To Sir *Thomas Spencer*, Keeper of the Writs in the Common-Pleas	6	13	4
To *John Wright*, Clerk of the Lower Houſe of Parliament	10	0	0
In all by the Year	83	6	8

Surveyors of Lands, &c.

To *Robert Treſwell*, Surveyor of all his Majeſty's Woods on this Side *Trent*	50	0	0
More to him as Surveyor of the King's Caſtles, Forts, Parks and Lodges	50	0	0
To *John Norden*, one of the Surveyors of the King's Lands, for his Fee yearly	50	0	0
To *John Thorpe*, one of the Surveyors, *&c.* for the like	20	0	0
To Sir *William Strode*, Surveyor of the King's Land in the County of *Devon*, for his Fee yearly	20	0	0
To *Henry Campion*, Surveyor of the King's Lands in the County of *Southampton*, for his Fee yearly	13	6	8
To *William Duck*, Surveyor of the King's Highways	40	0	0
In all yearly	243	6	8

Secretaries, Clerks of the Council, &c.

To Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Principal Secretary of State, for his Fee yearly	100	0	0
To Sir *Thomas Lake*, one of the principal Secretaries	100	0	0
To Sir *John Herbert*, ſecond Secretary	100	0	0
To Sir *Thomas Hamilton*, Secretary for *Scotland*	100	0	0
To Sir *Thomas Lake*, Secretary for the *Latin* Tongue	80	0	0
To Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, Secretary for the *French* Tongue	66	13	4
To Sir *Anthony Aſhley*, one of the Clerks of the Council	50	0	0
To *Francis Cottington*, Eſq; one of the Clerks of the Council	50	0	0
To *William Trumbull*, Eſq; one of the Clerks of the Council	50	0	0

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To *Clement Edmonds*, Eſq; one of the Clerks of the Council	50	0	0
To *George Calvert*, Eſq; one of the Clerks of the Council	50	0	0
To Sir *Humfrey May*, for attending his Majeſty for Cauſes concerning the Kingdom of *Ireland*	133	6	8
To Sir *Thomas Wilſon* and *Ambroſe Randall*, Keepers of divers Records remaining at *Whitehall*	60	16	8
To *George Cox*, one of the Keepers of the Council Chamber Door, his Fee yearly	60	16	8
To *Thomas Graves*, another of the Keepers of the Council Chamber Door, 2 *s.* 6 *d. per diem*	45	13	6
In all	1097	6	10

Attendants on Foreign Ambaſſadors.

To Sir *Lewis Lewknor* Maſter of the Ceremonies	200	0	0
To *John Finett*, his Aſſiſtant	10	0	0
To Sir *William Button*, attending on Ambaſſadors ſent from foreign Parts, 6 *s.* 8 *d. per diem.* In all *per annum*	121	13	4
Total *per annum*	331	13	4

To divers Perſons for ſundry Services.

To Sir *George Villiers*, Maſter of the Horſe to the King	66	13	4
To *Andrew Zinzan*, alias *Alexander*, for riding the King's great Horſes	66	13	4
To Sir *Thomas Howard*, Maſter of the Horſe to the Prince	40	0	0
To Sir *Thomas Penruddock*	33	6	8
To Sir *Edmond Carey*, the Knight Harbinger	13	6	8
To *Edward Cherry*, the King's Merchant	33	6	8
To *Ralph Gill*, Keeper of the Lions, and other Beaſts in the Tower of *London*	18	5	0
More to him by Way of Increaſe	9	2	6
To *George Colmer*, the King's Cock-maſter	200	0	0
To Sir *George Moore*, Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, for his Fee *per Annum*	100	0	0
To Sir *Richard Conningſby*, Gentleman Uſher, for bearing the Rod before the King at the Feaſt of St. *George*, his Fee by the Year	18	5	0
To the Earl of *Nottingham*, Guardian and Chief Juſtice of all Foreſts, Chaces, Parks and Warrens on this Side *Trent*, his Fee yearly	100	0	0
To him in Conſideration for his Profit of the Juſtice-Acre *per ann.*	66	13	4
To *Hugh May*, Clerk of the Market	20	0	0
To *Jebu Webb*, Maſter of the Tennis Plays	12	13	4
To *John Wood* and *Robert* his Son, for keeping and breeding of Cormorants, by the Year	45	12	6

To

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To *Richard Putto*, for profecuting of old Debts due to the King, his Fee, beſides his Fifth Part out of all ſuch Debts recovered and brought in	50	0	0
In all by the Year is . .	893	18	4

King's Heralds and Purſuivants at Arms.

To *William Cambden*, alias *Clarencieux* King of Arms in the Eaſt, Weſt, and South Parts of *England*, for his Fee *per annum*	20	0	0
To *Richard St. George*, alias *Norroy* King at Arms in the North Parts of *England*	20	0	0
To *Samuel Thompſon*, alias *Windſor* Herald . .	13	6	8
To *Ralph Brooke*, alias *York* Herald . . .	13	6	8
To *Robert Treſwell*, alias *Somerſet* Herald . . .	13	6	8
To *William Penſon*, alias *Cheſter* Herald . .	13	6	8
To *John Raven*, alias *Richmond Herald* . . .	13	6	8
To *Nicholas Charles*, alias *Lancaſter* Herald . .	13	6	8
To *Thomas Knight*, alias *Rougecroſſe*, Purſuivant at Arms .	10	0	0
To *William Smith*, alias *Rougedragon* Purſuivant .	10	0	0
To *Henry St. George*, alias *Bluemantle* Purſuivant . .	10	0	0
To *Philip Holland*, alias *Portcullis* Purſuivant . .	10	0	0
In all . .	160	0	0

Sergeants at Arms.

To eighteen Sergeants at Arms, for their Fee to each of them yearly 18 *l.* 5 *s.* which cometh unto in all yearly .	328	10	0

Muſicians.

To twenty-two Muſicians, for their Fees and Liveries, *viz.* to ſome 2 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Day, and 16 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* by the Year for their Livery, and to the moſt of them 1 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Day, and the like Allowance for Livery; which cometh unto in all by the Year	1060	12	6

Phyſicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries.

To Dr. *De Mayerne*	400	0	0
To Dr. *Craig* the Elder	100	0	0
To Dr. *Craig* the Younger	100	0	0
To Dr. *Atkins*	100	0	0
To Dr. *Hammond*	100	0	0
To Dr. *Poe*, Phyſician for the King's Houſhold . .	50	0	0
To *Gilbert Primroſe*, Sergeant Surgeon to the King .	26	13	4
More to him as ordinary Surgeon to the King . .	40	0	0
More to him as Surgeon to the Prince . . .	33	6	8
To *William Goddourous*, Serjeant Surgeon to the King .	26	13	4
More to him as ordinary Surgeon to the King . .	40	0	0

To

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To *Duncan Primroſe*, Surgeon to the King yearly	40	0	0
To *Alexander Baker*, Ordinary Surgeon to the King	40	0	0
To *Peter Chamberlain*, Surgeon to the Queen	40	0	0
To *Archibald Haye*, Surgeon Ordinary to the King	40	0	0
To *Lewis Rogers*, Ordinary Surgeon to the Prince	40	0	0
To *William Clowes*, Ordinary Surgeon to the Prince	40	0	0
To *John Wolfgango Rumlero*, Apothecary to the King, his Fee by the Year	40	0	0
More to him as Apothecary to the Queen	40	0	0
To *Gedeon de Lawne*, Apothecary to the King	20	0	0
To *George Sheires*, Apothecary to the King's Houſe, his Fee by the Year	40	0	0
More to him, Provider of ſweet Waters for the King's Service, his Fee by the Year	13	6	8
To *Ralph Cleyton*, Apothecary to the Prince, his Fee by the Year	20	0	0
To *Jolliffe Lownes*, Apothecary to the Prince, his Fee by the Year	20	0	0
The Total Sum is	1450	0	0

Artificers.

To *Alexander Miller* and *Robert Arſkin*, the King's Taylors, to each of them Two Shillings by the Day. In all	73	0	0
To *Alexander Wilſon* and *Patrick Blake*, the Prince's Taylors, to each Eighteen-pence by the Day	54	15	0
To *John Dauſon* and *Edward Thomazin*, for the Guards Coats for their Fee 12 *d.* by the Day	18	5	0
To *Peter* and *William Bland*, Serjeant-Furriers to the King, for their Fee Two Shillings by the Day	36	10	0
To *John Bingham*, Sadler to the King, 12 *d.* by the Day for himſelf, and Three-pence by the Day for a Servant under him. In all by the Year	23	11	3
To *William Broderick*, Embroiderer for the King	27	7	6
To *Abraham Abereromby*, Sadler to the Prince, 12 *d.* by the Day for himſelf, and 3 *d.* by the Day for a Servant under him. In all by the Year	23	11	3
To *Ralph* and *William Canning*, chief Arras-maker, 6 *d.* by the Day, and 10 *l.* by the Year, for their Fee	19	2	6
To *Randalph Bull*, Clock-keeper, 1 *s. per Diem*	18	5	0
To *William* and *Thomas Muſſell*, Cutters and Razers of the King's Apparel, 12 *d. per Diem*	18	5	0
To *Alexander Howme*, Shoemaker to the King	18	5	0
To *Alexander Craiford*, Shoemaker to the King	18	5	0
To *Thomas Wilſon*, Shoemaker to the Prince	18	5	0
To *Richard Sheppeard*, Perfumer to the King	18	5	0

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To ——— Embroiderer to the Prince	18	5	0
To *Nathaniel Matthew*, Cutler to the King	18	5	0
To *Thomas Pulforld*	18	5	0
To *Richard Mayle*, Cook in the Star-chamber	18	5	0
To *Edmond Tomlins*, Butler in the Star-chamber	9	2	6
To *Thomas Ceſar*, Clock-keeper, *per Annum*	39	16	8
To *Thomas Bond*, Cleanſer of the Hangings	12	3	4
To *John* and *William Lugar*, Maker of the Black-Jacks for the King's Houſe, 6 *d. per Diem.* In all	9	2	6
To *Richard Cole*, the King's Girdler, 6 *d. per Diem*	9	2	6
To *John* and *Abraham Bateman*, the King's Book-binder, by the Year	6	0	0
To *Robert Barker*, the King's Printer	6	13	4
To *John Norton*, the King's Printer for *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew* Tongues	26	0	8
In all yearly	552	0	7

Keepers of the King's Houſes, Gardens and Warderobes.

To the Lady *Hellen*, Marchioneſs of *Northampton*, for keeping *Richmond* Houſe and Warderobe 12 *d.* by the Day, for keeping the Garden and Orchard there 6 *d.* by the Day, and for keeping the Park there 18 *d.* by the Day. In all by the Year	54	15	0
To *William* Lord *Compton*, Keeper of *Holdenby* Houſe	26	13	4
To ——— Keeper of the Robes and Jewels at *Whitehall*, 66 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* by the Year; for keeping the great Warderobe there 10 *d.* by the Day; for keeping the Orchard there 6 *d.* by the Day, and 17 *l.* 3 *s.* by the Year, for Charges there; for keeping the Garden 17 *l.* 20 *d.* by the Year; for keeping the Coniyard 12 *d.* by the Day, and 12 *l.* 13 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year, in Conſideration of Rents taken into the King's Hands. In all	156	3	4
More to him for keeping the Garden at St. *James*'s 13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year; for keeping the Out-lodgings at *Whitehall* 4 *l.* by Year; for keeping the Conduct Heads 6 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year; for diſtilling of Water 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year; for Fire to air the Hot-houſes 2 *l.* by the Year; for carrying of Hay 2 *l.* by the Year; for Mowing, Making, and Carriage of Hay for the Deer in the Park 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* for Swans and other Fowl in the Park 1 *l.* by the Year; for digging and ſetting of Roſes in the Spring-Garden 2 *l.* by the Year. Twenty Pounds by the Year, in Recompence of certain Lodgings; for keeping of the Range-trees 6 *d* by the Day; and for keeping the Rain Dear 4 *d.* by the Day. In all by the Year	72	5	10

To

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To *John Trevor*, for keeping of *Oatland*'s Houſe . .	27	7	6
To Sir *Marmaduke Darrell*, for keeping *Maiſondien* Place at *Dover* 6 *d.* by the Day	9	2	6
To the Lady *Barwick*, and *John* her Son, for keeping the King's Houſe at *Thetford*, 12 *d.* by the Day; and for keeping the Garden there 12 *d.* by the Day. In all by the Year -	36	10	0
To *John Winyard*, Keeper of the King's Houſe in the Palace at *Weſtminſter*, 6 *d.* by the Day	9	2	6
More to him for keeping the Wardrobe at *Hampton-Court* 12 *d.* by the Day, and 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year, for Charges about the ſame. In all by the Year	51	11	8
To *Richard Hamerton*, Keeper of the King's Houſe at *Roiſton*, 8 *d.* by the Day	12	3	4
To *John Cotton*, for keeping of the Warderobe at *Theobald*'s 18 *d.* by the Day; for Fire 10 *l.* by the Year; and for his Livery 4 *l.* by the Year. In all	41	7	6
To *Stephen Pearſe*, for keeping the Wardrobe at *Richmond* 8 *d.* by the Day, and for Fire 4 *l.* by the Year. In all by the Year	16	13	4
To *John Cotton*, for keeping the Wardrobe at *Weſtminſter*, 10 *d.* by the Day, and for keeping the Reveſtry there 2 *d.* by the Day; for Fire 10 *l.* by the Year; and for the Fuſtians and Pillowbears 4 *l.* by the Year. In all by the Year - -	32	5	0
To *Jeremy Roſſe*, for keeping the Wardrobe at *Hichingbrook* 12 *d.* by the Day; for Fire 10 *l.* by the Year; for his Livery 4 *l.* by the Year. In all	32	5	0
To *Thomas Hickſon*, for keeping the Warbrobe at *Greenwich* 8 *d.* by the Day; for a Servant under him 4 *d.* by the Day; and for his Livery 3 *l.* by the Year . . .	21	5	0
To *Nicholas Pidgeon*, as Clerk of the Wardrobe in the Tower of *London*, for his Fee by the Year . . .	14	0	0
To *John Stephenſon*, for keeping the Wardrobe at *Windſor* 6 *d.* by the Day; and for a Servant under him 3 *d.* by the Day. In all yearly	13	13	9
To *Andrew Bright* and *Edmond Doubleday*, for keeping the King's Bible at *Whitehall*, yearly	13	6	8
More to him for diſtilling ſweet Waters . .	13	6	8
To *George Hopton* for the keeping of at *Hampton-Court* 2 *s.* 10 *d.* by the Day. In all yearly . .	51	14	2
To *Andrew Bright*, for keeping the Garden-door at *Whitehall*, 2 *s.* by the Day. In all yearly	36	10	0
To *William Hogan*, Officer of the Stilling-houſe, at *Hampton-Court*, and for keeping of the two new Gardens there, for his Fee, yearly	40	0	0
To *Briſtow Pidgeon*, for keeping of the Garden in the Tower of *London* 6 *d.* by the Day; and for keeping the little Wardrobe			

there

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
there 12 *d.* by the Day; for a Servant under him 4 *d.* by the Day; and for Fire 3 *l.* by the Year. In all by the Year	36	9	2
To *Thomas Sheffeild*, for keeping the Garden at *Greenwich*, 1 *s.* by the Day	18	5	0
To *Edward Lovell* for keeping the and Garden at *Richmond*, 6 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year, and for weeding and other neceſſary Charges, 4 *l.* by the Year. In all	10	1	8
To Sir *Patrick Howme*, for keeping the King's Houſe at *Rolſton*, 1 *s.* by the Day	18	5	0
To *William Risbrook*, Under-keeper of *Richmond-houſe*, for his Fee by the Year	30	0	0
To *Jaſper Stallenge*, for keeping the Garden for the Silk-worms, for his Fee by the Year	60	0	0
To *John* and *Francis Bonnell*, for the Attendance about the Silk-worms by the Year	60	0	0
The Total Sum is	1015	2	11

There are other Houſe-keepers, paid by the Treaſurer of the Chamber, Cofferer, *&c.* of whom I cannot take Notice.

Keepers of Stables.

To *William Thomas*, for keeping the *Mews*	24	0	0
To *Thomas Powell*, for keeping the Stables at *Hampton-Court*, 8 *d.* by the Day	12	3	4
To *John Braig*, Keeper of the Stables at *Reading*, by the Year	12	3	4
To *Ralphe More*, for keeping the Stables at St. *Alban*'s, 8 *d.* by the Day	12	3	4
In all by the Year	60	10	0

Keepers of Foreſts, Chaces and Parks.

To *Thomas* Earl of *Exon*, for keeping *Rockingham-Foreſt*, for his Fee *per Annum*	14	4	8
To Sir *Robert Harley*, for keeping *Boring-wood* alias *Bring-wood Foreſt*, in *Com. Herff.* 6 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* by the Year; for the Pokerſhip, 1 *l.* 10 *s.* 5 *d.* by the Year; and for keeping the Foreſt of *Preſt-wood*, 18 *s.* by the Year. In all	8	10	11
To *Edward* Lord *Denny*, and *James* Lord *Hay*, for keeping *Chinckford* Walk in *Waltham* Foreſt, 6 *d.* by the Day; and for keeping the Game of Pheaſants there, 4 *d.* by the Day; and for keeping half of *Newlodge* Walk, 2 *d.* by the Day. In all *per Annum*	18	5	0
To for keeping *Walthamſtow* Walk in the Foreſt of *Waltham*, 8 *d.* by the Day; for keeping of *Leighton* Walk,			

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
4 *d.* by the Day; and for keeping of *Wallwood* and *Hamfrith* Woods, 3 *d.* by the Day. In all yearly . .	22	16	3
To Ranger of *Waltham* Foreſt, his Fee by the Year	9	2	6
To *Edward* Earl of *Worceſter*, and Sir *Thomas Somerſet* his Son, for keeping the great Park of *Nonſuch*, 2 *s.* by the Day, and for 15 *l.* by the Year. In all . .	51	10	0
To Sir *Edward Howard*, for keeping *Biſleet* Park and Lodge, in the County of *Surrey*, 8 *d.* by the Day . .	12	3	4
To Sir *Robert Leigh* for keeping *Woodfurth* Walk in *Waltham* Foreſt, 8 *d.* by the Day	12	3	4
To Sir *Edward Cary*, for keeping *Mary-bone* Park, 8 *d.* by the Day	12	3	4
To Sir *Henry Riche*, for keeping *Hyde-Park*, 8 *d.* by the Day	12	3	4
To *Richard* Earl of *Dorſet*, Governor of the Park called *The Broyl*, 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per Annum*; for two Keepers under him, 4 *d. per Diem*; and for a Ranger of the Woods there, 2 *d. per Diem*. In all *per Annum*	15	15	10
To *William Smith*, for looking to the Deer in *Cramborne-Chace*, by the Year	20	0	0
To *Thomas Norris*, Under-ranger in *Enfield-Chace*, 6 *d. per Diem*	6	2	6
To *Thomas* Earl of *Suff.* Lieutenant and Keeper of *Brayden* Foreſt in *Com. Wilts.* 6 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d. per Annum*; for a Ranger there, 20 *l. per Annum*; and for four Keepers there under him, to each of them 10 *l. per Annum*. In all *per Annnm* . .	66	1	8
The Total *per Annum* is	281	2	8

Keepers of Warrens and Games.

To *John Bancks*, Keeper of the Warren called *Wilbraham buſhes*, in *Com. Cantab.* 2 *s. per Diem*, and for keeping the Game ten Miles Circuit, 2 *s.* more *per Diem* . .	73	0	0
To *Gilbert Wood*, Keeper of the Hare Warren at *Hampton-Court*, 2 *s. per Diem*	36	10	0
To *Alexander Glover*, Keeper of the Game about *Lambeth* and *Clapham*, 1 *s. per Diem*, and 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d. per Annum* for his Livery	19	11	8
To *Robert More*, Keeper of the Game about *Oatlands*, 1 *s. per Diem*	18	5	0
To *Henry Beſwick*, Keeper of the Swans in St. *James*'s Park, 1 *s. per Diem*, and 1 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d. per Annum* for his Livery .	19	7	6
To *Francis Powton* and *Edmond Hobſon*, Keepers of the Game about *Hampton-Court*, 2 *s. per Diem*, and 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d. per Ann.* for their Livery	37	16	8

To

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To *Henry Halfehide* and *Henry* his Son, Keepers of the Game about *Royſton*, 2 *s.* 6 *d. per diem*, and 3 *l. per annum* for their Livery	48	12	6
To *Thomas Cockeine* Keeper of the Hares at *Roiſton*, and twelve Miles Circuit, and for keeping the Game at *Thetford*, and ſeven Miles Circuit, 2 *s. per diem*	36	0	10
To *George Kirkham* and *Michael* his Son, Keepers of the Game about *Richmond*, 1 *s.* 6 *d. per diem*	27	7	6
To *Richard Stoner*, Keeper of the Game at *Hinchinbrooke*, for his Fee 1 *s. per diem*	18	5	0
To *Anthony Lewes*, Keeper of the Game in *Waltham* Foreſt 1 *s. per diem*	18	5	0
To *Edmond Maiſters*, Keeper of the Game at the Manor of *Oatlands*, 1 *s. per diem*, and 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d. per annum* for his Livery. In all *per annum*	19	11	8
To *William Richbell*, Keeper of the Game at *Nonſuch*, 1 *s. per diem*, and 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d. per annum* for his Livery . .	19	11	8
To *Samſon Calvert*, Keeper of the Game about *Wandſworth* 1 *s. per diem*	18	5	0
To *Ralph Smith*, Keeper of the Game about *Weſtminſter*, 8 *d. per diem*, and 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d. per annum* for his Livery . .	13	10	0
To *David Tannet*, another Keeper of the Game about *Weſtminſter*, 8 *d. per diem*, and 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d. per annum* for his Livery	13	10	0
To *Alban Cox*, Keeper of the Game about *Barnet*, &c. 4 *d. per diem*, and 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d. per annum* for his Livery .	7	8	6
To *John Coward* and *John* his Son, Keepers of the Game at *Thetford*, 1 *s. per diem*	18	5	0
To *William Marſton*, Keeper of the Game at *Newmarket* .	45	12	6
The Total is *per annum* :	508	16	0

Huntſmen.

To Sir *Patrick Howme*, Maſter of the privy Harriers, for his Fee, 120 *l. per annum*; and for keeping one Footman, four Horſes and twenty Couple of Dogs, 100 *l. per annum* . .	220	0	0
To *Thomas Pott* Maſter of the Hunt, for his Fee, 4 *s. per diem*; for three Yeomen Prickers, to each 2 *s. per diem*; for one Groom 1 *s. per diem*; and for keeping 12 Couple of Dogs, 50 *l. per annum.* In all *per annum* . .	250	15	0
To *Robert Rayne*, Sergeant of the Buckhounds, *per annum*	50	0	0
More to him as one of the Yeomen of the privy Harriers, 3 *l. per menſem*	36	0	0
To *William Battle*, another of the Yeomen, the like Fee .	36	0	0
To *Richard Barnard*, another of the Yeomen, the like Fee .	36	0	0
To *Nicholas Cockeine*, another of the Yeomen, the like Fee .	36	0	0

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To *Richard Lazonby*, Maſter of the Lyam-hounds, *per annum* . .	40	0	0
To *Richard Gwynne*, Groom of the Harriers to the Prince 1*s.* 1*d.* *per diem*, and 1 *l. per annum* for his Livery . .	20	15	5
To *John Waters*, Yeomen of the Harriers to the King, 1 *s. per diem*	18	5	0
To *Robert Walker*, Sergeant of the King's Hounds, *per annum*	50	0	0
To *Richard Braſſe*, Yeoman of the King's Hounds, *per annum*	50	0	0
The Total is *per annum* . .	843	15	5

Falconers.

To *Robert* Lord *Dormer*, Maſter Falconer to the King, his Fee 44 *l. per menſem*, which is *per annum* . . .	528	0	0
More to him as Maſter Falconer to the King within the Manor of *Elmer* in *Com. Buck.* 1*s.* 6*d. per diem* . .	27	7	6
To *Thomas Mongrief*, Falconer to the King, 2 *s. per diem*, and 13 *l.* 13 *s.* 9 *d.* ob. *per annum* for his Livery . .	50	3	9
To *Robert Pinkerton*, Falconer to the King, 1*s.* 6*d. per diem*, and 13 *l.* 13 *s.* 9 *d. per annum* for his Livery . .	41	1	3
To *James Quarrier*, Falconer to the King, 1*s.* 4*d. per diem*, and 13 *l.* 13 *s.* 9 *d. per annum* for his Livery . .	38	0	5
To *John Barkley*, Falconer to the King, 1 *s. per diem*, and 13 *l.* 13 *s.* 9 *d. per annum* for his Livery . .	31	18	9
To *Francis Verney*, Falconer to the King, *per annum* . .	40	0	0
To *Lewis Latham*, Falconer to the King, *per annum* .	40	0	0
To *Cornelius Artſon*, Falconer to the King, 2 *s.* 6 *d. per diem*	45	12	6
To *Euſtace Norton*, Falconer to the Prince, *per annum* .	30	0	0
More to him by Way of Increaſe 1 *s. per diem* . .	18	5	0
To *George Mongreif*, Falconer to the King, for his Fee *per diem*, which is *per annum* . . .	91	5	0
The Total is *per annum* . .	981	14	2

Revels.

To Sir *George Buck*, Maſter of the Revels, for his Fee *per annum*	10	0	0
To *Edward Kirkham*, Yeoman of the Revels, 6 *d. per diem* .	9	2	6
The Total is . .	19	2	6

Tents and Toils.

To *Henry Seckford*, Maſter of the Tents and Toil, *per annum* .	30	0	0
To *Alexander Stafford*, Clerk Comptroller of the King's Tents and Pavillons, 8 *d. per diem* . . .	12	3	4
To *William Honinge*, Clerk of the Tents and Pavilions, 8 *d. per diem*, and 1 *l.* 4 *s. per annum* for his Livery . .	13	7	6
To *Edmund Muſſel*, Yeoman to the Tents, *&c. per annum* .	10	0	0

To

	l.	*d.*	*s.*
To *Robert Bowle*, Groom of the Tents, *&c.* 8 *d. per diem* .	9	2	6
The Total Sum is .	74	13	4

Posts.

To the Lord *Stanhope*, Master of the Posts, for his Fee .	66	13	4
To *Matthew de Quester*, Post for beyond the Seas, 2 *s. per diem*	36	10	0
To *William Trumbull*, one of the Posts for the King, *per annum*	36	10	0
To *Edward Davyes*, Post for *Ludlow*, 2 *s.* 6 *d. per diem* .	45	12	6
To *John Brooke*, Letter-bearer to the Prince, *per annum* .	50	0	0
The Total Sum is .	235	5	10

Jewel-House.

To Sir *Edward Cary*, and Sir *Henry* his Son, Masters of the Jewel-house, for their Fee *per annum* . . .	50	0	0
To Sir *William Herrick*, Sir *John Spilman*, and *George Herriott*, Jewellers, for their Fee to each of them 50 *l. per annum*	150	0	0
To *Abraham Harderet*, Jeweller to the Queen . .	50	0	0
To *Richard Wright*, and *John* his Son, Clerks of the Jewel-House, for their Fee *per annum*	13	6	8
To *Nicholas Pidgeon*, Yeoman of the Jewel-House . .	26	13	4
The Total Sum is .	290	0	0

Officers of the Works.

To *Inigo Jones*, Surveyor of the Works done about the King's Houses, 2 *s.* 6 *d. per diem*	45	12	6
To *Thomas Baldwin*, Comptroller of the Works . .	27	7	6
To *Andrew Kerwin*, Paymaster of the Works, 2 *s. per diem* .	36	10	0
To *William Portington*, Master Carpenter, 1 *s. per diem* .	18	5	0
To *William Cure* Master Mason, 1 *s. per diem* . .	18	5	0
To *James Lee*, Master Plaisterer, 1 *s. per diem* . .	18	5	0
To *Abraham Green*, Serjeant Plumber . . .	18	5	0
More to him as Plumber of *Windsor* Castle . .	18	5	0
To *Jeremy Talcot*, Bricklayer, 1 *s. per diem* . .	18	5	0
To *William Southis*, Master Mason of *Windsor* Castle .	18	5	0
To *Clement Chapman*, chief Joiner of the Tower of *London*, 1 *s. per diem*, and for his Fee as chief Joiner of all the King's Works, 1 *s. per diem*, and for his Robe, 16 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d. per annum.* In all	52	12	6
To *Henry Waller*, chief Joiner for the King's privy Chamber, 1 *s. per diem*, and for his Livery, 2 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* .	19	11	8
To *Thomas Badveleg*, chief Grocer 1 *s. per diem*, and for his Livery, 1 *l.* 4 *s. per annum*	19	0	9

To

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To *Thomas Aldridge*, Wheelwright in the Tower of *London* .	18	5	0
To *Maximilian Colte*, Carver in Stone, 8 *d. per diem* . .	12	3	4
To *Francis Cartir*, chief Clerk of the King's Works . .	66	13	4
More to him as Provider of Timber-boards and Laths, 8 *d. per diem*	12	3	4
To *Henry Jennings*, Provider for the King's Works in the Tower of *London*, 1 *s.* 6 *d. per diem* . . .	12	3	4
To *George Nevye*, Overſeer of the King's Works at *Poriſmouth*, 1 *s.* 4 *d. per diem*	24	6	8
To *William Wheatley*, Maſter Carpenter in the Tower of *London*, 8 *d. per diem*	12	3	4
The Total is . .	486	8	3

Officers of the Ordnance and Armory.

To Sir *Richard Moriſon*, Lieutenant of the Ordnance, his Fee *per annum*	66	13	4
To Sir *William Pope*, Maſter of the Armory at *Greenwich*, 66 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* More to him as Maſter of the Armory in the Tower of *London*, and all other Places in *England*, 1 *s. per diem.* For a Yeoman under him, 6 *d. per diem*; and for a Boy 3 *d. per diem.* In all	98	12	1
To Sir *John Kay*, Surveyor of the Ordnance . . .	36	10	0
To *Nedtrary Smart*, & al. Keepers of the Store of the Ordnance, Munition and Empco. in the Tower of *London*, 3 *s. per diem*	54	15	0
To *John Ridleſden*, Clerk of the Ordnance . .	36	10	0
To Sir *Robert Johnſon*, Clerk of the Deliveries of the Ordnance in the Tower, 1 *s. per diem* . . .	18	5	0
To *John Benyon*, Clerk of the Armory at *Greenwich*, 2 *s.* 6 *d. per diem*, and for his Livery 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* . . .	46	19	2
More to him for his Fee 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 10 *d. per menſem* . .	23	18	10
To *Thomas Lincolne*, Yeoman of the Armory at *Greenwich*, 15 *l.* 12 *s. per annum*, and for his Livery, 1 *l.* 6 *s. per annum.* In all	16	18	0
More to him for his Fee, 1 *l.* 4 *s. per menſem* .	16	16	10
To *William Lacon*, Clerk of the Ordnance and Works at *Carliſle*, 1 *s.* *per diem*	18	5	0
To *John Cowper*, Harneſs-maker in the Tower, 1 *s.* 4 *d. per diem*	24	6	8
To *Henry Zinzan*, Harneſs-maker, his Fee *per annum* .	10	0	0
To *William Heath*, Keeper of the Store-houſe at *Portſmouth*	20	0	0
To *Francis Ingleſby*, Keeper of the Armory at *Greenwich* .	30	8	4
To *John Parker*, Keeper of the Armory at *Weſtminſter* .	18	5	0
To Sir *John Bingham*, Keeper of the Armory at *Hampton-Court*, 1 *s. per diem*	18	5	0
To *Thomas Laverock*, Maker of Hand-guns, 1 *s.* 4 *d. per diem*	24	6	8

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To *William Pickering*, Maſter of the Works of the Armory at *Greenwich*, and to eight Hammermen there, three Lockſmiths, three Millmen, two Labourers, and one Gilder, for their Fees *per menſem*, and the Allowance of 7 *l. per menſem*, for ordinary Expences and neceſſary Proviſions for the ſaid Armory, cometh unto in all *per menſem* 32 *l.* 15 *s.* 6 *d.* which is *per annum*	449	19	6
To *Thomas Pit*, Gun-maker, 1 *s. per diem*	18	5	0
To *Iſrael Owen*, Gun maker, 1 *s. per diem*	18	5	0
To *Richard Philips*, Gun-maker, 1 *s. per diem*	18	5	0
To *John Philips*, Gun-founder, 8 *d. per diem*	12	3	4
To *John Heyborne*, Provider of Inſtruments of War, 8 *d. per diem*	12	3	4
To *John Fletcher*, Provider of Ropes and Matches for the Ordnance, 8 *d. per diem*	12	3	4
To *James Palfreyman*, Keeper of the Hand-guns and Demi-haggs in the Tower, 10 *d. per diem*	15	4	2
To *Andrew Kerwin*, Gunſtone-maker, 8 *d. per diem*	12	3	4
To *Thomas Brown*, Gunſtone-maker, 6 *d. per diem*	9	2	6
To *John Thomas*, Yeoman of the Ordnance	9	2	6
To *John Jefferſon*, Bow-maker, 6 *d. per diem*	9	2	6
More to him as Bow-ſtringer-maker, 6 *d. per diem*	9	2	6
To *John Powell*, Fletcher, Arrow-maker	9	2	6
To *Roger Chovin* Croſs-bow-maker 4 *d. per diem*	6	1	8
More to him as Maker of Hand-guns	12	0	0
To *Thomas Brown*, Maker of Iron Ordnance, 1 *s.* 6 *d. per diem*	27	7	6
To Sir *Richard Muſgrave*, Maſter and Surveyor in the North Parts, 5 *s. per diem* for himſelf, and 2 *s. per diem* for three Servants under him. In all *per annum*	146	0	0
To *Hugh Price*, Porter at the *Minoretts*, 8 *d. per diem*	12	3	4
The Total is	1397	11	11

Gunners.

To *William Hammond*, Maſter Gunner of *England*, 2 *s. per diem*	36	10	0
To fourteen Gunners in the Tower of *London*, to each of them 1 *s. per diem*, which cometh unto *per annum*	273	15	0
To eleven Gunners in the Tower of *London* to each of them 8 *d. per diem*, which in all cometh unto *per annum*	133	16	8
To eighty-ſix Gunners in the Tower of *London* to each of them 8 *d. per diem*, which in all cometh unto *per annum*	693	10	0
To two Gunners at *Carliſle* Caſtle, to each 1 *s. per diem*	36	10	0
To two Gunners more there, to each 6 *d. per diem*	18	5	0
To *Robert Leming*, Gunner at *Harwich*, 1 *s. per diem*	18	5	0
To *William Bull*, Maſter Gunner at *Windſor* Caſtle, 8 *d. per diem*	12	3	4
To *Richard Ratcliffe*, Gunner at the Fort of *Eaſtmerſey* in *Eſſex*, 8 *d. per diem*	12	3	4

To

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To *Richard Portriffe*, Gunner, at *Rye*, 6 *d. per Diem* . .	9	2	6
The Total *per Annum* is —	1244	0	10

Captains of Caſtles and Forts.

To *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Captain and Keeper of the Town and Iſle of *Portſmouth*, 10 *s. per Diem* for himſelf, and for the Wages of twenty Soldiers, to each 8 *d. per Diem*, cometh to in all	425	16	8
More to him for the Wages of one Maſter-Gunner at 10 *d. per Diem*, fifteen Gunners, each at 8 *d. per Diem*, fourteen Gunners, each at 6 *d. per Diem*, one Ancient, one Armorer, one Serjeant, one Drummer, one Fife, and a hundred Soldiers, each at 8 *d. per Diem*, in the ſaid Town and Iſle, which cometh unto in all *per Annum*	10062	19	2
To Sir *George Moore*, Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, for himſelf 200 *l. per Annum*, 1 *s.* 4 *d. per Diem* for eleven Yeomen Wardoners, to each 8 *d. per Diem*, and 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per Ann.* for Fire for them. In all *per Annum* . .	865	15	0
To Sir *Fardinando Gorges*, Captain of the new Fort at *Plymouth*, for himſelf and Soldiers there, 2 *l.* 16 *s. per Diem*, which cometh unto *per Annum*	1022	0	0
To Sir *John Parker*, Captain of *Pendennis* Caſtle, near *Falmouth*, 10 *s. per Diem* for himſelf and for the Wages of fifty Footmen there, at 8 *d. per Diem*, which cometh unto *per Annum*, in all	690	16	8
To Mr. *Francis Godolphin*, Captain of the Iſle of *Silley*, for the Wages of one Lieutenant, at 4 *s. per Diem*; another Lieutenant at 2 *s. per Diem*; for three Gunners, each at 10 *d. per Diem*; Forty-five Soldiers, each at 8 *d. per Diem*, being the Summer Company there, which cometh to (for 183 Days) for half the Year	352	5	6
More to him for Winter Company there, *viz.* one Lieutenant at 4 *s. per Diem*, another Lieutenant at 2 *s. per Diem*, three Gunners, each 10 *d. per Diem*, and twenty Soldiers, to each 8 *d. per Diem* for 182 Days for the other half Year, which cometh unto	198	13	8
To Sir *John Trevor*, Captain of *Upnor* Caſtle, for the Wages of twenty Soldiers there, each at 8 *d. per Diem*, which cometh unto in all *per annum*	243	6	8
To *Peter Temple*, Captain of *Camber* Caſtle, 2 *s. per Diem* for himſelf, and for eight Soldiers and ſix Gunners, each at 6 *d. per Diem*. In all *per Annum* . . .	164	5	0
To Sir *Robert Lane*, Captain of *South-ſea* Caſtle, 2 *s. per Diem* for himſelf; for one Porter 8 *d. per Diem*, and ten Gunners, each 6 *d. per Annum*	139	18	4

To

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To *Thomas Barker*, Captain of the green Bulwark of *Arcliff*, at *Dover*, and the black Bulwark there, 1 *s.* 4 *d. per Diem* for himſelf, and for four Gunners, and two Soldiers, each at 6 *d. per Diem*, which cometh unto in all *per Annum* . .	97	6	8
To *George Fenner*, Captain of *Sandgate* Caſtle, for his Fee *per Annum*	40	0	0
To *Anthony Lewes*, Captain of the Fort of *Weſtilbury*, 2 *s. per Diem*	36	10	0
To Captain of the Fort at *Milton*, for his Fee 20 *l. per Annum*, and 4 *d. per Diem.* In all . .	26	1	8
To *William Binge*, Captain of *Deal* Caſtle, his Fee *per Annum*	20	0	0
To *John Heydon*, Captain of *Sandown* Caſtle, his Fee *per Ann.*	20	0	0
To *William Boughton*, Captain of *Walmore* Caſtle, his Fee *per Annum*	20	0	0
To Sir *John Thorneborough*, Captain of *Scarborough* Caſtle, in *Com. Eboru. per Annum*	16	0	0
The Total is .	14441	15	0

There are divers Caſtles and Forts paid by the King's Receivers-General, and Sheriffs of Counties, which I cannot ſet down, becauſe no particular Mention doth expreſs it in the Records of the Receipts and Iſſues.

Officers of the Navy and Admiralty.

To *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord Admiral of *England*, for his Fee *per Annum*	133	6	8
To Sir *Francis Howard* Captain-General of the Narrow Seas, 1 *l. per Diem* for himſelf; for one Clerk under him, 8 *d. per Diem*, and for 16 Men under him, each at 10 *s. per Menſem*, 28 Days to each Month, which cometh unto in all *per Annum* .	481	3	4
To Sir *Robert Maunſell*, Treaſurer of the Navy, for himſelf 66 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per Annum*, and for two Clerks under him, each at 8 *d. per Diem*, and 8 *l. per Annum* for his Boat-hire. In all *per Annum*	91	0	0
More to him an Allowance of 6 *s.* 8 *d. per Diem* for his Pains about the Affairs of that Office . .	121	13	4
To Sir *Richard Bingley*, Surveyor of the Navy, for himſelf 40 *l. per Annum*, for two Clerks under him, each 8 *d. per Diem*, and 8 *l. per Annum* for his Boat-hire . .	72	6	8
More to him an Allowance of 4 *s. per Diem*, for his Pains about the Affairs of that Office	73	0	0
To Sir *Jeffery Slingſby*, Comptroller of the Navy, for himſelf 50 *l. per Annnm*, for two Clerks under him, each 8 *d. per Diem*, and 8 *d. per Annum* for Boat-hire. In all . .	82	6	8

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
More to him an Allowance of 4 *s. per Diem* for his Pains about the Affairs of that Office . . .	73	0	0
To Sir *Marmaduke Darrell* and Sir *Thomas Bludder*, Surveyors of the Marine Victuals for the King's Navy, for themſelves 50 *l. per Annum*, and for a Clerk under them 8 *d. per Diem*. In all *per Annum*	62	3	4
More to them an Allowance of 3 *s.* 4 *d. per Diem*, and for two Clerks under them, each 1 *s. per Diem*, for their Pains about the Affairs of that Office. In all *per Annum* . .	97	6	8
To *Peter Buck*, Clerk of the Navy for his Fee 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d. per Annum*, and 6 *l. per Annum* for his Boat-hire. In all *per Ann.*	39	6	8
More to him an Allowance of 3 *s.* 4 *d. per Diem*, for his Pains about the Affairs of that Office . . .	60	16	8
To *Thomas Baker*, Clerk of the Store at *Deptford*, 26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per Annum*, and 6 *l. per Annum* for his Boat-hire .	32	13	4
More to him an Allowance of 2 *s.* 6 *d. per Diem* for his Pains about the Affairs of that Office . . .	45	12	6
To *John Ackworth*, Keeper of the Store at *Woolwich*, 20 *l. per Ann.* 4 *l. per Annum* for his Boat-hire, and 1 *s.* 8 *d. per Diem* for Diet. In all	54	8	4
To *Thomas Wriotheſley*, one of the Aſſiſtants to the Officers of the Admiralty, *per Annum* . . .	20	0	0
To *Walter Portriff*, another of the Aſſiſtants, *per Ann.* .	20	0	0
To *Michael Geere*, another of the Aſſiſtants . .	20	0	0
To *John Grent*, Surveyor of the Tonnage, *per Annum* . .	18	5	0
To *William Bright*, Shipwright, 1 *s.* 8 *d. per Diem* . .	30	8	4
To *John Auſtin*, Shipwright, *per Annum* . . .	20	0	0
To *Matthew Baker*, Shipwright, 1 *s. per Diem* . .	18	5	0
To *Phineas Pett*, Shipwright, 1 *s. per Diem* . .	18	5	0
To *Robert Hudſon* and *George Rands*, for clearing the Roads *per Annum*	30	0	0
The Total *per Annum* is —	1715	7	6
The Total Sum of Fees and Annuities is —	25928	7	8

In Anno Septimo *of the King, there was one entire Subſidy granted by the Laiety throughout all* England, *for which was paid into the Receipt of the* Exchequer, *by the Collectors thereof, the Sum of* 69666 l. *and ſo by Eſtimation a Subſidy is ſo valued; which, for more Particularity, is here diſtinguiſhed, as it it collected in each ſeveral Shire of* England, *and as each Shire payeth*, viz.

Berk. - - - *l.* 963	Ceſtria. - - - *l.* 871	Dorſet. - - - *l.* 1239
Buck. - - - 1526	Cumberl. - - - 516	Derb. - - - 644
Bedd. - - - - 721	Cornub. - - - 1784	Devon. - - - 5821
Cantab. - - - 1205	Dunolme - - - 61	Eſſex. - - - 2653

Eboru.

Eboru. - - *l.* 4070	Monmouth - - *l.* 293	Surr. - - - *l.* 2286
Glouc. - - - 1748	Nott. - - 593	Suſſex - - - 1705
Hertff. - - 1221	North. - - - 980	Somerſet - - - 4249
Hereff. - - - 1105	Norff. - - - 2840	Wigorn - - 1178
Hunt. - - 553	Northumberl. - 129	Weſtminſter - - 102
Kancia. - - 3042	Oxon. - - - 1109	Wilts - - - 2240
Lanc. - - - 978	Rutl. - - - 174	Warr. - - - 918
Leic. - - - 805	Salop. - - - 787	Of the Nobility - 3180
Lincolne - - 2571	South. - - 2412	Within the King's
London - - - 5178	Staff. - - - 681	Houſe - - - 1101
Midd. - - - 1512	Suff. - - - 2824	

Shires in Wales.

Angliſſ.	Cardigan.	Merioneth. - - *l.* 120
Bercon.	Denbigh.	Montgomery
Carnarvon.	Flint.	Pembroc.
Carmarth. - - *l.* 101	Glamorgan.	Radnor. - - 41

Total of the whole Collection of *England* and *Wales*, amounteth to — — — *l.* 69666

The Reaſon why moſt of theſe *Welch* Shires ſtand with Blanks is, becauſe they pay no Subſidies now they are charged with the Mizes they pay unto the Prince of *Wales:* And until this ſeventh Year of the King, the Shires of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, never paid any Subſidy or Fifteenth, becauſe they were at a continual Charge in Defence of the Borders againſt *Scotland*.

One 15th and 10th of the Laiety cometh unto — *l.* 36500

Every City, Hundred, Town, and Village, pays in, for Fifteenths and Tenths, no more than they are chargeable by the antient Roll and Tax ſet upon them, ſo that their Payments are certain.

The Dividend of the 13000 l. *diſtributed amongſt the Governors and Officers of the Towns of* Uluſhing *and* Brill, *in Recompence of the Loſs of their Places, upon Surrender of the ſaid Towns to the Lords the States of the United Provinces.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To Captain *Moyle*	400	0	0
To *Edmond Gentill*, Provoſt-Marſhal of the *Brill* . .	400	0	0
To two Water-Bailiffs of the Towns, *viz.* to each 400 *l.* out of which their Deputies to be allowed *pro rata* .	800	0	0
To two Commiſſaries of Muſters, to each 400 *l.* . .	800	0	0
To two Clerks of the Ordnance, to each 100 *l.* . .	200	0	0
To two Maſter-Gunners, to each 100 *l.* . .	200	0	0

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
To two Maſter-Gunners Mates, to each 100 Marks	133	6	8
To eight Quarter-Maſter Gunners, to each 50*l.*	400	0	0
To two Aſſiſtants, to each 40 *l.*	80	0	0
To ten Cannoneers, amongſt them	80	0	0
To the Lady *Browne*	300	0	0
To Monſieur *Block*	150	0	0
To Sir *William Waade* and *Clement Edmonds*, in Recompence of the Reverſions of Offices they had there, to each of them 400 *l.* In all	800	0	0
To Sir *William Waade*, due to him upon a former Warrant, payable out of the Checks	600	0	0
To two Preachers between them	76	13	4
To be employed for redeeming of ſo many Penſions as ſhall amount unto the Sum of 2500 *l. per annum*, granted to the Governors and ſome other Officers of the ſaid Towns to be diſpoſed by the Lord Treaſurer and Chancellor of the *Exchequer* for that Uſe.	7500	0	0
Memorandum. This agreeth with the Schedule ſigned by the King			
The Total Sum is —	12920	0	0

Memorandum. The Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, Governor of the Town of *Uluſhing* and the Caſtle of *Ramakins*, hath, in Recompence of that Place, a Penſion out of the Receipt of the *Exchequer* at *Weſtminſter* of 1200 *l. per ann.* during his Life.

Sir *Horatio Vere*, Governor of *Brill*, hath alſo, during his Life, in Recompence 800 *l. per annum.*

And Sir *Edward Conway* a Penſion, during his Life, of 500 *l. per annum.*

Reader, be pleaſed to take Notice, That the Printer varies not from the original Copy, neither one Way or other; and if any worthy Gentleman, or Man of Quality, is not well ſatisfied in any of theſe Particulars, but makes a Queſtion, or doubteth of the Truth of any of them, let him repair to the Stationer that hath been at the Charge of Printing, or the Gentleman that hath been the Preſerver of theſe original Copies, there they ſhall have a View gratis *of all, and full Satisfaction, to clear ſome Errors formerly printed, and falſly publiſhed.*

The

The GOVERNMENT of the COMMONWEALTH of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, as it was publickly declared at *Weſtminſter* the 16th Day of *December*, 1653. in the Preſence of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal of *England*, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, divers of the Judges of the Land, the Officers of State and Army, and many other Perſons of Quality; at which Time and Place his Highneſs, OLIVER *Lord Protector* of the ſaid Commonwealth, took a ſolemn Oath for obſerving the ſame.

Publiſhed by His Highneſs the Lord Protector's *ſpecial Commandment.*

Printed in the Year 1653.

I. THAT the ſupreme Legiſlative Authority of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, ſhall be and reſide in one Perſon, and the People aſſembled in Parliament; the Stile of which Perſon ſhall be *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

II. That the Exerciſe of the chief Magiſtracy and Adminiſtration of the Government over the ſaid Countries and Dominions, and the People thereof, ſhall be in the *Lord Protector*, aſſiſted with a Council; the Number whereof ſhall not exceed Twenty-one, nor be leſs than Thirteen.

III. That all Writs, Proceſſes, Commiſſions, Patents, Grants, and other Things, which now run in the Name and Style of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England* by Authority of Parliament, ſhall run in the Name and Style of the *Lord Protector*, from whom, for the future, ſhall be derived all Magiſtracy and Honours in theſe three Nations; and ſhall have the Power of Pardons, (except in Caſe of Murder and Treaſon) and Benefit of all Forfeitures for the public Uſe: And ſhall govern the ſaid Countries and Dominions in all Things by the Advice of the Council, and according to theſe Preſents and the Laws.

IV. That the *Lord Protector*, the Parliament ſitting, ſhall diſpoſe and order the Militia and Forces both by Sea and Land, for the Peace and Good of the three Nations, by Conſent of Parliament; and that the *Lord Protector*, with the Advice and Conſent of the major Part of the Council, ſhall diſpoſe and order the Militia for the Ends aforeſaid, in the Intervals of Parliament.

V. That the *Lord Protector*, by the Advice aforeſaid, ſhall direct, in all Things, concerning the keeping and holding of a good Correſpondence with Foreign

reign Kings, Princes and States; and alſo, with the Conſent of the major Part of the Council, have the Power of War and Peace.

VI. That the Laws ſhall not be altered, ſuſpended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new Law made, nor any Tax, Charge, or Impoſition laid upon the People, but by common Conſent in Parliament, ſave only as is expreſſed in the 30th Article.

VII. That there ſhall be a Parliament ſummoned to meet at *Weſtminſter* upon the third Day of *September*, one thouſand ſix hundred fifty-four; and that ſucceſſively a Parliament ſhall be ſummoned once in every third Year, to be accounted from the Diſſolution of the preceding Parliament.

VIII. That neither the Parliament to be next ſummoned, nor any ſucceſſive Parliaments, ſhall, during the Time of five Months, to be accounted from the Day of their firſt Meeting, be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without their own Conſent.

IX. That as well the next, as all other ſucceſſive Parliaments, ſhall be ſummoned, and elected in Manner hereafter expreſſed; that is to ſay, The Perſons to be choſen within *England*, *Wales*, the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, to ſit and ſerve in Parliament, ſhall be, and not exceed, the Number of Four hundred: The Perſons to be choſen within *Scotland*, to ſit and ſerve in Parliament, ſhall be, and not exceed, the Number of Thirty: And the Perſons to be choſen to ſit in Parliament for *Ireland*, ſhall be, and not exceed, the Number of Thirty.

X. That the Perſons to be elected to ſit in Parliament from time to time for the ſeveral Counties of *England*, *Wales*, the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, and all Places within the ſame reſpectively, ſhall be according to the Proportions and Numbers hereafter expreſſed, that is to ſay,

For the County of *Bedford*, ſix; *viz.*
For the Town of *Bedford*, one.
For the County of *Bedford*, five.

For the County of *Berks*, ſeven; *viz.*
For the Borough of *Abingdon*, one.
For the Borough of *Reading*, one.
For the County of *Berks*, five.

For the County of *Bucks*, eight; *viz.*
For the Town of *Buckingham*, one.
For the Borough of *Ayleſbury*, one.
For the Borough of *Wiccomb*, one.
For the County of *Bucks*, five.

For the County of *Cambridge* and Iſle of *Ely*, eight; *viz.*
For the Town of *Cambridge*, one.
For the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, one.

For

For the Iſle of *Ely*, two.
For the County of *Cambridge*, four.

For the County of *Cheſter*, five; *viz.*
For the City of *Cheſter*, one.
For the County of *Cheſter*, four.

For the County of *Cornwall*, twelve; *viz.*
For the Borough of *Duniſhwet*, otherwiſe *Launceſton*, one.
For the Borough of *Truro*, one.
For the Borough of *Penryn*, one.
For the Boroughs of *Eaſtlow* and *Weſtlow*, one.
For the County of *Cornwall*, eight.

For the County of *Cumberland*, three; *viz.*
For the City of *Carliſle*, one.
For the County of *Cumberland*, two.

For the County of *Derby*, five; *viz.*
For the Town of *Derby*, one.
For the County of *Derby*, four.

For the County of *Devon*, twenty; *viz.*
For the City of *Exeter*, two.
For the Borough of *Plymouth*, two.
For the Boroughs of *Dartmouth*, *Cliſton*, and *Hardneſs*, one.
For the Borough of *Totneſs*, *one.*
For the Borough of *Barnſtable*, one.
For the Borough of *Tiverton*, one.
For the Borough of *Honiton*, one.
For the County of *Devon*, eleven.

For the County of *Dorſet*, ten; *viz.*
For the Borough of *Dorcheſter*, one.
For the Boroughs of *Weymouth* and *Melcomb-Regis*, one.
For the Borough of *Lyme-Regis*, one.
For the Town and County of *Pool*, one.
For the County of *Dorſet*, ſix.

For the County of *Durham*, three; *viz.*
For the City of *Durham*, one.
For the County of *Durham*, two.

For the County of *York*, twenty-two; *viz.*
For the City of *York*, two.
For the Town of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, one.

For

For the Borough of *Beverley*, one.
For the Borough of *Scarborough*, one.
For the Borough of *Richmond*, one.
For the Town of *Leeds*, one.
For the Town and Pariſh of *Halliſax*, one.
For the County of *York*, fourteen, to be choſen diſtinctly by the three Ridings; that is to ſay, for the *Weſt* Riding, ſix; for the *Eaſt* Riding, four; for the *North* Riding four.

For the County of *Eſſex*, ſixteen; *viz.*
For the Borough of *Maldon*, one.
For the Borough of *Colcheſter*, two.
For the County of *Eſſex*, thirteen.

For the County of *Glouceſter*, and County of the City of *Glouceſter*, nine; *viz.*
For the City of *Glouceſter*, two.
For the Borough of *Tewkſberry*, one.
For the Borough of *Cirenceſter*, one.
For the County, and the County of the City of *Glouceſter*, except the ſaid City, five

For the County of *Hereford*, ſix; *viz.*
For the City of *Hereford*, one.
For the Borough of *Leominſter*, one.
For the County of *Hereford*, four.

For the County of *Hertford*, ſeven, *viz.*
For the Town of *St. Albans*, one.
For the Borough of *Hertford*, one.
For the County of *Hertford*, five.

For the County of *Huntington*, four; *viz.*
For the Borough of *Huntingdon*, one.
For the County of *Huntingdon*, three.

For the County of *Kent*, eighteen; *viz.*
For the City of *Canterbury*, two.
For the City of *Roche ſter*, one.
For the Borough of *Maidſtone*, one.
For the Port of *Dover*, one.
For the Port of *Sandwich*, one.
For the Borough of *Queenborough*, one.
For the County of *Kent*, eleven.

For the County of *Lancaſter*, eight; *viz.*
For the Borough of *Preſton* in *Anderneſs*, one.
For the Borough of *Lancaſter*, one.
For the Borough of *Liverpool*, one.
For the Town and Pariſh of *Mancheſter*, one.
For the County of *Lancaſter*, four.

For the County of *Leiceſter*, ſix; *viz.*
For the Borough of *Leiceſter*, two.
For the County of *Leiceſter*, four.

For the County of *Lincoln*, ſixteen; *viz.*
For the City of *Lincoln*, two.
For the Town of *Boſton*, one.
For the Borough of *Grantham*, one.
For the Town of *Stamford*, one.
For the Town of *Great Grimſby*, one.
For the County of *Lincoln*, ten.

For the County of *Middleſex*, ſix; *viz.*
For the City of *Weſtminſter*, two.
For the County of *Middleſex*, four.

For the City of *London*, ſix.

For the County of *Monmouth*, three.

For the County of *Norfolk*, ſixteen; *viz.*
For the City of *Norwich*, two.
For the Town of *Lynn-Regis*, two.
For the Town of *Great Yarmouth*, two.
For the County of *Norfolk*, ten.

For the County of *Northampton*, eight, *viz.*
For the City of *Peterborough*, one.
For the Town of *Northampton*, one.
For the County of *Northampton*, ſix.

For the County of *Nottingham*, ſix; *viz.*
For the Town of *Nottingham*, two.
For the County of *Nottingham*, four.

For the County of *Northumberland*, five; *viz.*
For the Town of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*, one.
For the Town of *Berwick*, one.
For the County of *Northumberland*, three.

For the County of *Oxford*, eight; *viz.*
For the City of *Oxford*, one.
For the Univerſity of *Oxford*, one.
For the Borough of *Woodſtock*, one.
For the County of *Oxford*, five.

For the County of *Rutland*, two.

For the County of *Salop*, eight; *viz.*
For the Town of *Shrewſbury*, two.
For the Borough of *Bruges*, alias *Bridgnorth*, one.
For the Borough of *Ludlow*, one.
For the County of *Salop*, four.

For the County of *Stafford*, ſix; *viz.*
For the City of *Litchfield*, one.
For the Town of *Stafford*, one.
For the Borough of *Newcaſtle* under *Lyne*, one.
For the County of *Stafford*, three.

For the County of *Somerſet*, ſixteen; *viz.*
For the Borough of *Taunton*, two.
For the City of *Bath*, one.
For the City of *Wells*, one.
For the Borough of *Bridgwater*, one.
For the County of *Somerſet*, eleven.

For the City of *Briſtol*, two.

For the County of *Southampton*, fourteen; *viz.*
For the City of *Wincheſter*, one.
For the Town of *Southampton*, one.
For the Town of *Portſmouth*, one.
For the Iſle of *Wight*, two.
For the Borough of *Andover*, one.
Por the County of *Southampton*, eight.

For the County of *Suffolk*, ſixteen; *viz.*
For the Borough of *Ipſwich*, two.
For the Borough of *Bury St. Edmunds*, two.
For the Borough of *Dunwich*, one.
For the Borough of *Sudbury*, one.
For the County of *Suffolk*, ten.

For the County of *Surrey*, ten; *viz.*
For the Borough of *Southwark*, two.

For the Borough of *Guilford*, one.
For the Borough of *Rygate*, one.
For the County of *Surrey*, ſix.

For the County of *Suſſex*, fourteen; *viz.*
For the City of *Chicheſter*, one.
For the Borough of *Lewes*, one.
For the Borough of *Eaſt-Grinſtead*, one.
For the Borough of *Arundel*, one.
For the Borough of *Rye*, one.
For the County of *Suſſex*, nine.

For the County of *Weſtmoreland*, two.

For the County of *Warwick*, ſeven; *viz.*
For the City of *Coventry*, two.
For the Borough of *Warwick*, one.
For the County of *Warwick*, four.

For the County of *Worceſter*, ſeven, *viz.*
For the City and County of the City of *Worceſter*, two.
For the County of *Worceſter*, five.

For the County of *Wilts*, fourteen; *viz.*
For the City of *New Sarum*, two.
For the Borough of *Marlborough*, one.
For the Borough of the *Devizes*, one.
For the County of *Wilts*, ten.

For the County of *Angleſea*, two.

For the County of *Brecon*, two.

For the County of *Cardigan*, two.

For the County of *Caermarthen*, two.

For the County of *Caernarvon*, two.

For the County of *Denbigh*, two.

For the County of *Flint*, two.

For the County of *Glamorgan*, three; *viz.*
For the Town of *Cardiffe*, one.
For the County of *Glamorgan*, two.

For the County of *Merioneth*, one.

For the County of *Montgomery*, two.

For the County of *Pembroke*, three; *viz.*
For the Town of *Haverford-weſt*, one.
For the County of *Pembroke*, two.

For the County of *Radnor*, two.

The Diſtribution of the Perſons to be choſen for *Scotland*, and the ſeveral Counties, Cities, and Places within the ſame, ſhall be according to ſuch Proportions and Number, as ſhall be agreed upon and declared by the *Lord Protector* and the major Part of the Council, before the ſending forth Writs of Summons for the next Parliament. The Diſtribution of the Perſons to be choſen for *Ireland*, and the ſeveral Counties, Cities, and Places within the ſame, ſhall be according to ſuch Proportions and Number, as ſhall be agreed upon, and declared by the *Lord Protector*, and the major Part of the Council, before the ſending forth Writs of Summons for the next Parliament.

XI. That the Summons to Parliament ſhall be by Writ under the Great Seal of *England*, directed to the Sheriffs of the ſeveral and reſpective Counties, with ſuch Alteration as may ſuit with the preſent Government, to be made by the *Lord Protector* and his Council, which the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, ſhall ſeal, iſſue, and ſend abroad, by Warrant from the *Lord Protector*. If the *Lord Protector* ſhall not give Warrant for iſſuing of Writs of Summons for the next Parliament, before the firſt Day of *June*, one thouſand ſix hundred fifty-four, or for the Triennial Parliaments before the firſt Day of *Auguſt* in every third Year, to be accounted as aforeſaid; that then the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal for the Time being, ſhall, without any Warrant or Direction, within ſeven Days after the ſaid firſt Day of *June*, one thouſand ſix hundred fifty-four, ſeal, iſſue, and ſend abroad Writs of Summons (changing therein what is to be changed as aforeſaid) to the ſeveral and reſpective Sheriffs of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for ſummoning the Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, the third of *September* next; and ſhall likewiſe, within ſeven Days after the ſaid firſt Day of *Auguſt*, in every third Year, to be accounted from the Diſſolution of the precedent Parliament, ſeal, iſſue, and ſend abroad ſeveral Writs of Summons, changing therein what is to be changed, as aforeſaid, for ſummoning the Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter* the ſixth of *November* in that third Year. That the ſaid ſeveral and reſpective Sheriffs ſhall, within ten Days after the Receipt of ſuch Writs as aforeſaid, cauſe the ſame to be proclaimed and publiſhed in every Market-Town within his County, upon the Market-Days thereof, between twelve and three of the Clock; and ſhall then alſo publiſh and declare the certain Day of the Week and Month for chooſing Members to ſerve in Parliament for the Body of the ſaid County, according to the Tenor of the ſaid Writ, which ſhall be on *Wedneſday* five Weeks after the Date of the Writ;

and

and ſhall likewiſe declare the Place where the Election ſhall be made; for which Purpoſe he ſhall appoint the moſt convenient Place for the whole County to meet in, and ſhall ſend Precepts for Elections to be made in all and every City, Town, Borough or Place within his County, where Elections are to be made by virtue of theſe Preſents, to the Mayor, Sheriff, or other Head-Officer of ſuch City, Town, Borough, or Place, within three Days after the Receipt of ſuch Writ and Writs, which the ſaid Mayors, Sheriffs and Officers reſpectively, are to make Publication of, and of the certain Day for ſuch Elections to be made in the ſaid City, Town, or Place aforeſaid, and to cauſe Elections to be made accordingly.

XII. That at the Day and Place of Elections, the Sheriff of each County, and the ſaid Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Head-Officers within their Cities, Towns, Boroughs, and Places reſpectively, ſhall take View of the ſaid Elections, and ſhall make Return into the Chancery within twenty Days after the ſaid Elections of the Perſons elected by the greater Number of Electors, under their Hands and Seals, between him on the one Part, and the Electors on the other Part; wherein ſhall be contained, That the Perſons elected ſhall not have Power to alter the Government, as it is hereby ſettled in one ſingle Perſon and a Parliament.

XIII. That the Sheriff, who ſhall wittingly and willingly make any falſe Return, or neglect his Duty, ſhall incur the Penalty of two thouſand Merks of lawful *Engliſh* Money; the one Moiety to the *Lord Protector*, and the other Moiety to ſuch Perſons as will ſue for the ſame.

XIV. That all and every Perſon and Perſons, who have aided, adviſed, aſſiſted, or abetted in any War againſt the Parliament, ſince the firſt Day of *January*, one thouſand ſix hundred forty one (unleſs they have been ſince in the Service of the Parliament, and given ſignal Teſtimony of their good Affections thereunto) ſhall be diſabled, and be uncapable to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Members to ſerve in the next Parliament or in the Three ſucceeding Triennial Parliaments.

XV. That all ſuch who have adviſed, aſſiſted, or abetted the Rebellion of *Ireland*, ſhall be diſabled and uncapable for ever to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Member to ſerve in Parliament; as alſo all ſuch who do or ſhall profeſs the Roman Catholic Religion.

XVI. That all Votes and Elections given, or made contrary, or not according to theſe Qualifications, ſhall be null and void: And if any Perſon, who is hereby made uncapable, ſhall give his Vote for Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament, ſuch Perſon ſhall loſe and forfeit one full Year's Value of his real Eſtate, and one full third Part of his perſonal Eſtate; one Moiety thereof to the *Lord Protector*, and the other Moiety to him, or them who ſhall ſue for the ſame.

XVII. That the Perſons who ſhall be elected to ſerve in Parliament, ſhall be ſuch (and no other than ſuch) as are Perſons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good Converſation, and being of the Age of One and Twenty Years.

XVIII. That all and every Perſon and Perſons, ſeized or poſſeſſed to his Uſe, of any Eſtate, real or perſonal, to the Value of Two Hundred Pounds,

and

and not within the aforeſaid Exceptions, ſhall be capable to elect Members to ſerve in Parliament for Counties.

XIX. That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, ſhall be ſworn before they enter into their Offices, truly and faithfully to iſſue forth and ſend abroad Writs of Summons to Parliaments at the Times, and in the manner before expreſſed: And in caſe of Neglect or Failure, to iſſue and ſend abroad Writs accordingly, he or they ſhall, for every ſuch Offence, be guilty of High Treaſon, and ſuffer the Pains and Penalties thereof.

XX. That in caſe Writs be not iſſued out, as is before expreſſed, but that there be a Neglect therein, fifteen Days after the Time wherein the ſame ought to be iſſued out by the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, that then the Parliament ſhall, as often as ſuch Failure ſhall happen, aſſemble and be held at *Weſtminſter*, in the uſual Place, at the Times prefixed, in Manner, and by the Means hereafter expreſſed; that is to ſay, that the Sheriffs of the ſeveral and reſpective Counties, Sheriffdoms, Cities, Boroughs, and Places aforeſaid, within *England*, *Wales*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, the Chancellor, Maſters, and Scholars of the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and the Mayor and Bailiffs of the Borough of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, and other the Places aforeſaid reſpectively, ſhall, at the ſeveral Courts and Places to be appointed as aforeſaid, within thirty Days after the ſaid fifteen Days, cauſe ſuch Members to be choſen for their ſaid ſeveral and reſpective Counties, Shrievedoms, Univerſities, Cities, Boroughs, and Places aforeſaid, by ſuch Perſons, and in ſuch manner, as if ſeveral and reſpective Writs of Summons to Parliament, under the Great Seal, had iſſued and been awarded according to the Tenor aforeſaid: That if the Sheriff, or other Perſons authorized, ſhall neglect his or their Duty herein: That all and every ſuch Sheriff and Perſon authorized as aforeſaid, ſo neglecting his or their Duty, ſhall, for every ſuch Offence, be guilty of High-Treaſon, and ſhall ſuffer the Pains and Penalties thereof.

XXI. That the Clerk, called, *The Clerk of the Commonwealth*, in *Chancery*, for the Time being, and all others, who ſhall afterwards execute that Office, to whom the Returns ſhall be made, ſhall, for the next Parliament, and the two ſucceeding Triennial Parliaments, the next Day after ſuch Return, certify the Names of the ſeveral Perſons ſo returned, and of the Places for which he and they were choſen reſpectively unto the Council, who ſhall peruſe the ſaid Returns, and examine, whether the Perſons ſo elected and returned be ſuch as is agreeable to the Qualifications, and not diſabled to be elected: And that every Perſon and Perſons being ſo duly elected, and being approved of by the major Part of the Council to be Perſons not diſabled, but qualified as aforeſaid, ſhall be eſteemed a Member of Parliament, and be admitted to ſit in Parliament, and not otherwiſe.

XXII. That the Perſons choſen and aſſembled in manner aforeſaid, or any Sixty of them, ſhall be, and be deemed the Parliament of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the ſupreme Legiſlative Power to be and reſide in the *Lord Protector* and ſuch Parliament, in manner herein expreſſed.

XXIII.

XXIII. That the *Lord Protector*, with the Advice of the major Part of the Council, ſhall at any other Time than is before expreſſed, when the Neceſſities of the State ſhall require it, ſummon Parliaments in manner before expreſſed, which ſhall not be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without their own Conſent, during the firſt three Months of their Sitting: And in caſe of future War with any Foreign State, a Parliament ſhall be forthwith ſummoned for their Advice concerning the ſame.

XXIV. That all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament, ſhall be preſented to the *Lord Protector* for his Conſent; and in caſe he ſhall not give his Conſent thereto within twenty Days after they ſhall be preſented to him, or give Satisfaction to the Parliament, within the Time limited, that then, upon Declaration of the Parliament, That the *Lord Protector* hath not conſented, nor given Satisfaction, ſuch Bills ſhall paſs into, and become Laws, although he ſhall not give his Conſent thereunto; provided ſuch Bills contain nothing in them contrary to the Matters contained in theſe Preſents.

XXV. That *Philip* Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, *Charles Fleetwood*, Eſquire; *John Lambert*, Eſquire; Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Baronet; Sir *Charles Wolſeley*, Baronet, Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, Baronet; *Edward Montagu*, Eſquire; *John Deſborow*, Eſquire; *Walter Strickland*, Eſquire; *Henry Lawrence*, Eſquire; *William Sydenham*, Eſquire; *Philip Jones*, Eſquire; *Richard Major*, Eſquire; *Francis Rous*, *Philip Skippon*, Eſquires; or any Seven of them, ſhall be a Council for the Purpoſes expreſſed in this Writing: And, upon the Death, or other Removal of any of them, the Parliament ſhall nominate ſix Perſons of Ability, Integrity, and fearing God, for every one that is dead or removed, out of which the major Part of the Council ſhall elect two, and preſent them to the *Lord Protector*, of which he ſhall elect one: And in caſe the Parliament ſhall not nominate within twenty Days after notice given unto them thereof, the major Part of the Council ſhall nominate Three, as aforeſaid, to the *Lord Protector*, who out of them ſhall ſupply the Vacancy; and until this Choice be made, the remaining Part of the Council ſhall execute as fully, in all Things, as if their Number were full: And in caſe of Corruption, or other Miſcarriage in any of the Council in their Truſt, the Parliament ſhall appoint Seven of their Numbers, and the Council Six, who, together with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, for the Time being, ſhall have Power to hear and determine ſuch Corruption and Miſcarriage, and to award and inflict Puniſhment, as the Nature of the Offence ſhall deſerve; which Puniſhment ſhall not be pardoned or remitted by the *Lord Protector*: And in the Interval of Parliaments, the major Part of the Council, with the Conſent of the *Lord Protector*, may, for Corruption, or other Miſcarriage as aforeſaid, ſuſpend any of their Number from the Exerciſe of their Truſt, if they ſhall find it juſt, until the Matter ſhall be heard and examined as aforeſaid.

XXVI. That the *Lord Protector*, and the major Part of the Council aforeſaid, may at any Time, before the meeting of the next Parliament, add to the Council ſuch Perſons as they ſhall think fit, provided the Number of the Council be not made thereby to exceed One and Twenty, and the *Quorum* to be

be proportioned accordingly by the *Lord Protector*, and the major Part of the Council.

XXVII. That a conſtant yearly Revenue ſhall be raiſed, ſettled and eſtabliſhed for maintaining of Ten Thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, and Twenty Thouſand Foot in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for the Defence and Security thereof, and alſo for a convenient Number of Ships, for guarding of the Seas; beſides Two Hundred thouſand Pounds *per annum* for defraying the other neceſſary Charges for Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and other Expences of the Government; which Revenue ſhall be raiſed by the Cuſtoms, and ſuch other Ways and Means as ſhall be agreed upon by the *Lord Protector* and Council, and ſhall not be taken away or diminiſhed, nor the Way agreed upon for raiſing the ſame altered, but by the Conſent of the *Lord Protector* and the Parliament.

XXVIII. That the ſaid yearly Revenue ſhall be paid into the public Treaſury, and ſhall be iſſued out for the Uſes aforeſaid.

XXIX. That in caſe there ſhall not be Cauſe hereafter to keep up ſo great a Defence at Land or Sea, but that there be an Abatement made thereof, the Money which will be ſaved thereby, ſhall remain in Bank for the public Service, and not be employed to any other Uſe but by Conſent of Parliament, or in the Intervals of Parliament, by the *Lord Protector*, and major Part of the Council.

XXX. That the raiſing of Money for defraying the Charge of preſent extraordinary Forces, both at Land and Sea, in reſpect of the preſent Wars, ſhall be by Conſent in Parliament, and not otherwiſe, ſave only that the *Lord Protector*, with the Conſent of the major Part of the Council, for preventing the Diſorders and Dangers which may otherwiſe fall out both at Sea and Land, ſhall have Power, until the meeting of the firſt Parliament, to raiſe Money for the Purpoſes aforeſaid, and alſo to make Laws and Ordinances for the Peace and Welfare of theſe Nations, where it ſhall be neceſſary, which ſhall be binding and in force, until Order ſhall be taken in Parliament concerning the ſame.

XXXI. That the Lands, Tenements, Rents, Royalties, Juriſdictions, and Hereditaments, which remain yet unſold or undiſpoſed of by Act or Ordinance of Parliament, belonging to the Commonwealth (except the Foreſts and Chaces, and the Honours and Manors belonging to the ſame; the Lands of the Rebels in *Ireland*, lying in the four Counties of *Dublin*, *Cork*, *Kildare*, and *Katerlaugh*; the Lands forfeited by the People of *Scotland*, in the late Wars; and alſo the Lands of Papiſts and Delinquents in *England*, who have not yet compounded) ſhall be veſted in the *Lord Protector*, to hold, to him and his Succeſſors, *Lord Protectors* of theſe Nations, and ſhall not be aliened but by Conſent in Parliament: And all Debts, Fines, Iſſues, Amerciaments, Penalties and Profits, certain and caſual, due to the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, by Authority of Parliament, ſhall be due to the *Lord Protector*, and be payable into his public Receipt, and ſhall be recovered and proſecuted in his Name.

XXXII.

XXXII. That the Office of the *Lord Protector*, over theſe Nations, ſhall be elective, and not hereditary; and upon the Death of the *Lord Protector*, another fit Perſon ſhall be forthwith elected to ſucceed him in the Government, which Election ſhall be by the Council; who, immediately upon the Death of the *Lord Protector*, ſhall aſſemble in the Chamber where they uſually ſit in Council; and having given Notice to all their Number of the Cauſe of their aſſembling, ſhall, being Thirteen at leaſt preſent, proceed to the Election, and before they depart out of the ſaid Chamber, ſhall elect a fit Perſon to ſucceed in the Government, and forthwith cauſe Proclamation thereof to be made in all the three Nations as ſhall be requiſite: And the Perſon that they or the major Part of them ſhall elect, as aforeſaid, ſhall be, and ſhall be taken to be *Lord Protector* over theſe Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging; provided that none of the Children of the late King, nor any of his Line, or Family, be elected to be *Lord Protector*, or other chief Magiſtrate over theſe Nations, or any of the Dominions thereto belonging: And until the aforeſaid Election be paſt, the Council ſhall take Care of the Government, and adminiſter in all Things as fully as the *Lord Protector*, or the *Lord Protector* and Council are enabled to do.

XXXIII. That *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of the Forces of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, ſhall be, and is hereby declared to be *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging for his Life.

XXXIV. That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Treaſurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and the chief Juſtices of both the Benches, ſhall be choſen by the Approbation of Parliament, and in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Approbation of the major Part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament.

XXXV. That the Chriſtian Religion, contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the public Profeſſion of theſe Nations; and that as ſoon as may be, a Proviſion leſs ſubject to Scruple and Contention, and more certain than the preſent, be made for the Encouragement and Maintenance of able and painful Teachers for inſtructing the People, and for Diſcovery and Confutation of Error, Hereſy, and whatever is contrary to ſound Doctrine: And that, until ſuch Proviſion be made, the preſent Maintenance ſhall not be taken away nor impeached.

XXXVI. That to the public Profeſſion held forth, none ſhall be compelled by Penalties or otherwiſe, but that Endeavours be uſed to win them by ſound Doctrine, and the Example of a good Converſation.

XXXVII. That ſuch as profeſs Faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt (though differing in Judgment from the Doctrine, Worſhip, or Diſcipline, publickly held forth) ſhall not be reſtrained from, but ſhall be protected in the Profeſſion of the Faith, and Exerciſe of their Religion, ſo as they abuſe not this Liberty, to the civil Injury of others, and to the actual Diſturbance of the public Peace on their Parts; provided this Liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to ſuch as, under the Profeſſion of Chriſt, hold forth and practiſe Licentiouſneſs.

XXXVIII. That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Clauſes in any Law, Statute and Ordinance to the contrary of the aforeſaid Liberty, ſhall be eſteemed as null and void.

XXXIX. That the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, made for the Sale or other Diſpoſition of the Lands, Rents and Hereditaments of the late King, Queen and Prince, of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, *&c.* Deans and Chapters, the Lands of Delinquents, and Foreſt Lands, or any of them; or of any other Lands, Tenements, Rents and Hereditaments, belonging to the Commonwealth, ſhall no way be impeached or made invalid; but ſhall remain good and firm: And that the Securities given by Act and Ordinance of Parliament for any Sum or Sums of Money, by any of the ſaid Lands, the Exciſe, or by any other public Revenue; and alſo the Securities given by the public Faith of the Nation; and the Engagement of the public Faith for Satisfaction of Debts and Damages, ſhall remain firm and good, and not be made void and invalid upon any Pretence whatſoever.

XL. That the Articles given to or made with the Enemy, and afterwards confirmed by Parliament, ſhall be performed and made good to the Perſons concerned therein. And that ſuch Appeals as were depending in the laſt Parliament, for Relief concerning Bills of Sale of Delinquents Eſtates, may be heard and determined the next Parliament, any Thing in this Writing, or otherwiſe to the contrary notwithſtanding.

XLI. That every ſucceſſive *Lord Protector* over theſe Nations, ſhall take and ſubſcribe a ſolemn Oath, in the Preſence of the Council, and ſuch others as they ſhall call to them, That he will ſeek the Peace, Quiet, and Welfare of theſe Nations, cauſe Law and Juſtice to be equally adminiſtred, and that he will not violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained in this Writing; and in all other Things will, to his Power, and to the beſt of his Underſtanding, govern theſe Nations, according to the Laws, Statutes and Cuſtoms.

XLII. That each Perſon of the Council ſhall, before they enter upon their Truſt, take and ſubſcribe an Oath, That they will be true and faithful in their Truſt, according to the beſt of their Knowledge; and that, in the Election of every ſucceſſive *Lord Protector*, they ſhall proceed therein impartially, and do nothing therein for any Promiſe, Fear, Favour, or Reward.

The Oath taken by his Highneſs OLIVER CROMWELL, Lord Protector.

WHEREAS the major Part of the laſt Parliament (judging that their ſitting any longer, as then conſtituted, would not be for the Good of this Commonwealth) did diſſolve the ſame, and by a Writing under their Hands, dated the twelfth Day of this inſtant *December*, reſigned unto me their Powers and Authorities; and whereas it was neceſſary thereupon, that ſome ſpeedy Courſe ſhould be taken for the Settlement of theſe Nations upon ſuch a Baſis and Foundation, as, by the Bleſſing of God, might be laſting, ſecure Property, and anſwer thoſe great Ends of Religion and Liberty, ſo long contended for; and upon full and mature Conſideration had of the Form of Go-

vernment

vernment hereunto annexed, being ſatisfied that the ſame, through divine Aſſiſtance, may anſwer the Ends afore-mentioned; and having alſo been deſired, and adviſed, as well by ſeveral Perſons of Intereſt and Fidelity in this Commonwealth, as the Officers of the Army, to take upon me the Protection and Government of theſe Nations, in the Manner expreſſed in the ſaid Form of Government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my Acceptance accordingly: And do promiſe, in the Preſence of God, that I will not violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained therein, but, to my Power, obſerve the ſame, and cauſe them to be obſerved; and ſhall, in all other Things, to the beſt of my Underſtanding, govern theſe Nations according to the Laws, Statutes and Cuſtoms, ſeeking their Peace, and cauſing Juſtice and Law to be equally adminiſtred.

O. CROMWELL.

Oliver Cromwell, *Captain General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth, and now declared* Lord Protector *thereof, did this* 16*th Day of* December 1653 *ſign this Writing, and ſolemnly promiſe, as is therein contained, in Preſence of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal of* England, *who adminiſtred the ſame Oath, and of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of* London, *divers of the Judges of the Land, the Officers of State and Army, and many other Perſons of Quality.*

The NAMES of the MEMBERS of PARLIAMENT called to take upon them the Truſt of the Government of this Commonwealth, which began on *Monday* the 4th of *June* 1653, the Day appointed by the Letters of Summons from his Excellency the Lord General *Cromwell*, for the Meeting of theſe Gentlemen: With the ſeveral Tranſactions ſince that Time.

Printed in the Year 1654.

A COPY of the Letter from his Excellency the Lord General *Cromwell*, ſent to the Members called to take upon them the Truſt of the Government of this Common-wealth.

FORASMUCH as, upon the Diſſolution of the late Parliament, it became neceſſary that the Peace, Safety, and Government of this Commonwealth ſhould be provided for; and in order thereunto, divers Perſons fearing God, and of approved Fidelity and Honeſty, are by myſelf

ſelf, with the Advice of my Council of Officers, nominated, to whom the Charge and Truſt of ſo weighty Affairs is to be committed. And having good Aſſurance of your Love to, and Courage for God and the Intereſt of his Cauſe, and of the good People of this Commonwealth; I *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General and Commander in Chief of all the Armies and Forces raiſed and to be raiſed within this Commonwealth, do hereby ſummon and require you, being one of the Perſons nominated, perſonally to be, and appear at the Council Chamber, commonly known or called by the Name of the *Council Chamber at Whitehall*, within the City of *Weſtminſter*, upon the fourth Day of *July* next enſuing the Date hereof, then and there to take upon you the ſaid Truſt, unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to ſerve as a Member for the County of —— And hereof you are not to fail. *Given under my Hand and Seal the* ——— *Day of* June 1653.

O. CROMWELL.

Monday, June 4. 1653.

This being the Day appointed by the Letters of Summons from his Excellency the Lord General *Cromwell*, for the Meeting of thoſe Gentlemen that were called to the Supreme Authority, they met accordingly in the Council-Chamber, where being entered the Room, above one hundred and twenty in Number, and being ſat round about the Table, the Lord General ſtanding by the Window oppoſite to the Middle of the Table, and having as many of the Army-Officers as the Room could well contain, on his Right-hand and on his Left, his Lordſhip made a very grave, Chriſtian, and ſeaſonable Speech and Exhortation; wherein he briefly recounted the many great and wondrous Mercies of God towards this Nation, and the Series of Providence wherein the Preſence of God did wonderfully appear in carrying on this Cauſe, and bringing Affairs into the preſent Condition, beyond all Expectation; aſcribing the Glory of all to God alone.

He ſet forth alſo, in particular, the Progreſs of Affairs ſince the famous Victory at *Worceſter*, wherein that Arch Enemy of this Nation was wholly ſubdued. He likewiſe laid down the Actings of the Army thereupon, after divers Applications to the Parliament, and much being wanting, and Forbearance, together with the Grounds and Neceſſity of their diſſolving the ſaid Parliament, which his Excellency declares to be for the Preſervation of this Cauſe, and the Intereſt of all honeſt Men who have been engaged therein.

Moreover, he very amply held forth the Clearneſs of the Call given to the preſent Members to take the Supreme Authority; and did from the Scriptures exhort them to their Duties, and encourage them therein, deſiring that a Tenderneſs might be uſed towards all godly and conſcientious Perſons, of what Judgment and under what Form ſoever.

Which being ended, his Lordſhip produced an Inſtrument under his own Hand and Seal, whereby he did, with the Advice of his Officers, devolve and intruſt the Supreme Authority and Government of this Commonwealth, into the Hands of the Perſons then met, who, or any forty of them, are to be held and acknowledged the Supreme Authority of the Nation, unto whom all Perſons

ſons within the ſame, and the Territories thereunto belonging, are to yield Obedience and Subjection. And they are not to ſit longer than the 3d of *November* 1654. Three Months before their Diſſolution they are to make Choice of other Perſons to ſucceed them, who are not to ſit longer than a Twelve-month; but it is left to them to take Care for a Succeſſion in Government: Which Inſtrument being delivered to the Perſons aforeſaid, his Lordſhip commended them to the Grace of God.

This being done, his Excellency and his Officers withdrew; and the ſaid Perſons ſo met, having the Supreme Authority put into their Hands, after ſome ſhort Space, adjourned till the next Morning eight o' Clock, and appointed to meet in the old Parliament Houſe, there to ſeek God for Direction in this great Work, and for his Preſence and Bleſſing therein. Hereupon, without doing any further Buſineſs, they all departed.

The Names of the Members of Parliament which began *June* 4. 1653. with the reſpective Counties for which they ſerve.

Berks.
Samuel Dunch
Vincent Goddard
Thomas Wood.

Bedford.
Nathaniel Taylor
Edward Cater[1]

Buckingham.
George Fleetwood
George Baldwin

Cambridge.
John Sadler
Thomas French
Robert Caſtle
Samuel Warner.

Cheſter.
Robert Duckenfield
Henry Birkinhead.

Four Northern Counties.
Charles Howard
Robert Fenwick
Henry Dawſon
Henry Ogle.

Cornwall.
Robert Bennet
Francis Langdon
Anthony Rous
John Bawden.

Derby.
Jervas Bennet
Nathaniel Barton.

Devon.
George Monk, *one of the Generals at Sea.*
John Carew
Thomas Sanders
Chriſtopher Martin
James Eriſey
Francis Rous
Richard Sweet.

Dorſet.
William Sydenham
John Bingham.

Eſſex.
Joachim Matthews
Henry Barington
John Brewſter
Chriſtopher Earl
Dudley Templer.

Glouceſter.
John Crofts
William Neaſt
Robert Holmes.

Southampton.
Richard Norton
Richard Major

John

John Hildesley.

Hertford.

Henry Lawrence
William Reeve.

Hereford.

Wroth Rogers
John Herring.

Huntington.

Edward Montague
Stephen Phesaunt.

Kent.

Lord Viscount Lisle
Thomas Blount
William Kenrick
William Cullen
Andrew Broughton

Lancaster.

William West
John Sawrey
Robert Cunliff.

Leicester.

Henry Danvers
Edward Smith
John Prat.

Lincoln.

Sir William Brownlow
Richard Cust
Barnaby Bowtel
Humphrey Walcot
William Thompson.

Middlesex.

Sir William Roberts
Augustine Wingfield
Arthur Squib.

Monmouth.

Philip Jones.

Northampton.

Sir Gilbert Pickering
Thomas Brook.

Norfolk.

Robert Jeremy
Tobias Fecete
Ralph Wolmer
Henry King
William Burton.

Nottingham.

John Oddingsels
Edward Chid.

Oxon.

Sir Charles Wolsley
William Draper
Dr. Jonathan Goddard.

Rutland.

Edward Horseman.

Salop.

William Botterel
Thomas Baker.

Stafford.

George Bellit
John Chetwood.

Suffolk.

Jacob Caley
Francis Brewster
Robert Dunkon
John Clark
Edward Plumstead.

Somerset.

Robert Blake, *one of the Generals at Sea*
John Pine
Dennis Hollister
Henry Henley.

Surrey.

Samuel Hichland
Lawrence March.

Sussex.

Anthony Stapeley
William Spence
Nathaniel Studely.

Warwick.

John St. Nicholas
Richard Lucy.

Wilts.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper
Nicholas Green
Thomas Eyre.

Worcester.

Richard Salway
John James.

York.

York.

George *Lord* Evre
Walter Strikland
Francis Laſſels
John Anlaby
Thomas Dickenſon
Thomas St. Nicholas
Roger Coats
Edward Gill.

London.

Robert Tichborn
John Ireton
Samuel Moyer
John Langley
John Stone
Henry Barton
Praiſe-God Barbone.

Wales.

Buſhy Manſel
James Philips
John Williams
Hugh Courtney
Richard Price
John Brown.

Scotland.

Sir James Hope
Alexander Brody
John Swinton
William Lockhart
Alexander Jefferies.

Ireland.

Sir Robert King
Colonel John Hewſon
Colonel Henry Cromwell
Colonel John Clarke
Daniel Hutchinſon
Vincent Gookyn.

Called in by the Parliament ſince they ſate.

Lord General Cromwell
Major General Lambert
Major General Harriſon
Major General Deſborough
Colonel Mat. Tomlinſon.

Council of State.

THE Lord General
Major General Deſborough
Major General Harriſon
Mr. Major
Colonel Sydenham
Sir Anthony Aſhley-Cooper
Alderman Tichbourn
Sir Charles Wolſley
Sir Gilbert Pickering
Mr. Carew
Colonel Jones
Lord Viſcount Liſle
Mr. Lawrence
Colonel Montague
Mr. Strickland
Captain Howard
The Lord Eyre
Sir William Roberts
Mr. Sadler
Sir Robert King
Colonel Henry Cromwell
Dr. Goddard
Colonel Barton
Sir William Brownlow
Captain Stone
Colonel George Fleetwood
Colonel James
Mr. Anlaby
Mr. Bennet
Colonel Rous
Colonel Bingham.

The Commiſſioners Names for the *High Court of Juſtice.*

JOhn Liſle, *one of the Lords Commiſſioners for the Great Seal of* England
John Bradſhaw, *Serjeant at Law*
Charles George Cocke, *Eſq;*
Matthew Sheppard, *Eſq;*
William Underwoed, *Alderman of* London
John Hayes, *Eſq;*
George Langham, *Eſq;*
Maurice Thompſon, *Eſq;*
Richard Shute, *Eſq;*
Mark Hildeſley, *Eſq;*
Thomas Allen, *Alderman of* London
Daniel Taylor, *Eſq;*
Edmund Waring, *Eſq;*
John Blackwell, *jun. Eſq;*
Nicholas Juxon, *Eſq;*
Roger Frith, *Eſq;*
Nathaniel Whetham, *Eſq;*
Edward Creſſet, *Eſq;*
Ralph Harriſon, *Eſq;*
Benjamin Valentine, *Eſq;*
William Web, *Eſq;*
Owen Row, *Eſq;*
Thomas Andrews, *Alderman of* London
John Hardwicke, *Eſq;*
Richard Arnold, *Eſq;*
Sir John Thorowgood *of* Kenſington, *Knight*
Abraham Babington, *Eſq;*
Richard Moor, *Eſq;*
Edward Whaley, *Eſq;*
William Goff, Eſq;
John Okey, *Eſq;*
Thomas Juxon, *Eſq;*
Mark Coe, *Eſq;*

An ACT declaring what Offences ſhall be adjudged Treaſon.

BE it enacted by this preſent Parliament, and by the Authority of the ſame, That if any Perſon ſhall maliciouſly or adviſedly publiſh, by Writing, Printing, or openly Declaring, That the ſaid Government is tyrannical, uſurped, or unlawful; or that the Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, are not the ſupreme Authority of this Nation, or ſhall plot, contrive, or endeavour to ſtir up or raiſe Force againſt the preſent Government, or for the Subverſion or Alteration of the ſame, and ſhall declare the ſame by any open Deed, that then every ſuch Offence ſhall be taken, deemed and adjudged by Authority of this Parliament to be High Treaſon.

That if any Perſon ſhall maliciouſly and adviſedly plot or endeavour the Subverſion of the ſaid Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, or the Council of State, and the ſame ſhall declare by any open Deed, or ſhall move any Perſon or Perſons for the doing thereof, or ſtir up the People to riſe againſt them, or either of them, they or either of their Authorities, every ſuch Offence ſhall be taken, deemed, and declared to be High Treaſon.

If any Perſon not being an Officer, Soldier, or Member of the Army, ſhall plot, contrive, or endeavour to ſtir up any Mutiny in the ſaid Army, or withdraw any Soldiers or Officers from their Obedience to their ſuperior Officers, or from the preſent Government as aforeſaid, or ſhall procure, invite, aid, or aſſiſt any Foreigners or Strangers to invade *England* or *Ireland*, or ſhall adhere to any Forces raiſed by the Enemies of the Parliament, Commonwealth,

wealth, or Keepers of the Liberties of *England*; or if any Perſon ſhall counterfeit the Great Seal of *England* for the Time being, uſed and appointed by Authority of Parliament, every ſuch Offence ſhall be taken to be High Treaſon, and alſo forfeit unto the Uſe of the Commonwealth, all and ſingular his or their Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels: Provided always, that no Perſons ſhall be indicted and arraigned for any of the Offences mentioned in this Act, unleſs ſuch Offenders ſhall be indicted or proſecuted for the ſame, within one Year after the Offence committed. That if any Perſon ſhall counterfeit the Money of this Commonwealth, or ſhall bring any falſe Money into this Land, counterfeit, or other like to the Money of this Commonwealth, knowing the Money to be falſe, to merchandize or make Payment, in deceit of the People of this Nation: Or if any Perſon ſhall hereafter falſly forge and counterfeit any ſuch Kind of Coin of Gold or Silver, as is not the proper Coin of this Commonwealth, and is or ſhall be current within this Nation by Conſent of the Parliament, or ſuch as ſhall be by them authoriſed thereunto; or ſhall bring from the Parts beyond the Seas into this Commonwealth, or into any the Dominions of the ſame, any ſuch falſe and counterfeit Coin of Money being current within the ſame, as is above ſaid, knowing the ſame to be falſe, to the Intent to offer or make Payment by Merchandize, or otherwiſe, or ſhall impair, diminiſh, falſify, clip, waſh, round, file, ſcale, or lighten, for wicked Lucre, or Gain's Sake, any the proper Moneys of this Common-wealth, or of any other Realm, allowed and ſuffered to be current: All ſuch Offences adjudged High Treaſon, their Counſellors, Procurers, Aiders and Abettors being convicted, ſhall ſuffer Pains of Death. It ſhall not extend to, or be adjudged to make any Corruption of Blood to any of the Heirs, or to make the Wife to forfeit her Dower, or her Title, Action or Intereſt in the ſame. *July* 17. 1649.

A RELATION of the Mutiny on *Tueſday* the 22d of *November* 1653, in the *New-Exchange*, of the *Portugal* Ambaſſador's Followers, *&c.*

THIS Night was a great Mutiny at the *New-Exchange* in the *Strand*, ſuch as hath ſcarce ever been the like. The Buſineſs, upon the beſt Information that I can have from thoſe who were preſent in Part of the Buſineſs, and have conferred with others upon the whole, is this:

On *Monday* Night (which was the Night before) three of the *Portugal* Ambaſſador's Family, whereof his Brother was one, being at the *New-Exchange*, they talking in *French* ſpake of ſuch Diſcourſe of Tranſactions of ſome *Engliſh* Affairs, which Colonel *Gerhard*, Sir *Gilbert Gerhard*'s Brother, underſtanding the *French* Tongue, hearing, told them very civilly, that they did not repreſent the Stories they ſpake of right; whereupon one of the *Portugals* gave him the Lie: Upon that they began to joſtle, and all three fell upon Colonel *Gerhard*, and threw him down, and got upon him; but though he be but a little Man, yet he threw him off that was upon him, and ſo was buſtling with him

a good while: There were ſome Gentlemen there, but knew not who it was they ſo aſſaulted, and ſo never meddled with them; and yet one of the *Portugals* with his Dagger ſtabbed Colonel *Gerhard* in the Shoulder, and hurt him ſore: But afterwards Mr. *Anfrazer* ſpake to the *Portugals*, that it was not civil nor handſome for ſo many to fall upon one, three to one being very unequal, and endeavoured to pull one of them off, and ſo to perſuade them to ceaſe, and thereby he came to ſee who it was they had aſſaulted; who finding it to be Colonel *Gerhard*, which he knew well, and ſeeing them ſtill purſue their Rage upon him, he drew to relieve him; and after ſome Buſtle the *Portugals* went away, one of them having a Cut upon his Cheek: And that Night afterwards near twenty of their Attendants came to the *Exchange*, and would have quarrelled with any body; and ſome Cuffing there was by ſome, but not much more that Night, for it was late, and they returned home.

On *Tueſday* Night, came about fifty of the *Portugals* again to the *New-Exchange*, of which Number were the Ambaſſador's Brother, and two Knights of *Malta*, and they were led on by a *Portugal* in Buff, whom they call Captain, one well known to ſome in the *Exchange*, and they had generally double Arms, all or moſt Part of them Swords and Piſtols, and Coats of Mail or Armour, ſome one Thing, ſome another, to preſerve their Bodies from Swords entering upon them.

They had alſo two or three Coaches that brought Ammunition, in which were Hand-Granadoes and Bottles, and ſome little Barrels of Powder and Bullets, and other Neceſſaries, if Occaſion was. They had alſo ſome Boats ready to attend them at the Water-ſide, if Occaſion was for them alſo.

Thus they came with a Reſolution to fall upon every *Engliſh* Gentleman they ſhould find in or about the *Exchange*; and entering in with this Equipage, the People were exceedingly frightned. For firſt came in the Captain in the Buff, who led them, and after him the *Portugal* Ambaſſador's Brother, and the Knights of *Malta*, and ſo the reſt, all with drawn Swords, and in ſo furious a Poſture, as if they intended to kill every body they met with that ſtood before them.

Hereupon the People fled into the Shops in the *Exchange* to ſhelter themſelves, and all that did not ſo they fell upon, though no Man gave them the leaſt Affront, yet they piſtolled and cut, and wounded many.

Mr. *Greneway*, a Gentleman of *Gray's-Inn*, Son to the Lady *Greneway*, was there with his Siſter, and a Gentlewoman whom he was to have married, who deſired them two to ſtand up in a Shop, where he ſaw them ſafe, and they would have had him to have ſtaid with them, but he ſaid he would only go ſee what was the Matter; but he was no ſooner parted from them, but immediately the Word being given by the *Portugal* Captain in Buff, which was *Safa*, which was the Word when they were to fall on. Without any Affront offered towards them, one of them piſtolled him, and ſhot him in the Head, and he is dead of his Wounds; and many others they have dangerouſly wounded. Colonel *Mayo* had twelve upon him at once, yet drew his Sword, and fought with them as long as he was able to hold his Sword in his Hand, which being cut, he was forced to let his Sword fall, and then they cut and wounded him in

many

many Places. Mr. *Thomas Howard*, Mr. *Cartar*, and divers others, were wounded paſſing by.

The Horſe at the *Meuſe* had taken Alarm before they returned, and returning home, paſſing by the *Meuſe*, ſome of the Horſe moving towards them, ſome of them diſcharged Piſtols towards the Horſe, and the reſt run home to to the Ambaſſador's Houſe; but the Horſe-Guards took ſome of them, and carried them into the *Meuſe*, and ſent Word thereof to the Lord General; and a Party of Horſe purſued them, and beſet the Ambaſſador's Houſe.

And Commiſſary General *Whalley* ſent in to the Ambaſſador, acquainted him with this horrible Attempt and bloody Murder of his Followers, and ſhewed him his Men they had taken Priſoners, and required the chief of the reſt of them to be delivered into the Hands of Juſtice, which the Ambaſſador was loth to do. But ſeeing he could not baffle them, to ſtop the Courſe of Juſtice in ſo horrible a bloody Buſineſs as that had been, he delivered up his Brother and one of the Knights of *Malta*, and ſome others, ſuch as they had then Information was chief, and promiſed to ſecure the reſt to be forthcoming, any of them when they ſhould be demanded. After which the Ambaſſador made his Addreſs to the Lord General, and chiefly for his Brother; but his Excellency told him that it did concern the Public, and therefore his Addreſſes muſt be to the Parliament and Council of State. It is ſuch a horrible Buſineſs that his Excellency would not meddle with him in it.

The *Portugals* that are in Cuſtody are Priſoners at *James*'s, and the Buſineſs is under Examination before the Council of State.

By the Council of State.

THE Council of State taking Notice of the tumultuous and barbarous Actings at the *New Exchange* in the *Strand*, in the County of *Middleſex*, upon the 21ſt and 22d of *November* laſt paſt, the ſame being accompanied with the Drawing of Swords, Diſcharging of Piſtols, and ſuch other high Miſdemeanors as are ſcarce to be paralleled by the Actings of any Perſons living under the Protection of a civil Government, and which, in the Effects thereof, produced not only a very great and notorious Violation of the public Peace, but alſo the murdering of one, and the aſſaulting, wounding and affrighting of many other of the People of this Nation, purſuing their ordinary Callings and Occaſions. And for as much as the ſaid Exchange is a Place of public Reſort and Trade; the Council have therefore thought it neceſſary hereby to declare their Reſentment of thoſe Proceedings, and their juſt Diſpleaſure againſt the ſame. And as they intend vigorouſly to proſecute the Offenders, ſo, to the Intent the like Evils may be better prevented in Time to come, they do hereby ſtrictly require and charge, That no Perſon or Perſons, of what Quality ſoever, do preſume, at the ſaid Exchange, or any other like public Place, to occaſion, encourage or abet, any tumultuous Meetings, or hazard a Breach of the civil Peace, or drawing there, or in any other ſuch Place, any Sword or other Weapon, diſcharging, preſenting, or bearing any Gun or Piſtol, or firing of Powder in Granadoes, or in any otherwiſe whatſo-

ever. Of which Command, it will be expected that all Perſons whatſoever take Notice, and demean themſelves accordingly, upon Peril of being reputed, and dealt withall, as Diſturbers of the public Peace, whereof a very ſtrict Account ſhall be taken: And all Juſtices of the Peace, and other publick Miniſters, are required carefully to perform their Duties in this Behalf; as alſo, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to prevent and reſtrain all immodeſt and unhandſome Demeanors of ſuch as ſhall reſort to the ſaid *Exchange*, that ſo no juſt Cauſe of Offence may be given to ſober Minds, nor any Thing there acted diſhonourable to Religion or the Nation.

Monday, December 12. 1653. *It being moved, That the Sitting of this Parliament was not for the Peace of the Commonwealth; and that therefore it was requiſite to deliver up unto the Lord General* Cromwell *the Powers which they received from him, and ſeconded by ſeveral other Members; and the Speaker, with many of the Members, departed to* Whitehall, *being the greater Number, and did, by a Writing under their Hands, reſign unto his Excellency their ſaid Powers.*

Saturday, December 10. 1653. The Parliament this Day reſumed the Debate upon the Report made from the Committee of Tithes, which is as follows:

1. That it be repreſented to the Parliament as the beſt Way for ejecting ignorant, prophane, and ſcandalous Miniſters; That Commiſſioners be ſent from hence into all the Counties, divided into ſix Circuits (beſides *London* and *Middleſex*) three Commiſſioners into each Circuit, to join with four or ſix in every County (and each Riding in *Yorkſhire* to be as a County) and that in every County the ſaid Perſons, or five of them (two of the Commiſſioners ſent from hence being always preſent) be impowered to eject all Miniſters (of that County) that are not of good Behaviour, and holy in Converſation, or that are not apt and able to teach, or in teaching hold not forth the faithful Word, or be not diligent, or labour not in the Word and Doctrine, or be greedy of filthy Lucre: And be alſo impowered to ſettle godly and able Perſons to preach the Goſpel in all void Places, and to unite two or three Pariſhes together, ſo that none be above three Miles from the public Meeting-place.

2. That it be preſented to the Parliament, That Dr. *Arrowſmith*, Colonel *Goff*, Major *Hains*, Mr. *John Owen*, Mr. *Thomas Goodwyn*, Mr. *Ben* of *Dorcheſter*, Mr. *Fairclough* the Elder, Mr. *Lockier*, Mr. *Caryl*, Mr. *Stephen Marſhall*, Mr. *Worthington*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Tomes*, Mr. *Martin Holbech*, Mr. *Cradocke*, Mr. *Jeſſey*, Mr. *Arthur Barnardiſton*, Mr. *William Greenhill*, Colonel *Campfield*, Mr. *Dyke*, Mr. *Stalham*, may be ſent Commiſſioners, by three in a Circuit, for ejecting and ſettling Miniſters, according to the Rules preſcribed.

3. That all ſuch as are or ſhall be approved for public Preachers of the Goſpel in the public Meeting-places, ſhall have and enjoy the Maintenance already ſettled by Law, and ſuch other Encouragement as the Parliament hath already appointed, or hereafter ſhall appoint: And that where any ſcruple Payment of

Tithes,

Tithes, the three next Juſtices of the Peace, or two of them, ſhall, upon Complaints, call the Parties concerned before them, and by the Oaths of Witneſſes, ſhall duly apportion the Value of the ſaid Tithes, to be paid either in Money or Land, by them to be ſet out according to the ſaid Value, to be held and enjoyed by him that was to have the ſaid Tithes; and in caſe ſuch approved Value be not duly paid or enjoyed, according to the Order of the ſaid Juſtices, the Tithes ſhall be paid in Kind, and ſhall be recovered in any Court of Record.

4. That upon hearing and conſidering what hath been offered to the Committee touching Propriety in Tithes, of Incumbents, Rectors, Poſſeſſors of Donatives or propriate Tithes; it is the Opinion of this Committee, and reſolved to be reported to the Parliament, that the ſaid Perſons have a legal Propriety in Tithes.

The Houſe having ſpent ſeveral Days in Debate of the whole Report, and eſpecially of the firſt of the four Parts thereof; and the Queſtion being put, That this Houſe doth agree with the firſt Clauſe of the Report, it paſſed in the Negative.

Monday, December 12. 1653. It being moved in the Houſe this Day, That the ſitting of this Parliament any longer, as now conſtituted, will not be for the Good of the Commonwealth; and that therefore it was requiſite to deliver up unto the Lord General *Cromwell* the Powers which they received from him; and that Motion being ſeconded by ſeveral other Members, the Houſe roſe, and the Speaker, with many of the Members of the Houſe, departed out of the Houſe to *Whitehall*, where they, being the greater Number of the Members ſitting in Parliament, did, by a Writing under their Hands, reſign to his Excellency their ſaid Powers, and Mr. Speaker, attended with the Members, did preſent the ſame to his Excellency accordingly.

His Excellency the Lord General *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers met this Day, at which Meeting, after a moſt excellent, wiſe, gracious, and pious Speech made by his Excellency, full of Religion towards God, Prudence towards the State, and Love and Care towards this diſtracted Nation, ſome Things were tranſacted in order to a Settlement and ſweet Compoſure; the Union of all that fear the Lord is much deſired, that ſo we may ſit down comfortably under a ſafe and well-grounded Peace.

The late Parliament having, upon their Diſſolution, delivered up the Power which they received from his Excellency at their firſt ſitting, by a Writing under their Hands and Seals; his Excellency thereupon called a Council of Officers, and adviſed with other Perſons of Intereſt in the Nation, how this great Burden of governing *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with the Armies therein, and Navies at Sea, ſhould be borne, and by whom; who after ſeveral Days ſeeking of God, and adviſing therein, it was reſolved that a Council of godly, able and diſcreet Perſons, ſhould be named, conſiſting of twenty-one; and that his Excellency ſhould be choſen *Lord Protector of the three Nations.* And on *Friday* laſt his Excellency came down to *Weſtminſter*, and was inſtalled *Lord Protector of the three Nations*, the Manner whereof was thus:

December

December 18. His Excellency the Lord General *Cromwell*, about one of the Clock in the Afternoon, went from *Whitehall* to *Weſtminſter* in his Coach, Foot Soldiers being on both Sides the Streets all along, and in the Palace at *Weſtminſter* were many Soldiers both Horſe and Foot; his Excellency was attended by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal of *England*, the Judges and Barons of the ſeveral Benches in their Robes, and after them the Council of the Commonwealth; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, in their Scarlet Gowns, with the Recorder and Town-Clerk, all in their Coaches, who paſſed before his Excellency; and laſt of all came his Excellency in a black Suit and Cloak in his Coach, with his Life-Guard, and divers bare before him; and many of the chief Officers of the Army with their Cloaks and Swords, and Hats on, paſſed on Foot before and about his Coach.

In this Equipage his Excellency and Attendants came to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where was a Chair placed in the High Court of Chancery; where being come, the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal of *England* ſtood next to the Chair, the one on the one Side, and the other on the other Side, and next to the Lord Commiſſioner *Liſle*, who ſtood on the Left-hand of the Chair, ſtood his Excellency (all being bare, and his Excellency alſo) on every Side of the Chair; in the next Place ſtood all the Judges and Barons on both Sides; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on the Right-ſide of the Court, next unto the Judges and the Council, and the chief Officers of the Army on the Leſt ſide of the Court.

The Rules for this New Government were then read, which conſiſt of many Particulars, expreſſed in an Inſtrument.

The Inſtrument is large, which took up above half an Hour's Reading, and was read by Mr. *Jeſop*, one of the Secretaries of the Council; after which the Lord Commiſſioner *Liſle* read a Parchment in the Nature of an Oath, to engage his Excellency to perform on his Part, according to the Government before mentioned: During which Time his Excellency held up his Hand, and having heard it read, accepted thereof, and ſubſcribed thereto in the Face of the Court.

Then the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, and the Judges, *&c.* invited him to take Poſſeſſion of the Chair, as *Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, which he did, and ſate down with his Head covered, the Court continuing all bare.

The Lords Commiſſioners delivered up to his Highneſs the Purſe and Seals, and the Lord Mayor of *London* his Sword; which were preſently delivered to them back again by his Highneſs; and then after a Salute the Court roſe.

Firſt came the Aldermen and Council before his Highneſs, from the Court to *Weſtminſter-Hall* Gate, where the Coaches were; after them the Judges; then came the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, one of them bearing the Purſe and Seals; and before his Highneſs came the Life-Guard; then four Serjeants of Arms with their Maces, one being the Mace of the City of *London*, the ſecond of the Chancery, the third of the Council, and the other of the Parliament, borne by the Sword bearer of *London*, Sergeant *Middleton*, Sergeant *Dendy*, and Sergeant *Berkehead*; and the Lord Mayor of the City of *London* went

went before his Highneſs with the Sword, and the Officers of the Army about his Perſon; und in the Palace they took Coach at the Hall Gate, and returned to *Whitehall* in the ſame Equipage they went. The Lord Mayor rid bare with the Sword in the Boot of the Coach with his Highneſs; and there were great Acclamations and Shoutings all along the Streets as they paſſed.

His Highneſs the *Lord Protector* being returned to *Whitehall*, he went with his Attendants to the Banqueting-houſe, where they had an Exhortation made by Mr. *Lockier*, Chaplain to his Highneſs; which being ended, they were diſmiſſed with three Vollies of Shot by the Soldiers, between Four and Five o'Clock at Night.

The Title of the Inſtrument aforeſaid, is thus:

The Government of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

The Subſtance of the ſaid Inſtrument is,

I. *That the ſupreme legiſlative Power of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *ſhall be and reſide in one ſingle Perſon, aſſiſted with a Council of Thirteen at leaſt, and Twenty-one at moſt, and the Commons aſſembled in Parliament.*

II. *That this ſingle Perſon ſhall be called* The Lord Protector of the Commonwealth *of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

III. *That there be conſtant Triennial Parliaments, and the Firſt to begin the Third of* September, 1654.

IV. *That the Parliament ſhall have Power of making all Laws, ſaving ſome Caſes relating to the Guards of the Commonwealth, and Matters of Religion (for which there is particular Proviſion made in the Inſtrument containing the Government.)*

V. *That all Bills that paſs in Parliament ſhall be offered to the Lord Protector for his Conſent; which if he do not aſſent unto within twenty Days, ſhall, notwithſtanding, paſs into, and become a Law, provided they contain nothing contrary to the Matters expreſſed in the ſaid Inſtrument.*

VI. *That the Lord Protector is to be Elective, and not Hereditary, and to be choſen by the Council immediately upon the Death of the Lord Protector.*

November 19. 1653. His Highneſs the Lord Protector met with thoſe named of his Council, in the Council-chamber, at *Whitehall*, it being the Place where the Council of State uſed to ſit, and ſeveral Things were tranſacted in order to a Settlement; and this following Proclamation was ordered to be printed and publiſhed on the *Monday* following.

December 21. 1653. His Highneſs the Lord Protector, and the Council, being Thirteen in Number, met in the Council-chamber at *Whitehall*; where his Highneſs, in a ſweet Speech to them, preſſed the Council to act for God and the Peace and Good of the Nations; and particularly recommended to them to conſider and relieve the Diſtreſſes of the Poor and Oppreſſed.

This

This Day this Proclamation following was publiſhed at *Weſtminſter*, and in the City of *London*, by divers Sergeants at Arms, with their Maces, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen being preſent at the *Exchange*, &c.

By the Council, A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the late Parliament diſſolving themſelves, and reſigning their Powers and Authorities, the Government of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by a Lord Protector, and ſucceſſive Triennial Parliaments is now eſtabliſhed; and whereas *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth, is declared Lord Protector of the ſaid Nations, and hath accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it neceſſary (as we hereby do) to make Publication of the Premiſes, and ſtrictly to charge and command all and every Perſon and Perſons, of what Quality and Condition ſoever, in any of the three Nations, to take Notice hereof, and to conform and ſubmit themſelves to the Government ſo eſtabliſhed: And all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other public Miniſters and Officers, whom this may concern, are required to cauſe this Proclamation to be forthwith publiſhed in their reſpective Counties, Cities, Corporations, and Market-Towns, to the End none may have Cauſe to pretend Ignorance in this Behalf.

Given at Whitehall *the Sixteenth Day of* December, 1653.

Decemb. 21. His Highneſs the Lord Protector ſat with the Council, which are Thirteen in Number, in the Council-chamber at *Whitehall*, and ſeveral Things were tranſacted in order to a quiet and peaceable Settlement of the three Nations.

The Names of the Council.

Mr. *Lawrence* the Preſident	Sir *Gilbert Pickering*
Lord Viſcount *Liſle*	Sir *Charles Woolſley*
Major General *Lambert*	Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*
Major General *Deſborow*	Mr. *Rouſe*
Major General *Skippon*	Mr. *Strickland*
Colonel *Jones*	Mr. *Major.*
Colonel *Sydenham*	

A DECLARATION *for Alteration of ſeveral Names and Forms heretofore uſed in Courts*, &c.

OLIVER, *Lord Protector* of the *Commonwealth* of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, having the Exerciſe of the chief Magiſtracy, and the Adminiſtration of Government within the ſaid Commonwealth, inveſted and eſtabliſhed in his Highneſs, aſſiſted with a Council, who have Power until the Meeting of the next Parliament (which is to be on the Third of *September* next) to make Laws and Ordinances for the Peace and Welfare of theſe Nations, where it ſhall be neceſſary, which ſhall be binding and in force, until Order ſhall be taken in Parliament concerning the ſame.

And

And the ſaid *Lord Protector* finding it to be moſt neceſſary, that ſome ſpeedy and effectual Courſe be taken for ſettling the Names and Forms to be uſed in Patents, Commiſſions, and Proceedings in Courts of Juſtice, the ſaid *Lord Protector*, by, and with, the Advice and Conſent of his ſaid Council, and in purſuance of, and according to, the Power and Truſt repoſed in him and them, doth declare and ordain, and be it by the Authority aforeſaid declared and ordained, That in all Courts of Law, Juſtice, or Equity, and in all Writs, Grants, Patents, Commiſſions, Indictments, Informations, Suits, Returns of Writs, and in all Fines, Recoveries, Exemplifications, Recognizances, Proceſs, and Proceedings of Law, Juſtice or Equity, within the ſaid Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, inſtead of the Name, Stile, Title, and Teſt (of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, by Authority of Parliament) heretofore uſed, that from and after the ſix and twentieth Day of *December*, 1653, the Name, Stile, Title, and Teſt of the *Lord Protector* for the Time being, of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, ſhall be uſed, and no other, and the Date ſhall be in the Year of our Lord, and no other.

And that all Duties, Profits, Penalties, Iſſues, Fines, Amerciaments, and Forfeitures whatſoever, which heretofore were ſued for in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, by Authority of Parliament, ſhall from and after the ſaid 26th of *December*, be proſecuted, ſued forth, and recovered in the ſaid Name of the *Lord Protector*, for the Time being, of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, and no other. And in all or any of the Proceedings aforeſaid, where the Words were, *The Jurors of the Commonwealth*, or, *the Jurors for the Keepers of the Liberty of* England, *by Authority of Parliament*, *do ſay or preſent*, from and after the 26th of *December*, it ſhall be, *The Jurors for the* Lord Protector *of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *&c. do ſay, or preſent*, and no other, *&c.*

And it is further ordained, by the Authority aforeſaid, That in all Oaths to be given to any Grand Jury, or Petty Jury, or to, or for, any Witneſſes to give in Evidence to any ſuch Jury or Juries, and in all other Oaths wherein the Name of *Keepers of the Liberty*, &c. was wont to be uſed, the ſame ſhall be given in the Name of the *Lord Protector*, inſtead of the Name of the *ſaid Keepers*, &c. any Law, Uſage, or Cuſtom to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And it is laſtly ordained, by the Authority aforeſaid, That ſuch Forms and Courſe of Proceedings, as were heretofore uſed in the Name and Time of the *Keepers of the Liberty*, &c. in Cauſes criminal or civil, and of which no Alteration is made in this Ordinance, ſhall ſtand and continue to be ſo uſed and obſerved as formerly; and that all Indictments, Preſentments, Inquiſitions, Commiſſions, and Captions, made with ſuch Alterations, Additions, or Omiſſions, as aforeſaid, or with ſuch other Omiſſions, Additions, or Alterations, as ſhall be proper and neceſſary for making good of Indictments, Preſentments, Commiſſions, Captions, and Inquiſitions, and ſupplying the Senſe and Mean-

ing thereof, according to the preſent Government of this Commonwealth under the *Lord Protector*, as aforeſaid, ſhall ſtand, and be good and effectual in Law, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the ſame had been particularly herein named, any Law, Cuſtom, or Uſage to the contrary, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

The Oath taken by his Highneſs OLIVER CROMWELL, Lord Protector.

WHEREAS the major Part of the laſt Parliament (judging that their ſitting any longer, as then conſtituted, would not be for the Good of this Commonwealth) did diſſolve the ſame, and by a Writing under their Hands, dated the twelfth Day of this Inſtant *December*, reſigned unto me their Powers and Authorities; and whereas it was neceſſary thereupon, that ſome ſpeedy Courſe ſhould be taken for the Settlement of theſe Nations upon ſuch a Baſis and Foundation, as, by the Bleſſing of God, might be laſting, ſecure Property, and anſwer thoſe great Ends of Religion and Liberty, ſo long contended for; and upon full and mature Conſideration had of the Form of Government hereunto annexed, being ſatisfied that the ſame, through divine Aſſiſtance, may anſwer the Ends afore-mentioned; and having alſo been deſired, and adviſed, as well by ſeveral Perſons of Intereſt and Fidelity in this Commonwealth, as the Officers of the Army, to take upon me the Protection and Government of theſe Nations, in the Manner expreſſed in the ſaid Form of Government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my Acceptance accordingly: And do promiſe, in the Preſence of God, that I will not violate and infringe the Matters and Things contained therein, but, to my Power, obſerve the ſame, and cauſe them to be obſerved; and ſhall, in all other Things, to the beſt of my Underſtanding, govern theſe Nations according to the Laws, Statutes and Cuſtoms, ſeeking their Peace, and cauſing Juſtice and Law to be equally adminiſtred.

O. CROMWELL.

Oliver Cromwell, *Captain General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth, and now declared* Lord Protector *thereof, did this* 16*th Day of* December 1653 *ſign this Writing, and ſolemnly promiſe, as is therein contained, in Preſence of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal of* England, *who adminiſtred the ſame Oath, and of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of* London, *divers of the Judges of the Land, the Officers of State and Army, and many other Perſons of Quality.*

The Government of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

I. THAT the ſupreme Legiſlative Authority of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, ſhall be, and reſide in one Perſon, and the People aſſembled in Parliament,

ment; the Stile of which Perſon ſhall be *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

2. That the Exerciſe of the chief Magiſtracy, and Adminiſtration of the Government over the ſaid Countries and Dominions, and the People thereof, ſhall be in the *Lord Protector*, aſſigned with a Council, the Number whereof ſhall not exceed Twenty-one, nor be leſs than Thirteen.

3. That all Writs, Proceſſes, Commiſſions, Patents, Grants, and other Things, which now run in the Name and Stile of *The Keepers of the Liberty of* England, by Authority of Parliament, ſhall run in the Name and Stile of the *Lord Protector*, from whom, for the future, ſhall be derived all Magiſtracy and Honours in theſe three Nations; and ſhall have the Power of Pardons (except in caſe of Murder and Treaſon) and Benefit of all Forfeitures for the public Uſe; and ſhall govern the ſaid Countries and Dominions in all Things by the Advice of the Council, and according to theſe Preſents, and the Laws.

4. That the *Lord Protector*, the Parliament ſitting, ſhall diſpoſe and order the Militia and Forces, both by Sea and Land, for the Peace and Good of the three Nations, by Conſent of Parliament: And that the *Lord Protector*, with the Advice and Conſent of the major Part of the Council, ſhall diſpoſe and order the Militia for the Ends aforeſaid in the Intervals of Parliament.

5. That the *Lord Protector*, by the Advice aforeſaid, ſhall direct, in all Things concerning the keeping and holding of a good Correſpondency with foreign Kings, Princes, and States, and alſo with the Conſent of the major Part of the Council, have the Power of War and Peace.

6. That the Laws ſhall not be altered, ſuſpended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new Law made, nor any Tax, Charge, or Impoſition, laid upon the People, but by common Conſent in Parliament, ſave only as is expreſſed in the thirtieth Article.

7. That there ſhall be a Parliament ſummoned to meet at *Weſtminſter* upon the Third Day of *September*, 1654, and that ſucceſſively a Parliament ſhall be ſummoned once in every third Year, to be accounted from the Diſſolution of the preceding Parliament.

8. That neither the Parliament to be next ſummoned, nor any ſucceſſive Parliaments, ſhall, during the Time of five Months, to be accounted from the Day of their firſt meeting, be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without their own Conſent.

9. That as well the next, as all other ſucceſſive Parliaments, ſhall be ſummoned and elected in manner hereafter expreſſed: that is to ſay, the Perſons to be choſen within *England*, *Wales*, the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, to ſit and ſerve in Parliament, ſhall be, and not exceed, the Number of Four Hundred. The Perſons to be choſen within *Scotland*, to ſit and ſerve in Parliament, ſhall be, and not exceed, the Number of Thirty. And the Perſons to be choſen to ſit in Parliament for *Ireland*, ſhall be, and not exceed, the Number of Thirty.

10. That the Perſons to be elected to ſit in Parliament, from Time to Time, for the ſeveral Counties of *England*, *Wales*, the Iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, and all Places within the ſame reſpec-

tively, ſhall be according to the Proportions and Numbers hereafter expreſſed; that is to ſay,

For the Town of *Bedford* 1. County of *Bedford* 5. *Abington* 1. *Reading* 1. County of *Berks* 5. *Buckingham* 1. *Ayleſbury* 1. *Wiccomb* 1. County of *Bucks* 5. *Cambridge* 1. Univerſity of *Cambridge* 1. *Ely* 2. County of *Cambridge* 4. *Cheſter* 1. County of *Cheſter* 4. *Launceſton* 1. *Truro* 1. *Penrin* 1. *Eaſtlow* and *Weſtlow* 1. County of *Cornwall* 8. *Carliſle* 1. County of *Cumberland* 2. *Derby* 1. County of *Derby* 4. *Exceter* 2. *Plymouth* 2. *Dartmouth*, *Clifton*, and *Hardneſſe* 1. *Totneſs* 1. *Barnſtable* 1. *Tiverton* 1. *Honyton* 1. County of *Devon* 11. *Dorcheſter* 1. *Weymouth* and *Melcomb-Regis* 1. *Lyme-Regis* 1. *Pool* 1. County of *Dorſet* 6. *Durham* 1. County of *Durham* 2. *York* 2. *Kingſton* upon *Hull* 1. *Beverley* 1. *Scarborough* 1. *Richmond* 1. *Leeds* 1. *Hallifax* 1. County of *York*, *Weſt Riding*, 6. *Eaſt-Riding* 4. *North-Riding* 4. *Maldon* 1. *Colcheſter* 2. County of *Eſſex* 13. *Glouceſter* 2. *Tewkſbury* 1. *Cirenceſter* 1. County of *Glouceſter*, except the ſaid City 5. *Hereford* 1. *Lempſter* 1. County of *Hereford* 4. *St. Alban* 1. *Hertford* 1. County of *Hertford* 5. *Huntington* 1. County of *Huntington* 3. *Canterbury* 2. *Rocheſter* 1. *Maidſton* 1. *Dover* 1. *Sandwich* 1. *Queenborough* 1. County of *Kent* 11. *Preſton* in *Anderneſs* 1. *Lancaſter* 1. *Liverpool* 1. *Mancheſter* 1. County of *Lancaſter* 4. *Leiceſter* 2. County of *Leiceſter* 4. *Lincoln* 2. *Boſton* 1. *Grantham* 1. *Stamford* 1. *Grimſby* 1. County of *Lincoln* 10. *Weſtminſter* 2. County of *Middleſex* 4. City of *London* 6. County of *Monmouth* 3. *Norwich* 2. *Lynn-Regis* 2. *Yarmouth* 2. County of *Norfolk* 10. *Peterborough* 1. *Northampton* 1. County of *Northampton* 6. *Nottingham* 2. County of *Nottingham* 4. *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne* 1. *Berwick* 1. County of *Northumberland* 3. *Oxford* 1. Univerſity of *Oxford* 1. *Woodſtock* 1. County of *Oxford* 5. County of *Rutland* 2. *Shrewſbury* 2. *Bridgnorth* 1. *Ludlow* 1. County of *Salop* 4. *Litchfield* 1. *Stafford* 1. *Newcaſtle* on the Line 1. County of *Stafford* 3. *Taunton* 2. *Bath* 1. *Wells* 1. *Bridgwater* 1. County of *Somerſet* 11. City of *Briſtol* 2. *Wincheſter* 1. *Southampton* 1. *Portſmouth* 1. Iſle of *Wight* 2. *Andover* 1. County of *Southampton* 8. *Ipſwich* 2. Borough of *Bury St. Edmonds* 2. *Dunwich* 1. *Sudbury* 1. County of *Suffolk* 10. *Southwark* 2. *Guilford* 1. *Rygate* 1. County of *Surrey* 6. *Chicheſter* 1. *Lewes* 1. *Eaſt-Greenſtead* 1. *Arundel* 1. *Rye* 1. County of *Suſſex* 9. County of *Weſtmoreland* 2. *Coventry* 2. *Warwick* 1. County of *Warwick* 4. *Worceſter* 2. County of *Worceſter* 5. *Sarum* 2. *Marlborough* 1. *Devizes* 1. County of *Wilts* 10. County of *Brecon* 2. County of *Cardigan* 2. County of *Caermarthen* 2. County of *Caernarvon* 2. County of *Denbigh* 2. County of *Flint* 2. Town of *Cardiffe* 1. County of *Glamorgan* 2. County of *Merioneth* 1. County of *Montgomery* 2. *Haverford-Weſt* 1. County of *Pembrook* 2. County of *Radnor* 2.

The Diſtribution of the Perſons to be choſen for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, ſhall be according to ſuch Proportions and Number as ſhall be agreed upon and declared by the *Lord Protector*, and the major Part of the Council, before the ſending forth Writs of Summons for the next Parliament, *&c.*

11. That

11. That the Summons to Parliament ſhall be by Writ under the Great Seal of *England*, directed to the Sheriffs of the ſeveral and reſpective Counties, with ſuch Alteration as may ſuit with the preſent Government, to be made by the *Lord Protector* and his Council, which the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, ſhall iſſue and ſend abroad by Warrant from the *Lord Protector*. If the *Lord Protector* ſhall not give Warrant for iſſuing of Writs of Summons for the next Parliament, before the firſt Day of *June*, 1654, or for the Triennial Parliaments, before the Firſt Day of *Auguſt*, in every third Year, to be accounted as aforeſaid: That then the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, for the Time being, ſhall, without any Warrant or Direction, within ſeven Days after the ſaid firſt Day of *June*, 1654, ſeal, iſſue, and ſend abroad Writs of Summons, *&c.*

12. That at the Day and Place of Elections, the Sheriff of each County, and the ſaid Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Head Officers within their Cities, Towns, Boroughs, and Places reſpectively, ſhall take View of the ſaid Elections, and ſhall make Return into the *Chancery* within twenty Days after the ſaid Elections, *&c.* wherein ſhall be contained, That the Perſons elected ſhall not have Power to alter the Government, as it is hereby ſettled in one ſingle Perſon and a Parliament.

13. That the Sheriff, who ſhall wittingly and willingly make any falſe Return, or neglect his Duty, ſhall incur the Penalty of two Thouſand Marks.

14. That all and every Perſon and Perſons, who have aided, adviſed, aſſiſted, or abetted in any War againſt the Parliament, ſince the firſt Day of *January*, 1641. (unleſs they have been ſince the Service of the Parliament, and given ſignal Teſtimony of their good Affection thereunto) ſhall be diſabled and be uncapable to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Members to ſerve in the next Parliament, or in the Three ſucceeding Triennial Parliaments.

15. That all ſuch who have adviſed, aſſiſted, or abetted the Rebellion of *Ireland*, ſhall be diſabled and uncapable for ever to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Member to ſerve in Parliament; as alſo all ſuch who do or ſhall profeſs the *Roman Catholic* Religion.

16. That all Votes and Elections given or made contrary, or not according to theſe Qualifications, ſhall be null and void: And if any Perſon, who is hereby made uncapable, ſhall give his Vote for Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament, ſuch Perſon ſhall loſe and forfeit one full Year's Value of his real Eſtate, and one full third Part of his perſonal Eſtate.

17. That the Perſons who ſhall be elected to ſerve in Parliament, ſhall be ſuch (and no other than ſuch) as are Perſons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good Converſation, and being of the Age of One and Twenty Years.

18. That all and every Perſon and Perſons, ſeized or poſſeſſed to his own Uſe, of any Eſtate real or perſonal, to the Value of 200*l.* and not within the aforeſaid Exceptions, ſhall be capable to elect Members to ſerve in Parliament for Counties.

19. That

19. That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, ſhall be ſworn before they enter into their Offices, truly and faithfully to iſſue forth, and ſend abroad Writs of Summons to Parliaments at the Times, and in the Manner before expreſſed: And in caſe of Neglect or Failure, to iſſue and ſend abroad Writs accordingly, he or they ſhall, for every ſuch Offence, be guilty of High-Treaſon, and ſuffer the Pains and Penalties thereof.

20. That in caſe Writs be not iſſued out, as is before expreſſed, but that there be a Neglect therein, fifteen Days after the Time wherein the ſame ought to be iſſued out by the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, that then the Parliament ſhall, as often as ſuch Failure ſhall happen, aſſemble and be held at *Weſtminſter*, in the uſual Place, at the Time prefixed, *&c.*

21. That the Clerk, called, *The Clerk of the Commonwealth*, in Chancery, for the Time being, and all others, who ſhall afterwards execute that Office, to whom the Returns ſhall be made, ſhall for the next Parliament, and the Two ſucceeding Triennial Parliaments, the next Day after ſuch Return, certify the Names of the ſeveral Perſons ſo returned, and of the Places for which he and they were choſen reſpectively, unto the Council, who ſhall peruſe the ſaid Returns, and examine, whether the Perſons ſo elected and returned, be ſuch as is agreeable to the Qualifications, and not diſabled to be elected: And that every Perſon and Perſons being ſo duly elected, and being approved of by the major Part of the Council to be Perſons not diſabled, but qualified as aforeſaid, ſhall be eſteemed a Member of Parliament, and be admitted to ſit in Parliament, and not otherwiſe.

22. That the Perſons choſen and aſſembled in manner aforeſaid, or any Sixty of them, ſhall be, and be, deemed the Parliament of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the ſupreme Legiſlative Power to be and reſide in the *Lord Protector* and ſuch Parliament, *&c.*

23. That the *Lord Protector*, with the Advice of the major Part of the Council, ſhall, at any other Time than is before expreſſed, when the Neceſſities of the State ſhall require it, ſummon Parliaments in manner before expreſſed, which ſhall not be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without their own Conſent, during the firſt three Months of their ſitting: And in caſe of future War with any Foreign State, a Parliament ſhall be forthwith ſummoned for their Advice concerning the ſame.

24. That all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament, ſhall be preſented to the *Lord Protector* for his Conſent; and in caſe he ſhall not give his Conſent thereto, within twenty Days after they ſhall be preſented to him, or give Satisfaction to the Parliament within the Time limited: That then, upon Declaration of the Parliament, that the *Lord Protector* hath not conſented, nor given Satisfaction, ſuch Bills ſhall paſs into, and become, Laws, although he ſhall not give his Conſent thereunto; provided ſuch Bills contain nothing in them contrary to the Matters contained in theſe Preſents.

25. That *Philip* Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, *Charles Fleetwood*, Eſq; *John Lambert*, Eſq; Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Bart. Sir *Charles Woolſley*, Bart. Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, Bart. *Edward Montagu*, Eſq; *John Desborow*, Eſq; *Walter Strickland*,

Strickland, Eſq; *Henry Laurence*, Eſq; *William Sydenham*, Eſq; *Philip Jones*, Eſq; *Richard Major*, Eſq; *Francis Rous*, Eſq; *Philip Skippon*, Eſq; or any ſeven of them, ſhall be a Council for the Purpoſes expreſſed in this Writing; and upon the Death or other Removal of any of them, the Parliament ſhall nominate ſix Perſons of Ability, Integrity, and fearing God, for every one that is dead or removed, out of which the major Part of the Council ſhall elect two, and preſent them to the *Lord Protector*, of which he ſhall elect one, *&c.*

26. That the *Lord Protector*, and the major Part of the Council aforeſaid, may at any Time before the Meeting of the next Parliament, add to the Council ſuch Perſons as they ſhall think fit, provided the Number of the Council be not made thereby to exceed one and twenty, and the Quorum to be proportioned accordingly by the *Lord Protector* and the major Part of the Council.

27. That a conſtant yearly Revenue ſhall be raiſed, ſettled and eſtabliſhed, for mantaining of ten thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, and twenty thouſand Foot, in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for the Defence and Security thereof, and alſo for a convenient Number of Ships for guarding the Seas; beſides two hundred thouſand Pounds *per annum* for defraying the other neceſſary Charges for Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and other Expences of the Government; which Revenue ſhall be raiſed by the Cuſtoms, and ſuch other Ways and Means as ſhall be agreed upon by the *Lord Protector* and the Council, and ſhall not be taken away or diminiſhed, nor the Way agreed upon for raiſing the ſame altered, but by the Conſent of the *Lord Protector* and the Parliament.

28. That the ſaid yearly Revenue ſhall be paid into the public Treaſury, and ſhall be iſſued out for the Uſes aforeſaid.

29. That in caſe there ſhall not be Cauſe hereafter to keep up ſo great a Defence at Land or Sea, but that there be an Abatement made thereof, the Money which will be ſaved thereby, ſhall remain in Bank for the public Service, and not be employed to any other Uſe but by Conſent of Parliament; or in the Intervals of Parliament by the *Lord Protector* and major Part of the Council.

30. That the raiſing of Money for defraying the Charge of preſent extraordinary Forces both at Land and Sea, in reſpect of the preſent Wars, ſhall be by Conſent in Parliament, aud not otherwiſe; ſave only that the Lord Protector, with the Conſent of the major Part of the Council, for preventing the Diſorders and Dangers which may otherwiſe fall out both at Sea and Land, ſhall have Power, until the Meeting of the firſt Parliament, to raiſe Money for the Purpoſes aforeſaid, and alſo to make Laws and Ordinances for the Peace and Welfare of theſe Nations, where it ſhall be neceſſary, which ſhall be binding and in Force, until Order ſhall be taken in Parliament concerning the ſame.

31. That the Lands, Tenements, Rents, Royalties, Juriſdictions and Hereditaments which remain yet unſold or undiſpoſed of by Act or Ordinance of Parliament, belonging to the Commonwealth (except the Foreſts and Chaces, and the Honours and Manors belonging to the ſame; the Lands of the Rebels in *Ireland*, lying in the four Counties of *Dublin*, *Cork*, *Kildare*, and *Katerlaugh*, the Lands forfeited by the People of *Scotland* in the late Wars, and alſo the

Lands

Lands of Papiſts and Delinquents in *England* who have not yet compounded) ſhall be veſted in the *Lord Protector*, to hold to him and his Succeſſors, *Lords Protectors* of theſe Nations, and ſhall not be aliened but by Conſent in Parliament. And all Debts, Fines, Iſſues, Amerciaments, Penalties and Profits, certain and caſual, due to the Keepers of the Liberties of *England* by Authority of Parliament, ſhall be due to the *Lord Protector*, and be payable unto his public Receipt, and ſhall be recovered and proſecuted in his Name.

32. That the Office of the *Lord Protector* over theſe Nations, ſhall be elective and not hereditary; and upon the Death of the *Lord Protector*, another fit Perſon ſhall be forthwith elected, to ſucceed him in the Government, which Election ſhall be by the Council, *&c.* provided that none of the Children of the late King, nor any of his Line or Family, be elected to be *Lord Protector*, or other chief Magiſtrate over theſe Nations, or any the Dominions thereto belonging. And until the aforeſaid Election be paſt, the Council ſhall take Care of the Government, and adminiſter in all Things as fully as the *Lord Protector*, or the *Lord Protector* and Council are enabled to do.

33. That *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain General of the Forces of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, ſhall be, and is hereby declared to be *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging*, for his Life.

34. That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Treaſurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and the Chief Juſtices of both the Benches, ſhall be choſen by the Approbation of Parliament, and in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Approbation of the major Part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament.

35. That the Chriſtian Religion contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the public Profeſſion of theſe Nations; and that as ſoon as may be, a Proviſion leſs ſubject to Scruple and Contention, and more certain than the preſent, be made for the Encouragement and Maintenance of able and painful Teachers for inſtructing the People, and for Diſcovery and Confutation of Error, Hereſy, and whatever is contrary to ſound Doctrine; and that until ſuch Proviſion be made, the preſent Maintenance ſhall not be taken away nor impeached.

36. That to the public Profeſſion held forth, none ſhall be compelled by Penalties or otherwiſe, but that Endeavours be uſed to win them by ſound Doctrine, and the Example of a good Converſation.

37. That ſuch as profeſs Faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt (though differing in Judgment from the Doctrine, Worſhip, or Diſcipline publickly held forth) ſhall not be reſtrained from, but ſhall be protected in, the Profeſſion of the Faith, and Exerciſe of their Religion; ſo as they abuſe not this Liberty, to the civil Injury of others, and to the actual Diſturbance of the public Peace on their Parts, provided this Liberty be not extended to Popery nor Prelacy, nor to ſuch as, under the Profeſſion of Chriſt, hold forth and practiſe Licentiouſneſs.

38. That

38. That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Clauſes, in any Law, Statute, or Ordinance to the contrary of the aforeſaid Liberty, ſhall be eſteemed as null and void.

39. That the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, made for the Sale or other Diſpoſition of the Lands, Rents and Hereditaments of the late King, Queen, and Prince, of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* Deans and Chapters, the Lands of Delinquents and Foreſt Lands, or any of them, or of any other Lands, Tenements, Rents and Hereditaments belonging to the Commonwealth, ſhall no way be impeached or made invalid, but ſhall remain good and firm; and that the Securities given by Act and Ordinance of Parliament for any Sum or Sums of Money by any of the ſaid Lands, the Exciſe, or by any other public Revenue; and alſo the Securities given by the public Faith of the Nation, and the Engagements of the public Faith for the Satisfaction of Debts and Damages, ſhall not be made void and invalid upon any Pretence whatſoever, but remain firm and good.

40. That the Articles given to, or made with the Enemy, and afterwards confirmed by Parliament, ſhall be performed and made good to the Perſons concerned therein. And that ſuch Appeals as were depending in the laſt Parliament, for Relief concerning Bills of Sale of Delinquents Eſtates, may be heard and determined the next Parliament, any Thing in this Writing, or otherwiſe to the contrary notwithſtanding.

41. That every ſucceſſive *Lord Protector* over theſe Nations, ſhall take and ſubſcribe a ſolemn Oath in the Preſence of the Council, and ſuch others as they ſhall call to them, That he will ſeek the Peace, Quiet and Welfare of theſe Nations, cauſe Law and Juſtice to be equally adminiſtred, and that he will not violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained in this Writing; and in all other Things will, to his Power, and to the beſt of his Underſtanding, govern theſe Nations according to the Laws, Statutes and Cuſtoms.

42. That each Perſon of the Council ſhall, before they enter upon their Truſt, take and ſubſcribe an Oath, That they will be true and faithful to their Truſt, according to the beſt of their Knowledge; and that in the Election of every ſucceſſive *Lord Protector*, they ſhall proceed therein impartially, and do nothing therein for any Promiſe, Fear, Favour, or Reward.

An EXACT RELATION of the Proceedings and Tranſactions of the late Parliament, their Beginning and Ending: With a brief Account of their Expence, of the Time of their Seſſion, and the Acts that were made by them, who were diſſolved *December* 12. 1653. As likewiſe of four great Votes, *viz.* 1. *For aboliſhing the Court of Chancery.* 2. *For a new Model of the Law.* 3. *For taking away the Power of Patrons to make Preſentations.* 4. *That innocent Negative Vote of not agreeing with the Report of the Committee for Tithes.* And an Account of ſome Reaſons of thoſe Votes; with a brief Apology in Way of Vindication of thoſe Gentlemen that appeared for the Votes, from the great Outcry made againſt them.

By *L. D.* a Member of the late Parliament.

Matth. v. 11. *Bleſſed are ye when Men revile you, and perſecute you, and ſpeak all Manner of Evil of you falſely for my Name's Sake; rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven.*

Printed in the Year 1654.

To the READER.

HAD not great Blaſphemy, Reproach and Scorn been offered every where unto the holy Name of God, his Truth, his Ways, his Servants, by evil Men, to the great Grief of many fearing God, the following Relation and Diſcourſe had never ſeen the Light: The particular Perſons loaded with great Reproach and Scandal, could, in regard of themſelves, have been contented to have borne all patiently with Silence, and left the Clearing of their Innocency to the moſt righteous God. It is no new Thing in the World for good Men to be reproached for well doing, and to have no other Reward for endeavouring to do their Country Service, and labouring to take off their heavy Oppreſſions and Grievances, than to be counted evil Doers: What is generally reported, is as eaſily believed and taken for Truth, though it be never ſo falſe, great Lightneſs and Vanity attending Perſons, as is too evident. That one Part of the Houſe would have deſtroyed all the Miniſtry, the good as well as the bad (paſſes for current) when as they were only againſt that old, corrupt, unequal, burthenſome, and Debate-making Way, of their Maintenance by Tithes:

In

In which Way, beſide other Things, many a good Soul hath only 20 *or* 30 l. per annum, *to keep him and his alive; and others of leſs Deſert have* 3 *or* 400 l. per annum, *or more; they thinking ſome more equal and leſs Burdenſome Way might be found out and provided; and that their Wives and Children might have had Allowance for their Subſiſtance alſo when they were dead. Many alſo were againſt their ſtanding on that old Popiſh Foot of Account as now they do, as a Part of the old Hierarchy, judging it Reaſon, that as Archbiſhops and Biſhops, Deans and Prebends,* &c. *were removed as Antichriſtian, ſo Parſons, Vicars, Curates, Rectors, Donatives and Incumbents (Strangers to the Goſpel) ſhould be taken away alſo, being of the ſame Stamp; and that all faithful Teachers and Preachers of the Truth and Goſpel, ſhould, by Law, ſtand upon a more Goſpel Account, and their outward Intereſt ſecured unto them accordingly, a ſhort Bill being by them offered for that Purpoſe, but refuſed; whether this amounteth to the deſtroying the godly Miniſtry, or whether they were their Enemies, or rather their Friends in it, they may pleaſe to conſider. Reader, if thou thinkeſt that thou art come to* Canaan, *the Land of Reſt, and that there is attained unto the full End aimed at and intended by Almighty God, in Anſwer of all thoſe mighty Works and Wonders (near unto Miracles) that he hath wrought in theſe Lands; if thou thinkeſt there is already the Harveſt of all that Treaſure ſpent, and Blood ſpilt in the late Wars, then rejoice and be glad: But if thou judgeſt God intended greater and more high Things than yet thou haſt ſeen, in Way of removing Wickedneſs and Oppreſſion, and advancing Juſtice and Righteouſneſs, then believe, and wait and pray; ſo adviſeth he that is a Wellwiſher to the Intereſt of the Lord Chriſt, the Welfare of the Saints, and the Proſperity of the Commonwealth of* England.

L. D.

THE Parliament that ſate ſo long, and had ſo many Changes and Alterations, and yet was preſerved and continued, was a Council that God did highly honour, in making of them Inſtruments of very great Things, many of them being very good Things, as to the Freedom and Profit of the People; among which, the Change of the Government from Kingly to that of a Commonwealth, may worthily be mentioned, as not of the leaſt, but of the greateſt, both to Religion's Intereſt, and the civil Benefit of all good Men.

But long ſitting contracted Dulneſs, and a Kind of Indiſpoſition to go on any further to perfect the Work which divine Providence had carried them on in wonderfully; many of them minding more the greatening of themſelves, rather than the rightening of the Wronged, and relieving the oppreſſed People, and performing their Promiſes to them; ſo not proceeding to perfect the Work of Juſtice and Freedom ſo happily begun and carried on by them, as Inſtruments in the Hand of God, they became low in the Hearts and Eſteem of good People; and divine Providence ſo ordering of it (without which nothing cometh to paſs) they were diſſolved.

And upon an high Account for Godlineſs, and the Love of the Truth and Cauſe of God, and the Intereſt of his People, others were called together out of the Countries and Cities reſpectively, who aſſembling at the Place and Time

appointed, after a large Speech made unto them concerning the Ground of diſſolving the former Council, and calling of this, there was delivered unto them an Inſtrument in Parchment under Seal, delivering the whole Power of the Nation or Commonwealth into their Hands, to take Care of, and to govern for their Good. It is very obſervable, that of all that were ſo choſen and ſummoned to appear for the End aforeſaid, being one hundred and forty Perſons, there were but two that refuſed the Call and Work, ſo unanimous a Concurrence was there found as to the Service; though they knew well their Call was not according to ancient Formality, and the Way of the Nation.

There ſeemed to be two Reaſons wherein there was Satisfaction.

Firſt, That divine Providence had caſt it on them, without their ſeeking in the leaſt.

Secondly, The Neceſſity, as the Caſe of the Commonwealth ſtood, of having ſome to act and carry on Affairs in way of Government, till there might be an Attainer to a better Way of Settlement, by the Choice of the good People of this Nation, which was not to be denied to be their juſt Right, and dearly purchaſed Liberty.

It was great Satisfaction and Encouragement to ſome, that their Names had been preſented as to that Service, by the Churches, and other godly Perſons; and withal, becauſe they were to undergo the Trouble but one Year, or little more, and ſo long they were willing to ſerve their Country freely, to their beſt Abilities, looking for no Reward.

The 4th of *July* 1653, thoſe thus aſſembled and impowered, did adjourn themſelves from *Whitehall* to the Parliament houſe, to meet the next Morning at eight of the Clock, and then to begin with ſeeking God by Prayer; which accordingly they did, and the Service was performed by the Members amongſt themſelves, eight or ten ſpeaking in Prayer to God, and ſome briefly from the Word; much of the Preſence of Chriſt, and of his Spirit, appearing that Day, to the great gladding of the Hearts of many; ſome affirming they never enjoyed ſo much of the Spirit and Preſence of Chriſt in any of the Meetings and Exerciſes of Religion in all their Lives, as they did that Day. In the Evening of that Day Mr. *Francis Rouſe* was called to the Chair, and choſen Speaker; and then the Houſe was adjourned to the next Day, when the Houſe appointed to pray again three or four Days after, which accordingly was done by the Members, principally by ſuch as had not done Service before, when alſo the Lord General was preſent, and it was a very comfortable Day. But after the Houſe had ſpent the firſt Day in Prayer, and were the next Day met again, after Prayer, which was daily performed by one Member or other, as they were found free to perform it: They then proceeded to call over the Houſe, read and laid up the Inſtrument of their Impowering, choſe a Clerk, and after a Sergeant at Arms, and choſe a Committee to conſider what Officers and Attendants were neceſſary to be taken in, and to conſider of the Fees and Salaries of ſuch as ſhould be employed; which accordingly was done and confirmed by the Houſe, Charge being given to the Committee that Care ſhould be taken that none but ſuch as feared God ſhould be employed. About this Time there

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was a great Debate what Name they ſhould give themſelves to be called by, in as much as their Call was looked on as extraordinary; divers Titles were propoſed; but at laſt, being put to the Vote, it was carried, to call themſelves by the Name of, *The Parliament of the Commnnwealth of England.* The lowneſs and Innocency of the Title, having little of earthly Glory or boaſting in it, induced ſome to give their Vote for that, though others were much againſt it. The firſt Thing that was done was a ſolemn Declaration to the good People of this Commonwealth, and to all the World, of owning themſelves a Parliament, and the ſupreme Power of this Nation; which was drawn up by a Committee, and then read and paſſed in the Houſe: In which ſpecious Things are held forth, of the Goodneſs of God to the People of theſe Nations, with Intimation of what our Endeavours ſhould be for their Good, ſtirring them up earneſtly to Prayer and ſeeking of God; which ſeemed to be well reliſhed by all good People.

Then there was a Proceed to chooſe the Council of State, of the Number of thirty-one Perſons, which accordingly was done. The Powers and Inſtructions read and paſſed. It ſo fell out that the great Grievance of Tithes was taken on and debated three or four Days, but with little Succeſs; for whereas all the Houſe, for the moſt Part, were ſenſible that it was a Grievance fit to be removed, the Difference was, ſome would not give Way to the Remove of it, till ſome other Thing were provided to be ſet in the Room of it; others would have it removed as a Grievance in the firſt Place, and then to make Proviſion as God ſhould direct. In the Debate, Difference was made betwixt Impropriators and that which was otherwiſe; and all ſeemed free and willing that Impropriators ſhould be ſatisfied the Value: And therefore, upon the chooſing of a Committee for Tithes, only that of Incumbents was to be conſidered of.

The Houſe, after much Time ſpent as afore, waved it till a further Time and better Leiſure: Then the Houſe was methodized into ſeveral Committees, for the better Diſpatch of Buſineſs, ſo as none might be idle, but all employed in public Service. Beſide the Council of State, ſix or ſeven Committees were choſen and ſet to work: *The Committee for the Army: The Committee for Priſons and Priſoners: The Committee for regulating the Law: The Committee for Juſtices and for the Poor*: *The Committee for public Debts: The Committee for the* Scots *and* Iriſh *Affairs: The Committee for Petitions*: Which Committees ſate daily, and took great Pains Morning and Evening, almoſt every Day in the Week, to diſpatch Buſineſs, and make Things ready for the Houſe: And many Things were fitted and prepared, of which hereafter.

Mr. *Lilburn* about this Time petitioned the Houſe, then his Wife petitioned, after ſome of *Buckinghamſhire*, and alſo *Hertfordſhire*, likewiſe ſome in and about *London*; laſtly, ſome that called themſelves young Men and Apprentices, who delivered a high and peremptory Petition in his Behalf; all which occaſioned much Debate and Expence of Time: The young Men's Petition was voted ſcandalous, and they ordered to be taken into Cuſtody, and accordingly ſix of them were committed; one in a few Days being ſick, the Houſe diſcharged him; the five petitioning, having been in Cuſtody ſome Days, and having been ſomething ſtiff, refuſing to tell their Names, inſtead of being releaſed,

releaſed, were ordered to be ſent to *Bridewell*, there to be kept to hard Labour; and accordingly they were ſent, and kept there; and after ſome time they being ſome of them ſick, and having petitioned twice, Four of the Five were, by Order of the Houſe, releaſed; the other remaineth Priſoner to this Day; the only high Piece of Juſtice the Houſe did all the Time of their Sitting, and wherein there could not be much of Honour, for it was but as the Lion trampling on the Mouſe: This Buſineſs of Mr. *Lilburn* receiving and anſwering the Petitions before-mentioned, concerning himſelf and the Apprentices Petitions for their Liberty, ſpent very much Time, and held many ſharp Debates; ſome Members of the Houſe earneſtly moving to have had his Trial ſuſpended, and the Act called in queſtion, by which he was baniſhed and made a Felon, that the Merit of the Cauſe might be looked into; which they profeſſed again and again they did not do it ſo much in the Favour of Mr. *Lilburn*, as in the Right of themſelves and their Poſterities, and all *Engliſhmen*, which they judged highly concerned therein: But other Gentlemen of Note being very oppoſite, nothing came of the Whole, but Expence of Time, and Loſs of the Love and Affections of many good People, whoſe Petitions were denied; his Trial going on, as ſome in the Houſe had ſuggeſted, ſo it came to paſs he was by the Jury acquitted, to the loſing the Love of ſome, and to the Scorn and Contempt by others.

By this Time many Matters were fitted and prepared by the Committees, who made their daily Reports. The Council of State having the Prehemineence to be firſt heard, divers Things were offered by them, ſome of which had been conſidered of by them in the Interval of Parliament: Many Things paſſed, and were diſpatched, of what they reported, and which other Committees did likewiſe report, which ſpent not a little Time. Buſineſs came on ſo faſt from Committees, which did cauſe ſtriving which ſhould be firſt heard, and much Time loſt thereby. There were many particular Things ordered and diſpatched by the Houſe, as, *The relieving the Sufferings of many by Fires in many Parts of the Nation*; *ſome their Grievances redreſſed*; *ſome their Petitions and Deſires granted*; *ſome had Obſtructions in their Purchaſes removed by the Houſe*. The Buſineſs of providing Monies (all other Things ever giving way to that) occaſioned Expence of much Time, and great Debate of Ways and Means to that End: The Fights at Sea coming to Knowledge by Letters; the reading of them; the acknowledging God's Goodneſs, and praiſing his holy Name; the taking Care to provide for the Sick and Maimed; the relieving the Widows of ſuch whoſe Huſbands were ſlain, the honouring with Rewards the Chieftains and Commanders, with the beſtowing ſeveral Sums of Money on the Widows and Children of ſuch Captains as were ſlain in the Fight, in Conſideration of their Loſs of ſuch Huſbands and Fathers; all which were Things juſt and honourable, but not done without Expence of Time. The Diſpatch of Ambaſſadors to foreign Parts, as to *Turkey* and to *Sweden*, their Letters of Credence, and Commiſſions ſigned and ſealed; the Receipt of Letters from *Switzerland*, and other free States; the reading of them, and returning Anſwers, may be reckoned into the Expence of Time. The Council of State choſen a ſecond Time by the Box or Glaſs, where every

one

one put in his Paper of Names, and thoſe that had moſt Votes carried it, ſpent more Time than one whole Day.

To omit very many Things, toward the End of the Houſe's Sitting, the Buſineſs of the Exciſe came on, where about three Days were ſpent in paſſing the Rates, particularly by Vote; the *Old and New Drapery*, *Hats*, *Caps*, and *Tobacco-pipes* were by Vote exempted from the Duty of Exciſe; the Bill following, in order of the Rates, was very large, of about eighty Sheets of Paper, ſpent one whole Day in the Hearing of it read; and there appeared ſo many Snares and Difficulties in it, as to Trade, as was judged no way fit to be put on a People that expected Freedom at the Price of their Blood and Treaſure, by them ſpent in the late War; whereupon it was, by general Conſent, waved and laid aſide: There were divers Bills prepared by ſeveral Committees, ſome of which were read in the Houſe, and others offered to have them read; but other Buſineſs hindered, as, *A Bill for conſtituting a Committee for Advance of Trade*; *A Bill for Work-houſes, and providing for the Poor.* Divers *Bills for the Regulation of the Law, and making of it leſs chargeable to the People, and more expeditious.*

There were ſeveral Acts paſſed by the Houſe, in Time of their Sitting. The Particulars here follow, *viz.*

1. An Act for the Committee of the Army, and Treaſurers of War.

2. An Act for conſtituting Commiſſioners for ordering and managing the Admiralty and Navy.

3. An Act for ſettling the Court of Admiralty; much Time ſpent in fixing on Judges.

4. An Act for taking away Fines on original Writs, which was, as ſome knowing Gentlemen of Worth in the Houſe affirmed, to the Saving of the People of this Commonwealth, an Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Pounds *per annum*, only Ten or Twelve Thouſand Pounds thereof coming to the State.

5. An Act touching the ſeveral Receipts of the Revenue and Treaſuries of the Commonwealth, and the bringing them into one Treaſury.

6. An Act for Marriages, and the Regiſtering of them; as alſo Births and Burials: Much Time ſpent in the Debate about Marriages, there being many Niceties and difficult Caſes relating to that Subject.

7. An Act for the more ſpeedy bringing in of the Arrears of the Exciſe, and ſettling Commiſſioners to that End.

8. An Act concerning the Planters of Tobacco in *Glouceſterſhire*, and elſewhere.

9. An Act to continue the Receipt of the Exciſe till the 29th of *December* laſt.

10. An Act additional and explanatory for the Sale of the remaining Fee-Farm Rents, and finiſhing the whole Buſineſs.

11. An Act for ſettling *Ireland*, and making it a Part of the Commonwealth, and ſatisfying the Adventurers and Soldiers with Lands; which Act being very large and comprehenſive, took many Days Debate before it could be paſſed as a Law.

12. An

12. An Act for the Relief of Creditors and poor Priſoners: The Fruit of it hath ſhewed the Worth of it, three hundred poor ſtarving Souls having been freed thereby, in and about *London*; a Law ſo juſt and honourable, as *England* hath few better, which paſſed not without ſerious Debate.

13. An Act for Accounts, and clearing public Debts, and for the Diſcovery of Fraud and Concealment of any Thing due to the Commonwealth.

14. An Act impowering the Committee of the Army to ſtate and determine the Accounts of all Soldiers and others employed by them, for Moneys by them received from the 26th of *March*, 1647, until the 25th of *July*, 1653.

15. An Act for Redreſs of Delays and Miſchiefs, ariſing by Writs of Error, and Writs of falſe Judgment in ſeveral Caſes.

16. An Act for repealing of a Branch of an Act of the late Parliament, intituled, *An Act for ſubſcribing the Engagement*; which was much to the Eaſe and Profit of the People, and to the Loſs of the Lawyers.

17. An Act for the regulating the Making of Stuffs in the County of *Norwich* and *Norfolk*.

18. An Act for a High Court of Juſtice; coſt indeed but one Day's Time the Reading, Debate, and paſſing for a Law, by reaſon of the great Haſte ſome Gentlemen made, pretending great Danger to themſelves and the Commonwealth, ſo as no Reaſons could prevail to have it recommitted as ſome deſired, or that the Acts for Treaſons might be read, that the Commiſſioners were to proceed upon, as others moved to have them; nor yet that the Bill might be ingroſſed, being to be a Law that concerned Life; for then it could not have paſt till the next Day, when ſome that were perceived that Day abſent, being praying at the *Black Friers*, might be preſent, and hinder, as it is likely to be feared, the paſſing of it; which had they done, they had ſaved much the Credit of the Council; for to wiſe Men it ſeemed a very weak Piece, and Experience hath (Thanks be to God) ſhewn there was not that ſudden Danger as ſome Gentlemen ſuggeſted, that did not let to ſay (in anſwer to thoſe that would have had it ingroſſed againſt the next Morning) *That they knew not but by that Time they might have their Throats cut.*

19. An Act for Deofforiſtation and Improvement of the Foreſts, and of the Honours, Manors, Lands, and Tenements within the Limits and Perambulations of the ſame, heretofore belonging to the King, Queen, and Prince; a very large Act, and comprehenſive in the Particulars; wherein the old Farmers of the Cuſtom-houſe, that lent the old King Money to make War with the *Scots*, were admitted to have their old Debts made public Faith to double on, to the Sum of Two Hundred Seventy-ſix Thouſand Pounds, to the End to be ſure to have Money againſt the Spring: It was complied with, and ſome very eminent and wiſe Gentlemen made others believe there was no queſtion but the Money would be provided ready againſt the Times, though other Members of leſs Note, told the Houſe what they thought, even as it is come to paſs.

20. An Act, confirming to the Purchaſers of Sir *John Stowel*'s Lands, what they had purchaſed of the State.

21. An

21. An Act for an Aſſeſſment at the Rate of One Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Pounds a Month, for ſix Months, from the Twenty-fifth of *December*, One Thouſand Six Hundred Fifty and Three, to the Twenty-fourth of *June* then next enſuing, for the Maintenance of the Armies and Navy of this Commonwealth, being a very large Act, and that which took up many Days in the Debate and paſſing of it, there being a Deſire, if poſſible, it might have been to have abated ſomething of that Sum, and that it might be laid equally: Many Votes paſſed, and very ſharp Debates, by reaſon of the great Inequality that was evident in the laying of the Tax, ſome Countries bearing beyond their Proportion, and ſome much leſs, which made the Burthen more grievous than otherwiſe it would be: When after many Days ſpent in the modelizing of the Bill, and it came to be paſſed, ſome Gentlemen gave their Reaſons why they could not give their *Yea* to paſs it for a Law, for the Unrighteouſneſs that was in it (and ſomething elſe) which had been laid forth in the Debate. The great Inequality betwixt County and County, City and City, Hundred and Hundred, and ſo of particular Eſtates, ſome paying but two or three Shillings in the Pound, and others four or five; yea, ſome ten or twelve Shillings for their real Eſtate, beſide what they paid for their perſonal; in which, ſome of *London* paſſionately complained of their being overrated, they paying Eight Thouſand Pounds a Month, the fifteenth Part of the whole Aſſeſſment of the Commonwealth; when, as they with great Confidence affirmed, that they were not the fortieth Part of the Commonwealth in Value, as their Caſe now was. The Act ingroſſed, and the Queſtion being put, the *No's* (as to the making it a Law that very Day) had they been proſecuted to the Pole, had hazarded the paſſing of it; it having been earneſtly preſſed, that it might be amended at the Table, or recommitted to be amended againſt the next Day.

A Gentleman that firſt moved to have the Houſe give up that Morning they were diſſolved, made this one of his Reaſons why he could ſit no longer with his Fellows, becauſe of their dealing ſo diſingenuouſly with the Army, ſome other Gentleman having ſpoken to the ſame Account; but as to this, thoſe that gave their *No's* in the Vote againſt the then paſſing of the Bill upon the Account before, can ſay, they never were in Arms againſt the Parliament and Army, nor were ever in *Oxford*, or any other Garriſon that ſtood in Oppoſition to them. And for their conſtant cordial Affection to them, they may ſafely ſay, without boaſting, they have been but a very little behind them that have been the higheſt and beſt affected in the Nation, whatever thoſe Gentlemen pleaſe to ſay. To endeavour to have the Aſſeſſment equally laid and borne, tended much to the Army's Good rather than Hurt, whereby they might continue to enjoy the Love and Affection of the People unto them.

22. An Act for the continuing of the Privileges and Juriſdiction of the County of *Lancaſter*.

23. An Act touching Idiots and Lunatics.

24. An Act for enabling Commiſſioners of Parliament for compounding with Delinquents to diſpoſe of two Parts of the Lands and Eſtates of Recuſants, for the Benefit of the Commonwealth.

An Act that coſt much Time in the Debate of it; for that ſome Gentlemen fearing it amounted to the Toleration of Popery, did ſtrongly oppoſe it, and cauſed it to be ſo modelized, as that it was never like to attain the End aimed at, as ſome then declared; of which Experience now can beſt declare and ſpeak.

25. A ſecond Act for the conſtituting Commiſſioners for ordering and managing of the Affairs of the Admiralty and Navy.

26. An Act for the better and more effectual Diſcovery of Thieves and Highwaymen.

There was alſo a Bill brought in and read, and debated for the Uniting of *Scotland* to the Commonwealth of *England*, as a Part of it, with equal Privileges, which ſpent two or three Days Debate in a grand Committee of the whole Houſe, before it was ordered to be ingroſſed, being a Thing of very great Weight and Concernment; being ingroſſed, it lay ready on the Table to be read and paſſed: But the *Highlanders* putting the Country into Diſtemper, it was not put to be paſſed for a Law while the Houſe continued.

By this Time it will appear the Houſe was not altogether idle, nor at a Stand in their Work, ſo as there was Need to have them diſſolved on that Score: Indeed, much more might have been done and proceeded in, if there had not been ſomething that did let. The two great Grievances of the Law and Tythes, had ſuch Friends in the Houſe, as that, when either of thoſe Things came into Debate, the Houſe was as divided into two Parts; the one very indulgent, ſtill pleading and making Defence in their Behalf; the other endeavouring the Redreſs of them. *Great Counſels agree not in all Things preſently*; yet is that no good Ground of their Diſſolution: That the Houſe was not idle, nor at a Stand, nor in an Incapacity to do the Work of the Nation, though ſo divided as aforeſaid, may, beſide what appeareth already, be further taken Knowlege of by theſe enſuing Votes, which follow.

There were Four great Votes that paſſed in the Time of the Sitting of the Houſe, which ſome Intereſts were much diſpleaſed at, and they paſſed not without great Debate.

Firſt, A Vote for aboliſhing and taking away the Court of Chancery.

Secondly, A Vote for a new Body or Model of the Law.

Thirdly, A Vote to take away the Power of Patrons to make Preſentations.

Fourthly, That innocent negative Vote of not agreeing with the Report of the Committee for Tythes, touching what they reported, as the beſt Way to eject ſcandalous, prophane, and ignorant Miniſters, *&c.* upon which followed preſently the Diſſolution of the Houſe.

A little of each of theſe, becauſe of the great Duſt that is raiſed, to the Blinding of ſome, and enraging of others, againſt them that ſought not themſelves, but the Good of the Commonwealth in general, and no private or particular Intereſts.

Firſt, For the *Chancery*; it was looked on as a great Grievance, one of the greateſt in the Nation, ſo many horrible Things were affirmed of it by Members of the Houſe, as thoſe that were, or had a mind to be Advocates for it,

had

had little to ſay on the Behalf of it; and ſo at the End of one Day's Debate, the Queſtion being put, it was voted down.

For Dilatories, Chargeableneſs, and a Faculty of letting Blood the People in the Purſe Veins, even to their utter periſhing and undoing, as by what was ſpoken and affirmed at the Debate, that Court may compare (if not ſurpaſs) any Court in the World. It was confidently affirmed, by knowing Gentlemen of Worth, that there were depending in that Court, Twenty-three Thouſand Cauſes: That ſome of them had been there depending five, ſome ten, ſome twenty, ſome thirty Years or more: That there had been ſpent in Cauſes, many Hundred, nay Thouſands of Pounds, to the Ruin, nay utter undoing of many Families: That no Ship almoſt (to wit, Cauſe) that ſailed in the Sea of the Law, but firſt or laſt putting into that Port; and if they made any conſiderable Stay there, they ſuffered ſo much Loſs, as the Remedy was as bad as the Diſeaſe: That what was ordered one Day, was contradicted the next; ſo as in ſome Cauſes there had been been five hundred Orders, and far more, as ſome affirmed: That when the Purſes of the Clients began to be empty, and their Spirits a little cooled, then by a Reference to ſome Gentlemen in the Country, the Cauſe ſo long depending, at ſo great Charge, came to be ended, ſo as ſome did look on it as it now is, as a Myſtery of Wickedneſs, and a ſtanding Cheat.

How ſad a Thing is it, that after ſuch Appearances of God in the Land, ſuch a Court, in ſuch a way of Practice, ſhould be continued, to greaten the Retainers to it, and Practiſers in it, by the Ruin of others, eating the Fat and Sweat of other Men's Labours and Eſtates. It is to be hoped ſuch Wickedneſs is not long lived. How did good People rejoice when they heard of that Vote, and how ſad and ſorrowful were the Lawyers and Clerks, for the Fear of the Loſs of their great *Diana*, may be remembered! with their great Joy in making Bonfires, and drinking Sack, when they were delivered from their Fears by the Diſſolution of the late Parliament.

The Committee for the Regulating of the Law, in purſuance of the Vote, brought in a Bill for the taking away the ſaid Court: But for that there was not Proviſion made for the future, and for the Cauſes then depending, altogether it was oppoſed by thoſe Gentlemeen that had no mind it ſhould be taken away; and ſo it came to be waved and laid aſide, and the Committee ordered to bring in a Bill that might do all.

The Members of that Committee having many of them occaſion to be abſent in the Country, in fetching up and ſettling their Families before Winter, nothing was done till toward the Term, when a Bill was brought in and read in the Houſe: That was looked on by many as the waſhing of the Blackamoor, or pruning or lopping evil Branches, where Three or Four in a little time will come inſtead of one cut off. Upon Debate, it came to the Queſtion, and was carried in the Negative, and caſt out.

Then ſhortly after another Bill was brought in and read, which to very many ſeemed to be a ſetting up of two Courts, rather than a caſting down one, and an eſtabliſhing of the *Chancery*, rather than taking it away; ſome Gentlemen of great Note of the Long Robe, had a Hand in it, that it is likely will

never ſpoil their own Trade; the Bill by very many, after a long and ſharp Debate, was judged ſhort of the End aimed at; and being put to the Queſtion, it paſſed in the Negative, and was alſo caſt out; at which ſome of thoſe Gentlemen aforeſaid, were very much diſpleaſed.

The Term by this Time was begun, and the People not eaſed, as was hoped would have been; at which thoſe Members that carried the Vote for putting down that corrupt Court, were ſorely vexed and troubled, who took little Delight to come through the Hall, and to ſee the corrupt Trade going on. Some of them moved to have had the Court ſuſpended for three Weeks or a Month, till ſomething might be done in it; but it was not conſented unto, or thought fit; and ſo the Term and Trade of the Law went on, and the Committee went to work again: And by this Time, ſome other Members of that Committee, that were not ſuch great Zealots for the upholding of that Court, were come to Town, ſo as the Bill was modelized and prepared, which they of the Committee thought would anſwer the End, and be to the Liking of the Houſe; in which was provided for the taking down the Court, and for the Diſpatch of the Cauſes depending, and providing for the future in a ſummary Way, ſo as any ordinary Cauſe might be determined and ended for twenty or forty Shillings, and in a very ſhort Time, and much Strife and going to Law prevented.

But the Houſe being full of Buſineſs, there was no Opportunity to tender it, and ſo they let it alone till a fitter Time and more Leiſure.

If a Copy of that intended Bill were printed, it might be judged what their Intentions were, for that after it was got in and twice read in the Houſe in one Day.

The ſecond Vote, which was for a new Body of the Law, paſſed not without a large Debate. The Clerk in drawing up the Queſtion, put the Word *Body* inſtead of *Model*, which ſome Members, for the paſſing of the Vote before and after, deſired to have altered; but others, Lovers of the Law as now it is, oppoſed the Alteration of the Word, being very angry at the Vote, and ſo it went as it was, with ſome ſeeming Diſadvantage, by means of the Word *Body*, which ſome of thoſe aforeſaid, being angry, would needs fancy, and accordingly reported, as if it were intended to deſtroy the Law, and take away the Laws we had been fighting for all this While as our Birthright and Inheritance.

And ſuch a Noiſe was made about it, that made many believe that the Houſe was modelized of Monſters, rather than Men of Reaſon and Judgment.

There were very ſober and moderate Gentlemen, in the Account of all Men, that concurred heartily in this Vote, ſuch as upon whom little Blemiſh will ſtick.

The Reaſons, or ſome of them, that were alledged in the Debate producing this Vote, was the Intricacy, Uncertainty, and Incongruity in many Things with the Word of God and right Reaſon, in the Laws as now they are.

Firſt, Whereas the Laws ought to be eaſy, plain, and ſhort, ſo as they that were to be ſubject to them, and have Benefit by them, might be able to know and underſtand them in ſome good Meaſure.

They

They are now ſo voluminous, and thereby intricate and uncertain, dark and concealed, as few are able to come to the Knowledge of them, thoſe of the Profeſſion of the Law differing in very many Caſes, what the Law is, and being of ſeveral Opinions about this and the other Thing: And then how ſhould others, though highly concerned, be able to underſtand them, and their Intereſt therein contained, there being ſo many Law-Books of great Bulk, ſo many old muſty Records, Reports, and Book-Caſes, as that after the Time ſpent in School-Learning, the reſt of the Time of the Flower of a Man's Years, would be little enough to read them over and peruſe them.

And beſide, thoſe Records and Book-Caſes are very ill Guides or Lights to go by; for who knoweth the Circumſtances that did attend them, which alters oft-times the whole Caſe? Who knoweth whether in thoſe Caſes, Bribery did not make the Judgment, or the Powerfulneſs of ſome great Man, or the Love or Hatred of the Judge, or the Negligence and Corruption of the Advocate? And beſides, in thoſe Law-Caſes, ſome Precedents are directly contrary to others; and an Advocate or Counſel alledgeth one Caſe or Report, and another another; and then the Judge followeth which he pleaſeth: How arbitrary is the Law in this Caſe? And at what Uncertainty are the great Intereſts and Properties of Men?

Beſide, how various are the Cuſtoms, which notwithſtanding paſſeth for Law? uſually unknown but to ſome old Men of the Place, which though it be never ſo unrighteous and unreaſonable, *Time out of Mind* carries it. How bulky and voluminous are the Statute-Books! and of ſo great a Price as few are able to buy them, and ſo large that few can ſpare Time to read them, to know their Right, and how they are concerned in them; and yet they muſt be judged, and ſtand or fall by them. And many times ſome old muſty Statute of a hundred Years old and more imprinted, is found and made Uſe of by ſome crafty Lawyer, to the undoing of an honeſt Man that meant no Hurt, nor knew any Thing at all of the Danger. Upon ſomething held forth to this Effect, the Vote was carried for a new Body or Model of the Law, and a Committee choſen to that End, who met often, and had the Help of ſome Gentlemen of Worth, that have deſerved well of their Country, being true Patriots who liked well the Thing, as very uſeful and deſireable, it being not a deſtroying of the Law, or putting it down, as ſome ſcandalouſly reported, but a reducing the wholeſome, juſt and good Laws into a Body, from them that are uſeleſs and out of Date; ſuch as concerned the Biſhops and holy Church (ſo called) and were made in favour of Kings, and the Luſts of great Men, of which there are very many; the Law of God being eyed, and right Reaſon looked unto in all, there being ſome of the Laws that are contrary to both; as the putting of Men to Death for Theft, the ſparing of the Lives of Men for Murder, under the Notion and Name of Manſlaughter, a Term and Diſtinction not found in the righteous Law of God; and that unreaſonable Law, that if a Waggon, or Cart, *&c.* driven by the Owner, or ſome other, with never ſo great Care and Endeavour, fall and kill any Perſon, the Owner, though it were his own Son or Servant could no way help it, ſhall loſe his Horſe and Waggon, by the prophane and ſuperſtitious Name of *Deodand*; and the Owners

ers of the Goods ſhall loſe them alſo upon the ſame Account, though they were as innocent as *Abel.* Other Inſtances might alſo be given.

The Way the Committee took in order to their Work, which muſt needs be elaborate, was by reducing the ſeveral Laws to their proper Heads, to which they did belong, and ſo modelizing or embodying of them, taking Knowledge of the Nature of them, and what the Law of God ſaid in the Caſe, and how agreeable to right Reaſon they were; likewiſe how proportionable the Puniſhment was to the Offence or Crime; and wherein there ſeemed any Thing either deficient or exceſſive, to offer a Supply and Remedy, in order to rectifying the whole. The Committee began with Criminals: Treaſon being the higheſt, they conſidered the Kinds; what was meet to be adjudged Treaſon in a free Commonwealth, and what was meet to be the Puniſhment of grand and petty Treaſon: Then they proceeded to Murder, the Kinds of it, and what was to be ſo adjudged, and the Puniſhment thereof. The like they intended concerning Theft; and after to have aſcertained and ſecured Property, as alſo the executive Part of the Law, ſo as a Perſon ſhould not need to loſe or part with one Property, to ſecure and keep another, as now it is; Perſons being forced to loſe or part with the Property of their Cow, to keep the Property of their Horſe; and one Piece or Parcel of Land, to preſerve and keep another. Which Body of Law, when modelized, was to be reported to the Houſe to be conſidered of, and paſſed by them as they ſhould ſee Cauſe; a Work great, and of high and great Eſteem with many, for the great Fruit and Benefit that would come by it; by which means the great Volumes of Law would come to be reduced into the Bigneſs of a Pocket-book, as it is proportionable in *New-England*, and elſewhere; a Thing of ſo great Worth and Benefit as *England* is not yet worthy of, nor likely in a ſhort Time to be ſo bleſſed as to enjoy. And this being the true End and Endeavour of thoſe Members that laboured in that Committee, it is ſubmitted to every godly (and rational) Man in the Nation, whether (as is moſt falſely and wickedly reported, and charged upon Perſons acting in ſo much Love to their Country) their Endeavours tended to deſtroying the whole Laws, and pulling them up by the Roots.

The third Vote was the taking away of Patrons Preſentations, which Thing is one of the ſtrong Holds of Satan: At the paſſing of this Vote ſome Gentlemen were greatly offended, pretending it was a deſtroying and taking away Property: The Gentleman that moved firſt to have the Houſe diſſolved, made this one of his great Reaſons why he could ſit no longer with his Fellows, being very conſcious, like thoſe that ſtumble at a Straw, and yet leap over a Block; tithe Mint and Cummin, and neglect the great Things of the Law. This Vote, after a ſharp Debate was carried in, in which very ſober Gentlemen concurred, ſuch as are not blemiſhed as Sectaries or Levellers, though they had of this Kind of Property themſelves, ſome two or three a-piece, that out of Conſcience, for the better Advance of the Knowledge of the Goſpel, and Intereſt of the Lord Chriſt, they were willing to part with their Right herein.

The

The Nature of this Property may be a little minded, becauſe of the great Outcry that is every where made, Oh the Parliament-men, many of them are ſuch as would deſtroy all Property! as if they had none themſelves, when as, though all of them had not very bulky Eſtates, yet they had free Eſtates, and were not of broken Fortunes, or ſuch as owed great Sums of Money, ten thouſand Pounds and more, and thoſe to whom they were ſo in Debt knew not how to get a Penny of it, but ſtood in need of Privilege and Protection, as formerly it hath been. The Nature of this Property looked into and conſidered, will appear to be partly of an earthly, and partly of ſpiritual Nature; theſe two mixed and twiſted together, make up this Right or Property, of having Power to preſent a Perſon to be Miniſter there. To have the earthly, or civil advantaged Tithes, and Offerings, and Glebe-land, if there be any; and to have the more religious, or ſpiritual Right and Intereſt, the Cure and Care of Souls, of all living within that Circumference called a Pariſh, and to have the Right to officiate to God and Man there: And is not this Property worth the ſtanding for? to be Lord Patron, ſo as he may open the Door to whom he pleaſeth, and be ſure he let in ſuch a one as will comply, and ſerve his Intereſt, and wink at his vicious Courſes, and not vex and diſquiet his Greatneſs by telling him of his Faults, as ſome time *John Baptiſt* did *Herod*; or as thoſe, which profanely they call Puritans, and Sectarian Miniſters uſe to do.

But ſeeing to ſell this Property, were no leſs than the Sin of Simony, what worldly Advantage can he make of it? Thus, if the Church be full (ſo they blaſphemouſly call it) Chriſt being the only Fulneſs of the Church, and not ſome ignorant, prophane and lazy Prieſt; that is a miſerable Fulneſs, with which ſome Churches (ſo called) are filled: In ſuch a Caſe of Fulneſs, the Lord Patron may ſell the Reverſion for a conſiderable Sum of Money, to ſome one or other that hath ſent his Son to *Oxford*, or *Cambridge*, to learn the Art of Logic and Philoſophy, by which Craft he may know how to get his Living another Day; and ſo the old Incumbent dying, this young Artiſt cometh to be preſented one, to enter and take Poſſeſſion, and ſo to enjoy his Portion his Father provided for him: The Glebe, the Tithes, and Oblations, together with the Care and Cure of Souls, and Right of officiating to God and Man there, for this his Father bought, and purchaſed for him, and who ſhall take it from him. But if the Church be empty, that is, of a Prieſt, then all his Property amounteth but to a Shadow, unleſs it be ſure to put in one that, being beholding to him, ſhall be ſure to ſerve him, and to forbear his Luſts; or elſe marry his Kinſwoman, or his Wife's Gentlewoman or Chambermaid, in Conſideration of being preſented to be ſettled there: But can this Work of Darkneſs, and Root of Iniquity abide the Light, or look in the Face, without bluſhing the glorious Light of the Goſpel that now ſhineth in this our Horizon? Is not this Property a Relic of the Merchandize of the great Whore, *Rev.* xviii. 13. that buyeth and ſelleth amongſt other Wares the Souls of Men? What a ſad Account have the moſt of theſe Proprietors, theſe Preſenters and Preſented to make, for the many thouſand Souls that have periſhed by their Means?

But

But doth that Gentleman that made this one of his Reaſons, as before, why he could ſit no longer with his Fellows to do the Work of the Commonwealth, think indeed, and is it really his Judgment, that a Parliament, or ſupreme Authority, have nothing to do to meddle with Property, ſo as it ſhould be ſo great an Offence to meddle with the airy Property of Preſentations? Sure upon Conſideration he and thoſe Gentlemen that were ſo offended, cannot but think otherwiſe. That the Parliament may, for a common Good, meddle with, and take away Property, of a higher Nature than Preſentations, and of higher and more nigh Concernment; eſpecially, when particular Men's Property is prejudicial to common Good, ſo as the whole is profited by the Loſs of particular Perſons, he ſurely was one of them that gave his Yea for the paſſing of the Bill for the monthly Aſſeſſment, notwithſtanding it meddled with Property, even the fifth Part of the yearly Revenue and Income of moſt Men; and ſure he cannot but think they might do it in order to paſs like Good, without any deſtroying Property; though many are as unwilling to part with it as thoſe Gentlemen can be to part with their Property of Preſentations.

Was it a deſtroying Property, in his Judgment, for the former Parliament to take into their Hands, and to ſell away the Lands of Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, which they enjoyed as their Properties, with many Rights and Privileges not inferior to Preſentations, which ſome of them had never made Forfeiture of, by acting againſt the Parliament?

Was the taking the five and twentieth Part of Perſons Eſtates for the Good of the whole, a deſtroying Property? Indeed ſome ſaid ſo then; but we know what they were accounted for ſo ſaying, no leſs than Malignants.

Surely thoſe Gentlemen will not ſo ſay of the Inſtrument or Model of new Government, or thoſe that made it, as they do of thoſe that paſſed that Vote, notwithſtanding it takes two hundred thouſand Pounds *per annum* for the carrying of it on.

The former Parliament they did not reckon that they went beyond their Power, nor that they overthrew Property, when they paſſed the Act for the draining of the Fens, giving away very much of the Lands (the chiefeſt Property) of the Owner, to the Undertakers, in order to public Good.

The fourth Vote, whereupon followed the Diſſolution of the Parliament, was that harmleſs Negative, of not complying with the Report of the Committee, touching what they offered as the beſt Way to eject ignorant, prophane, and ſcandalous Miniſters, and encouraging them that are good, *&c.* of which two Things, and ſo an End of this Diſcourſe: *Firſt*, Of the Proceed to it, and in the Debate of it; and then that which followed after it till the Houſe was diſſolved. The Proceed was ſhortly thus: After the aforeſaid Vote had paſſed, and ſome of the Gentlemen of the Houſe were in Readineſs to offer the Bill, the Committee for Tithes to counter-work, and keep that off, as ſome thought, did on *Monday* Morning offer this Report, and many were for the taking of it on; others were againſt the meddling with it at that Time, ſome moving to have the Bill taken in concerning Preſentations, ſome to fall on Things of more preſent Concernment, as the Bill for uniting *Scotland* to *England*. Reaſons were offered on every Side, and after one of the Clock

Clock the Houſe roſe and nothing faſtened on. The next Morning thoſe that were for the Report to be taken in the Day before, moved again, and the other not oppoſing, it was taken in, but not without being put to the Vote, whether the Houſe would take it in, which was carried in the Affirmative; and ſo the Debate began, and continued Day after Day, till after one of the Clock each Day, the Speaker being aged, and not able to ſit longer. The Debate was managed day by day with very great Seriouſneſs, many Arguments and Scriptures being alledged.

The Houſe being evenly poiſed, and great Attendance being given by the Members, waiting the Time of the Vote, and though any Member might, by the Rules of the Houſe, have ſpoken every Day ſo long as the Debate continued, yet ſuch was the Modeſty ſhewed, that hardly any on all the five Days ſpake twice, very little of Heat or Paſſion being ſhewed all that Time, only one Gentleman or two that were for the Report, ſeeing themſelves and their Party ſo engaged, flew out a little, complaining of the Expence of Time, to have given a Check to the going on of the Debate: But the Orders of the Houſe being called for, by ſome of the other Side, to the Speaker, he declared it to be the Right of every one to be heard, and that the Queſtion could not be put ſo long as any would ſpeak to it; withall thoſe Gentlemen were told of their Reſtleſneſs to take on the Debate, and how now they wanted Patience to wait the Iſſue of it; after three or four Days, a Member that was againſt the Report, offered an Expedient, but was not accepted: At laſt on *Saturday* toward Noon the Queſtion grew near, as did alſo the End of the Parliament, ſome Members that were againſt the Report having not ſpoken, and eſſaying to ſpeak, were perſuaded to forbear, who only gathered the Iſſue and Reſult of the whole, and left it to the Houſe; which was, whether upon the whole this in the Report was the beſt Expedient for that End? which ſome on the other Side, that were for the Report, perceiving the Streſs of the Queſtion put there, moved that the Word *beſt* might be put out; but it was not admitted, having been in the Report all the Time of the Debate: So about one of the Clock the Vote paſſed, and upon dividing the Houſe, was carried in the Negative. A Debate of that Nature and Length, in ſo great a Council, hardly ever paſſed with ſuch Soberneſs and little Heat or Paſſion: The Buſineſs was in *ſtatu quo*, as to any one's being either better or worſe, the Report was laid aſide, for that the firſt Part of it, whereon the other Part depended, was rejected; to wit, that the beſt Way to eject ignorant, prophane, and ſcandalous Miniſters, and to encourage them that are good, was by ſending certain Commiſſioners impowered to do it, as at full length hath been put forth in Print already. There was at the Paſſing this Vote 115 Members, whereof 54 were for the Affirmative, and 56 for the Negative, and two Gentlemen Tellers for each Side, and the Speaker, which make up that Number.

To go about to tell of the Arguments inſiſted on, from the Scriptures, and from Experience, and other Reaſons of a prudential Conſideration, would be too tedious; that this Vote, that hurt no Body, ſhould occaſion ſuch wonderful Diſpleaſure and Outcry every where, is at leaſt wonderful: If Men were aſked (as *Micah* was) what aileth them? they would hardly be able to tell ſo well

well as he did: Is it not much, when as godly ſober Men, in diſcharge of their Duty and Truſt, for the Glory of God, and Good of their Country, ſhould leave their Habitations, Relations and Enjoyments, ſpend their Time and Means to ſerve their Country, and be ſo rewarded with ſcandalous and falſe Reports, and to have Judgment of high Condemnation paſſed on them upon Hearſay, without the leaſt Shew of Proof? Is it not much that Men of Learning, Leaders and Teachers of others, that would be eſteemed godly orthodox Divines, Miniſters of Chriſt, and Preachers of his Goſpel, ſhould be of ſuch a Spirit and Strain, ſo unlike Chriſt and the Goſpel, as to utter ſuch Speeches in Pulpits, and elſewhere? that they, meaning thoſe that complied not in the aforementioned Vote, and voted in the other, were the arranteſt Rogues and Villains that ever the Earth bore; that their Deſign was worſe than the Gunpowder Treaſon; that they would have deſtroyed the Magiſtracy and the Miniſtry, the Law and the Goſpel, *&c.* that it were well if one of ten of them were hanged up, and then there would be happy Days. Might not Enquiry be made, what is the Matter of this their ſo great Rage and Diſpleaſure? who hath done them wrong? No Queſtion but they would ſay, Oh they would have deſtroyed all the Miniſters, good as well as bad, and overthrown the Goſpel; for ſo they frequently ſay: Heinous Crimes indeed! But how doth it appear? Only thus; they were againſt thoſe Grievances of the Law and Tithes, and would have had thoſe taken away; and they would not concur with the Report of the Committee in order to the ſettling of Tithes, that being in the Bottom of the Report; ſo as by theſe Men's Logic and Concluſion, thoſe two Grievances of the Law and Tithes (which theſe ſo reproached laboured to have taken away) are the Magiſtracy and Miniſtry; the corrupt Law, or Corruption of the Law, are the Magiſtracy; and Tithes, they are the Miniſtry, yea more, the Goſpel alſo: But alas, Magiſtracy can ſtand without ſuch horrible Corruptions of Law, and the Miniſtry without Tithes, as it is in other Countries where there is neither of them. But the Belly hath no Ears, and therefore no more ſhall be ſaid.

The aforementioned Vote paſſing as it did, thoſe Gentlemen that miſſed of their Expectations, and were croſſed of having their Wills, greatly fearing, as it ſeemeth, it would go ill with thoſe corrupt Intereſts of the Lawyers and Clergy, which they endeavoured to ſupport, they took the Pet, and were exceeding wroth divers of them; and that Afternoon and the next Day (being the Lord's Day, a Day fitter for better Employment) they took Counſel with and among themſelves, holding Cabals, and there conſulting the Overthrow and Diſſolution of the Houſe, which was, as they had declared to all the World, the ſupreme Authority or Magiſtracy, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*: Is it not much that Gentlemen pretending ſo high to Wiſdom and Godlineſs, for miſſing and having their Wills in a Vote carried in the Negative, ſhould be induced thereby preſently to take on ſuch deſperate Counſels and Reſolves, and to draw others into them ignorantly, forgetting, as it ſeemeth, what they had ſolemnly declared before God, and all the World; to wit, that the Houſe was the ſupreme Authority of the Commonwealth of *England*, which Commonwealth God had highly honoured, and made famous throughout

throughout the World; forgetting alſo their Severity againſt malapert Words given in a Petition, becauſe it was the ſupreme Authority: What might ſuch Counſels, Reſolves, and Actings merit by their own Law? Had they no Charity in them towards their Fellows, becauſe croſſed in that poor Vote? Had they loſt, or laid aſide the Fear of God, that they could thus venture to overthrow Magiſtracy, even the greateſt in the Commonwealth, the Parliament and ſupreme Authority, to the endangering the whole Cauſe? The Members that they were ſo angry with, and have ſo reproached, as being againſt Magiſtracy and Miniſtry, becauſe that poor negative Vote was carried againſt their Wills, may ſay to them as *Jehu* ſaid to the Rulers of *Samaria*, 2 *Kings* x. 9. *Ye are righteous.* Indeed they voted in the Affirmative in thoſe former Votes, in the Negative in theſe laſt Votes concerning Triers: But who conſulted and put in Practice the Overthrow and Diſſolution of the Parliament and ſupreme Authority of the Commonwealth of *England?* Having ſlept upon their Counſels, they are of the ſame Mind ſtill, and addreſs themſelves to put it in Execution, riſing early and coming betimes to put in Practice their Deſign, which was to diſſolve and put to an End the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England* in their own Eſteem, and being come, they feared not to begin with Prayer to God the Searcher of Hearts, and then proceed to declare their Purpoſe, and the Reaſons of it, laying Load upon their Fellows in Way of Blame, that were leſs guilty of Evil than themſelves, uttering Words that could not but aſtoniſh any good Soul of a dying Parliament, charging their Fellows that were for the removing of the great Grievances of the Law and Tithes, that they followed their own Wills, nay their own Luſts, Words not fit to be ſpoken in a free Council, and that might have been more truly ſaid of themſelves; when thoſe of the other Side, that knew nothing of their Deſign, offered to ſpeak, telling them it was no Time to debate, only one Patriot of thoſe that were zealous for the Remove of thoſe afore-mentioned great Grievances, ſtood up and got Audience, ſpeaking againſt what they had moved, intimating the good Bills that were in Readineſs to be brought in for the People's Good, and proteſting before God, Angels and Men, againſt what they had moved, and others of the ſame Party ſtanding ready to do the like, who called to the Speaker to be heard, thoſe Gentlemen, without hearing their Fellows, or admitting the Debate, or putting the Queſtion, roſe up out of their Places to be gone, and others in Simplicity followed, as once many did after *Abſalom*, 2 *Sam.* xv. 11. not knowing any Thing at all, but how they performed their Truſt the World may judge.

The Speaker forgetting the Duty of his Place, though he was earneſtly called unto to keep the Chair, he left it; and the Sergeant, as if he had been of Council, took up the Mace, and carried it before him, though he was ſpoken unto to the contrary, as in like manner did the chief Clerk; and thus in an irruptious Way going out of the Houſe, without any Adjournment or Vote, left ſitting thirty-four or thirty-five Members in the Houſe, whether thoſe that ſo went away were a greater or a leſſer Number, as is more likely, but is hard to be determined, though it be thought by ſome there were not ſeventy ſo early in the Houſe. Thoſe that went out of the Houſe, going toward *Whitehall*,

met ſome coming to the Houſe, who ſeeing them go in that Manner, thought they had adjourned thither, and ſo went along with them; others they ſent for up and down where they could find them, to come to them to the Horſe Chamber, where they were: Thoſe in the Houſe immediately betook themſelves to conſider what they had to do, being ſo deſerted of their Fellows; and telling over their Number, they found themſelves but thirty-four or thirty-five, which could not make a Houſe, forty being the leaſt Number that might act in a parliamentary Way. And as they were going to conſider among themſelves, a Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel of the Army entered the Houſe, and deſired them to depart: The Members deſired them to withdraw, for that they as Members of Parliament had Warrant to be there, and if they had Warrant to put them out, they wiſhed them to ſhew it; but not many Words paſſed, but they went back and opened the Doors, and brought in the Soldiers with their Muſkets, and then the Gentlemen roſe and went out, which was done before the other were half-way at *Whitehall*, and ſome ſo put out of the Houſe, went after to *Whitehall*, to ſee what they were there doing, and found them in the Horſe Chamber, preparing a Writing of Surrender of their Power back into his Hands, from whom they had received it. If they had been his Council, and not Legiſlators, or a Parliament, much might have been in it; it was three or four Lines written in four or ſix ſeveral Papers, that ſo the Gentlemen might the more eaſily read and ſee what it was, which then the Clerk ingroſſed in Parchment, and then they ſigned it by ſubſcribing their Names, as many as would, firſt the Speaker, and then others according to their Quality. It may be wondered at, that ſo great a Power ſhould be paſſed by ſo low and little an Inſtrument. Some Gentlemen went three or four Days after, and ſet their Hands to it: They that ſubſcribed it did it on ſeveral Grounds and Reaſons; ſome did it knowingly to diſſolve the Houſe, before diſſolved by the Soldiers, and their diſorderly going away, which they had plotted and reſolved before; ſome becauſe ſome eminent Perſons of their Party did it before them, expecting by that Means to have been rid of ſome of the other Party at the leaſt, and they to have been continued in Power without them, wherein they were deceived, and not a little vexed; ſome therein looked no further than at their own Quiet, and to be rid of a troubleſome Employment; ſome that they might not be thought Lovers of Power and Dignity; and ſome out of Weakneſs, and Fear of the Loſs of ſome worldly Enjoyment, which they have ſufficiently repented and been ſorry for ſince.

But how weak an Act, and contrary to their Truſt it was, for thoſe that profeſſed themſelves to be Legiſlators, had made Laws, and levied Money by way of Tax upon the People, as the Parliament and ſupreme Authority of the Commonwealth of *England*; as clothed with their Power, ſo eaſily, and without their Knowledge or Conſent, whom they pretended to repreſent in Parliament, to give up, or give away their Power, which was none of theirs to give, but at the moſt to uſe for their Good; to do it without Debate or Conſideration, in ſo weighty a Caſe; to do it when the Parliament was diſſolved by themſelves and the Soldiers, and they but in the Capacity of ſingular Perſons; to give it up, as much as in them lay, into the Hands of one ſingle Perſon,

Perſon, and that againſt a ſtanding Law then in being, not repealed: Was it not in Effect to render all the People of *England* Slaves? as would eaſily be granted by their own Party, if they had ſo delivered to *Charles Stuart*; were ever Men ſo weak, raſh, and inconſiderate; ſo out-witted, or carried away with Paſſion and Spleen againſt their Fellows, becauſe they endeavoured to remove thoſe Grievances of Tythes and the Law, which the People of this Nation groan exceedingly under? But, might not the Validity of this Act of theirs be queried? If a Jury ſhould give up their Verdict ſo, or deliver over their Truſt to others, would it be counted valid? But ſo it was, and ſo they did; and ſo an End of that Parliament that ſate five Months and three Days as the ſupreme Power of the Commonwealth of *England*, whom God preſerve.

And ſo an End of this Relation and Diſcourſe, with the calling to Mind the Saying of the Pſalmiſt, *Pſalm* xi. 4. 7. *If the Foundations be deſtroyed, what can the Righteous do? The righteous Lord loveth Righteouſneſs, his Countenance doth behold the Upright.*

An exact NARRATIVE of the Attempts made upon the Duke of *Glouceſter*: Being the Extract of divers Letters, written out of *France* to Perſons of Quality in *England*, and publiſhed for the Satisfaction of all true Proteſtants.

Printed in the Year 1655.

SIR, *Paris, Novemb.* 7. 1654.

THERE are newly come to my Notice ſome untoward Paſſages, whereby one of our great Pledges hath been expoſed to the Hazard of his Religion; which my Pen is very loth to impart, were it not for Prevention, leſt being impoſſible to be concealed in *England*, it might be repreſented by others either more deſperate, or more faulty than yet it is in Truth.

The King, when he went away from hence was over-intreated by his Mother to leave the Duke of *Glouceſter* with her; which, to content her in ſome Things, whom he could not pleaſe in divers others, he conſented to grant her that Requeſt, upon Promiſe, that ſhe would not force him to change his Religion, and ſo Conditions of Liberty of Prayers, *&c.* were eſtabliſhed: But of late they do (ſome ſay by the *French* Court's Inſtigation) preſs it very hard, and even profeſs an Attempt of it. Mr. *Montagu*, Lord Abbot of *Nanteul*, &c. and his Inſtruments have gotten him, under Pretence of weaning him from from young *French* Gallants Company (that on Occaſion of being in the ſame Academy, were indeed grown but too kind to him) to *Pontoiſe*, and after a Week's Stay there, his Tutor coming on Buſineſs to *Paris* for

for one Night (whether they had deſigned this Abſence of his, or only did make uſe of it, I cannot tell) they all ſet upon him with Motives Spiritual and Temporal to become a Roman Catholic: The Spiritual ones, ſuch as the Subject would afford, little and many, more truſting on Number than Weight, he and (his only Help then) Mr. *Griffin* anſwered with the beſt Skill they had, and with much more Reſolution and Metal, both of them, than you can imagine, and rejected the Temporal ones with Contempt, and with the Danger of incurring the King's Diſpleaſure, who had both given him a Charge, and engaged his Mother, that there ſhould be no Change in Religion laboured for: But to both, the Duke added a Complaint, that they ſhould offer to aſſault him, with either of thoſe Conſiderations in the Abſence of his Tutor, who was fitteſt to judge of their Propoſals.

When he came therefore, the Shock was renewed, and ſuſtained ſo firmly, that the Stay at *Pontoiſe* was ſooner ended than we hoped for. To our great Content, we ſee our young Prince again frequent and conſtant at the ſame Devotions with us, but complaining much, he ſhould be troubled by his Father's and Brother's Subjects, eſpecially to become of another Religion, than they and his Conſcience directed him to keep to.

But the Queen now muſt appear to own the Thing, and to profeſs, that ſhe cannot but labour to have her Son ſhewed the right Way to Heaven; and though ſhe promiſed he ſhould not be forced by her, yet to have that Way propoſed to him ſhe found requiſite; and ſince Mr. *Lovell* (his Tutor) had expreſſed he could not, nor muſt not, ſee him ſo aſſaulted, and therefore preſſed the Forbearance of ſuch Diſcourſes in the Duke's Preſence, being ready to ſatisfy any one himſelf, ſhe would put him into another Governor's Hands for a while at leaſt; and ſo under Mr. *Montagu*'s Wing he is carried to Mr. *Croft*'s Houſe, being contrary to his own earneſt Intreaty, hurried away on *Saturday*, and not ſuffered to ſtay till *Monday*, though he pleaded hard for it, upon want of a warm Coat, and there he muſt tarry till *Monday* Sevennight after: Mean while no Body with him that might help his Reſolution, ſave Mr. *Griffin* of his Bed chamber, a young Gentleman, though an old Servant of his (once my Lord of *Mancheſter*'s Page) who is indeed zealous againſt their Deſign, even with Reſolution to quit the Service, if any Change ſhould happen, but his Years and Breeding make him not invincible as to himſelf; and if he yield any conſiderable Aſſiſtance to his Maſter, muſt be left behind too, the next remove at leaſt.

They have ſent Notice of theſe Streights to the King and Duke of *York* long ſince; but 'tis carefully provided, that the Duke of *York* muſt not come home yet; and when he does prepare to come, if they cannot find themſelves Conquerors and ſecure, they will (rather than hazard the Loſs of this Prey) not ſcruple to encloiſter him from any Heretic's View whatſoever.

In ſuch a Caſe as this, you cannot preſume enough of the Zeal and Indignation the little Prince has againſt his Uſage here; againſt the Wrong done him by the Council that left him in ſuch dangerous Hands; againſt every obtruded Servant of that Pack about him; againſt his new Governor, himſelf croſſing him in divers Things, even of leſſer Moment, as if he were the only

Engliſh,

Engliſh, whom Experience hath taught, how narrowly Men ought to watch againſt Uſurpation; in fine, he apprehends his Danger ſeriouſly, and the Honour of reſiſting moſt nobly and heroically, both for Reſolution of Endeavour, and for Confidence of Succeſs: That, and the Odds of the Cauſe, and God's Power to perfect Praiſe *ex ore infantium*, is almoſt the only Hopes we have.

Let us have yours, and all good Proteſtants Prayers for this Confeſſor; who as he ſees (unmoved) an evident Want of all Things fit for a Gentleman of better Sort, ſlighted of the *French* Court, his Mother s Frown and endleſs Importunity before him, if he be not perverted; ſo I doubt not is now under the New Diſcipline and Manage of their Spiritual, or rather Eccleſiaſtical Falconers, who will not ever ceaſe Watching and Dieting, *&c.* and whatever elſe is neceſſary to bring this young Eaglet to ſtoop and vail, and to do all Things at their Lure, and even to take Hood too, if Need be: For, they that make ſuch a Court-work of every little Child's, and diſcontented, debauched Servant's Converſion, will ſpare none of their little or great Arts to get this noble Bird of ſo Royal a Wing, as being the only one of that Airy they hope for now, having loſt ſo much Pains on the Two former, and ſo fit to awe and dare leſſer Birds by; of which there are Wagers laid of no few or mean ones already.

I foreſaw this unmeaſured Excurſion before-hand, and was therefore ſo loth to write at all; and the Truth is, I can neither *ſcribere* nor *non ſcribere* till this Criſis be over: Though I foreſee what News this will be in *Gath*, furniſhing the Parliament with a ready Anſwer, when the next bold Man aſks, What have the poor Gentlemen done abroad? And there are ſagacious Souls that would never underſtand till now, the Reaſon why the Parliament decreed to ſend him abroad, e'er he was out-grown the Danger of Perverſion: But certainly they that pretend to have true Proteſtant Hearts, and will for either Fear or Love of Money, ſuffer the *Defenders of their Faith* to be led into the Wilderneſs of Want, and prepare them with Hunger for the Devil's Temptations of turning any Stone to get Bread, do deſerve the Laſh of Perſecution, which in Time may juſtly light upon them, if God and they do not timely prevent it.

Paris, 25 *Novemb.* 1654.

By former Letters you may perceive how they prevailed with the Queen to take the Duke out of his Tutor's Hands, hurrying him firſt to *Pontoiſe*, and then to Mr. *Croft*'s Houſe: During which, as fully as they poſſeſſed him, every Hour, and much leſs Parts of the Day, one or other of the Bees ever humming about him; yet at Night he had one that lay in his Bed-chamber, who entertained him more to his Heart's Deſire, and (like *Penelope*'s Web) unſpun (as well as they could, two little young Things, ſome few Years above Thirty between them) whatever had paſt in Public, or the Day before.

And, indeed, they did well to ſpend and improve their Nights in this manner; for when once they were up (as his Grand-father ſaid of my Lord of *Carliſle*, he was in perpetual Torments, Eatings, Huntings, Dancings, Viſits, Journeys, Entertainments of Males and Females, ſo) our little Duke

was

was continually tortured with Arguments finely embelliſhed with *True Church, Roman Catholic Church*; *to be of the King of* France's, *and his Mother's Religion*; *being made a Cardinal*; *to become that King which muſt reſtore what* Henry *the Eighth took away*, and the Appendices.

However, he was not ſo ſtrictly looked unto at firſt, but that there might be now and then ſtolen into his Hand a comfortatory Letter from his Friends at *Paris*; but theſe Shifts were to laſt but for a while: A terrible Ferule was poliſhed for him, and ſuch a one, as the Awe of it kept him from flat rejecting and affronting his new Governor *Montagu*, leſt he being thoroughly vexed, might reſign him up into the Jeſuits Hands; to whoſe College the Duke knew himſelf deſtined within a few Days, even by Violence itſelf, if Relief came not from *Germany*.

And now, when all his Stock of Replies (which my Friend tells me, were hugely ingenious, and indeed ſolid, ſuch as one would ſay, could not be in thoſe Years but *ex traduce)* were ſpent, and his laſt Refuge of peremptory Silence, and upbraiding them for preſſing their Sophiſms on ſuch a one as he was, while the Dean his Tutor and Friends were declined baſely, grew ſtale Helps; behold, a grave Friend of his Father's, Sir *G. R.* comes with a Letter in his Pocket from the King, and was indeed admitted to ſee him and talk with him before Witneſs; but ſo far from Poſſibility of Privacy, that he was fain to leave the Letter behind him to be conveyed at an opportuner Occaſion into his Hand. That Letter, ſays my Intelligencer, begins and ends ſo Brother-like, ſo Chriſtian-like, ſo King-like, that he hath ſet my Longing on Fire to hear it. 'Tis promiſed me I ſhall, and when I do, I ſhall be careful to preſent you with that Jewel.

It puts me in mind of the ſtrict Command he left with him at parting; of the monſtrous Injury to his Conſcience; to his State; to his Family; the Vanity of their Motives; the Emptineſs of their Promiſes; the more Eligibleneſs of any Degree of Suffering; God's Promiſes, whoſe Love he muſt reckon to loſe, as well as his ſo loving a Brother's, if he were perverted by any Inticings whatſoever: And to make all he ſaid more valuable, that he would reflect on their dead Father's laſt Charge, which he ſolemnly gave him, with the Intail of his Bleſſing annexed.

In fine, he cloſed his Inſtructions with that which would have been ſevere enough alone: That if he either changed his Religion, or put himſelf into the Jeſuits College, he had the laſt Letter from him, and muſt never look to ſee *England*, or his Face again: And that if (which God forbid) their Buſineſs miſcarried, the whole Ruining of their Family, and all the Nation's too, muſt lay the Miſchief at his Door, as the great Cauſe of it.

Now, no ſooner had he read this threatning Comforter, but he hugged it in his Boſom, and with all poſſible Speed tranſcribed a Copy of it for his Mother, ſending it forthwith to her; and begging her Leave to come to *Paris*, both upon thoſe Commands of the King, and upon the News of his Brother's being come from the Army. Of this the Anſwer was, ſhe could not ceaſe wiſhing his ſo great and eternal Good; but ſhe would not force him; but wiſhed him to hearken to what Mr. *Montagu* ſhould further deliver

unto

unto him; and that was, That he would be willing to go to the Jeſuits College however, where he ſhould have ſtrange Freedom in every Thing: But all would not perſuade on the one Side, nor ſecure on the other, till moſt welcomely, about ten Days ſince, my Lord of *Ormond* came from *Germany* with Letters, and Inſtructions to boot; to ſecond with a Duplicate, and new Charges by Word of Mouth, the Force of the former Letters. His Buſineſs (namely, the ſetting free of this young Prince) was of high Concernment, elſe ſo great a Perſon would never have been ſpared from his Maſter at ſuch a Time, in ſo ill a Seaſon of Weather, to take ſo long and dangerous a Voyage juſt upon the diſſolving of the Armies, who had beſet all Ways, and robbed all Convoys; and had he ſtaid but four Days longer, he might as well have ſtaid four Years, it would then have been too late to have done any Good.

But now the Duke is returned to his old Prayers, and to old Faces, to whom he tells ſuch Stories of his Adventures as (he ſays) has made him almoſt mad: But others ſay, have made him much wiſer than a longer Time and better Tutors could eaſily have done.

Nov. 28.

Since the Duke's Return to the Palace-Royal, his Brother's Company, and the Exerciſe of his own Religion, he has met with many Aſſaults: Obedience to his Mother in all Things poſſible, engaged him not to refuſe whom ſhe ſet over him, and ſent about him; and though ſhe has promiſed him ſome Reſpite for a while at leaſt, in reſpect to his Brother's ſtreight Charge, yet ſhe finds enough that purſue a truceleſs War. How he anſwers all their Variety of ſmooth and ſharp Aſſaults, 'tis very pretty to hear; and did not the Poſt's Interruption give me Suſpicion, that our Letters keep not their Days to you, no more than yours to us, I ſhould ſend you conſtantly the Proceedings in the Buſineſs.

But if there be not ſtrange unnatural Carriage uſed, we ſhall enjoy his Concurrence in Communion with us, as we do every Day, and which will moſt vex them, on *Sunday* next at Church at the Reſident's Houſe, which he is reſolved ſhall not be neglected or omitted upon any Perſuaſion whatſoever, tho' that be not in the Number of thoſe Things which he is fortified for by the King's Letter; for he has a ſerious Indignation againſt them that have with ſo many Wiles hindered him (indeed by plain moral Violence, which no Intreaty, no Policy of his could either prevent or mollify) ſo many *Sundays* from *Paris*, and at the Reports which were begotten between lying Tongues and credulous Ears, that he was already turned, upon no other Ground of his giving, but bare being away from Church; which could no way be effected but by hurrying him out of Town; nor could that be obtained of him without eſtabliſhing a new Governor upon him; which Thing ſo indirectly trenching on Religion, he could not have refuſed, without diſobeying his Mother: Yet the Advantage of that, as it was really great againſt the poor Youth, produced ſo great a Pledge to the Roman Party, that the Curates in divers Churches gave Thanks for his Reconciliation a *Sunday* or two agone; ſo that they will be now expoſed to Diſrepute of their Pariſhioners, and Mockery of

the Adverſary, the firſt *Sunday* of their ſuppoſed Proſelyte's appearing at our Church, which is likely to kindle no ſmall Wrath amongſt them; and therefore we ſtand in Fear of ſome ſhrewd Criſis between this and *Sunday* Morning as near as it is. I do not mean of Hazard, but of greater Violence of Aſſault.

He has been on his Viſit at the *Louvre*, and paſſed thoſe Piques already, though both Queen and Cardinal jointly, and both ſeverally, have preſſed him, that he is now to obey his Mother ſince his Father's Death; and they cannot find any Occaſion he ſhould have to regard other Directions. Here he thought he had moſt Need of his Brother's Letter, which enjoined him Silence in any Diſputes: But Manners would not ſuffer him to ſay nothing, and much leſs to ſay what he could have done, of the Inconvenience of preferring Mother's Commands before his Sovereign's; but it would have been too hot; and therefore glad he was to come off that Brunt, with a general Promiſe of Dutifulneſs to his Mother, as much as any Son in the World could or ought to uſe; and a Proteſtation, that it was ever a Thing abhorred of him to hearken to any Counſel to the contrary: And beſides, that the very getting off was a Triumph, he made great Prize of their Promiſe, that it was but for his greater Good, and the Advantage they ſhould have of highlier doing him Good, that they looked upon the Hopes of his Change of Religion: They knew however that they ought to look on him as a Child of *France*, of whatſoever Religion he was.

There was beſides, a Paſſage which he was not very free of relating; yet it came out: That there had been a Promiſe between the Crowns, articled upon at the Marriage Treaty of his Father and Mother, That the Queen ſhould have the bringing up of all the Children till twelve Years of Age, in Lieu and Compenſation of which being ſo notoriouſly violated, it was but Reaſon and great Condeſcenſion, that the Third Son ſhould be intirely committed to her Diſpoſal; eſpecially ſhe being in *France*. You will eaſily grant it out of the Sphere of his Age, to reply to ſuch high Aſſaults; it was highly enough for his Honour, that he was thought fit to be ſo pleaded with; but that it wrought not with him, is a Sign of God's great Vigilancy over him, and a Pledge that he has a Bleſſing for him.

In fine, all theſe Addreſſes abroad, and others renewed at home, gave ſuch a Teſtimony of his Firmneſs, that the Queen on *Saturday* Morning took him apart from all his and her Servants, and very ſeriouſly bemoaned her Caſe with his too, in that the earneſt Deſire of his and the whole Family's Good met with ſuch Difficulties as ſhould put her to uſe ſuch Severity with him: She could not but pity him, as wearied already with ſo many Perſuaſions; and truly, the tender Affection ſhe ever had for him, and had conſtantly ſhewed to him, could not but make herſelf weary of ſuch tedious Courſes; therefore ſhe was reſolved to make a ſudden End; and for that Cauſe charged him to retire himſelf, and give one Hearing more to Mr. *Montagu*, and afterwards to lay her and his Words ſeriouſly to his Heart, and bring her an Anſwer full and final e'er Night. What the particular Propoſals ſhe made were, may come out hereafter. At the firſt Appearance of this intended Privacy

with

with him, he very dexterouſly contrived an Opportunity to ſpeak to his Servant *Griffin*, to ſeek out my Lord of *Ormond* to be ready to ſpeak with him, by then he might come from his Mother, which is a fair Omen; but the Poſt muſt not be preſumed on, *&c.*

Decemb. 2.

You were left, I think, at the State of Things on *Saturday* Morning, and was come to the Charge the Queen had given him to attend her alone. The Duke had, in the little Interim of clearing the Room, ſent *Griffin* for my Lord of *Ormond* preſently to be with him, or at leaſt ſo ſoon as the Queen had done; and it was but prophetical Providence; for the Queen's Buſineſs was of ſo great Import, as might require it well: She began with all Sweetneſs poſſible, repeated the manifeſt Signs of her great and tender Affection for him, and how much it grieved her, that that very Love itſelf ſhould compel her to proceed now with ſuch ſeeming Severity: She preſumed he was weary of it, and truly ſo was ſhe too; therefore, for his Eaſe-ſake, ſhe would ſhorten his Time of Trial; and therefore propoſing all the Good ſhe aimed at in this Deſign of her's, and the Duty he owed her, and the Diſability of the King to maintain him, *&c.* ſhe wiſhed him to withdraw preſently, and ſequeſtring himſelf from any Diverſion, after he had given Mr. *Montagu* the Hearing for a while, to ponder ſeriouſly what ſhe and he had ſaid, and bring her his final Anſwer e'er Night.

The Duke obeyed, for reply then he muſt not; goes to his Chamber. Mr. *Montagu* comes, preſſes, is refuſed; but after an Hour's Diſcourſe retires, begs to be ſent for again when my Lord of *Ormond* was come, within an Hour; if not, he muſt come of himſelf: But my Lord of *Ormond* comes, no *Montagu* ſent for, or comes for two Hours. The Marquis and the Duke ſoon reſolved what ſhould be anſwered; ſpent the Time only in ordering Circumſtances for the Manner:

After theſe three Diſcourſes, it was Time for a young Prince to have a little Breath, and therefore he retires to a Lady's Chamber on the other Side, where he might give his Ears a little Eaſe; and if he muſt hear more, that it might be leſs material Diſcourſe, therefore chuſes one that would beat no more upon that Theme: No ſooner is he gone, but Mr. *Montagu* comes; miſſes him; hunts up and down for him; chides him for being off his Station of Penſiveneſs; for not having ſent for him.

Well, Sir, ſays the Duke, *my Taſk is done; I have reſolved. What did my Mother bid more? there is Time enough to tell:* And ſo it was, as it proved to be; for the Anſwer was ſuch, that the Entertainment it had, was, *A Charge to ſee her Face no more*: Which Sentence was no ſooner pronounced, but executed with *French* Haſte. Out he muſt; and then he that had nothing but Amazement to reply with, had now a Cue to ſpeak on, and beg the parting Bleſſing at leaſt, till he could prevail for her Pardon. It will not be; out he muſt; and ſo full of Tears and Aſtoniſhment, to find out his Brother he goes, and they ſhare the Sorrow, till Youth and Night parts them by Drowſineſs.

But the Edict, that it may not ſeem ſcenical, or *in terrorem*, goes forth to all the Officers of the Houſe, neither to provide nor lend any Neceſſary, ei-

ther to ſpend, or ſo much as to uſe. While the young Innocent ſlept ſoundly, and, upon the Advantage Sorrow had given, long in the Morning, dreaming but of one Taſk at moſt, ſtealing a Bleſſing of his Mother, either by Siſter's or Brother's Interceſſion, or ſtealing at leaſt a Means of begging it e'er ſhe went to her Monaſtery, or himſelf to Church, a much longed-for (and often wrangled-for) Contentment: But inſtead of a Mother, he is admitted to no Converſe on her Side, but of a Step-tutor, who again ſolicits, aggravates the Peril of his Mother's Anger, knowing indeed more than the little Duke did of it (as Cauſes can propheſy, and Counſellors know all that was already.) *Now was the Time, if ever,* ſays *Montagu. Get to her this very preſent Inſtant,* (almoſt Sermon-time) *ſhe has eaſier Propoſals for you; but I cannot name them now.* The Duke anſwers, *Then will I; wherever I go, I muſt have not a Quiet only for a while, but the Exerciſe of my Religion; neither her Propoſals, and leſs yours, promiſe that.*

The Coach went now by with his Mother for the Nunnery; the Back-ſide whereof made him warm. Mr. *Montagu* need not aggravate the Sadneſs of the Spectacle, which as appeared afterwards, was more like the laſt remote View, than the Child could think of. He anſwered, *Such as it is, I may thank you for, Sir; and 'tis but Reaſon, what my Mother ſays to me I ſay to you. I pray be ſure I ſee you no more,* and ſo ſhewed his Back: And to the laſt Queſtion, *Whither are you going, good Sir?* The Duke anſwered (over the Shoulder) *To Church*; where he was indeed ſomewhat ſadder than became the Chearfulneſs of the reſt of the Congregation; but e'er Night we all pardoned him, finding much of its Cauſe the Story which we knew not then, and beſides that, a great deal of Augury which he could expreſly then know; for after Sermon he had a (No-*Sunday)* Thought lay on him to find a Dinner; to the Cook's he muſt ſend; neither Meat, Wine, Bread, Napkin, nor Diet to be had elſe, ſo heavy, ſo general the Proſcription.

Yet after Evening Prayer, he hoped one Interval of Content, by his Mother's Abſence to go ſee his Siſter. The News of his Adventure frights her, poor Child, into Tears and Shrieks; and though the Viſitant was by his Servant named a Gentleman only, yet ſhe ſtarts up, and cries out, *Oh God, my Brother! Oh me! my Mother! I am undone for ever! What ſhall I do?* Not one among her Attendants, old or young, could anſwer her but in Tears and Shrieks as impotent. The poor Duke attends. The Meſſenger diſſembles their Poſtures till he was got farther off. E're long home was the Queen come, and how full by this time ſhe was of his Reply to Mr. *Montagu*, a new Advance of the Sentence ſhews: A Groom comes up at Eight or Nine at Night, to know what he ſhould do with the Duke's two Horſes. The Comptroller was come with a Charge to put them out inſtantly. The Clown pleaded, *To-morrow would be Time enough; now 'twas too late.* With a great Oath or two, the young Comptroller replies, *Yes, and I ſhall be out of my Place e're Morning.*

The Reſolutions on *Monday*, of the Duke, were to give Way to this Paſſion; and in order to it, ſince his verbal Paſs was given him on *Saturday* Night, *Do what you pleaſe, only ſee not my Face*; he would not be ſo near his

Mother

Mother (all the while he was providing Neceſſaries wanting for a *German* Journey) but retire to Mr. *Croft*'s Houſe a while, a little out of the Way, whence he might beg a Grant to be admitted to take Leave. The Queen hears of this alſo; checks *Crofts* for now ſeeming willing to receive him, whom ſhe has often commanded to invite. The like Penalty almoſt lay on him if he lent him his Houſe: He tells the Duke, and ſubmits however to his Pleaſure. The Duke thanks him; but would not diſpleaſe her ſo much; and ſo reſolves, after Dinner, when the Queen of *France* was to come (and it would be uncomely for him to be in the Houſe, and not wait on her, as in his Mother's Lodgings he might not) to go over the Water and viſit my Lord *H.* but even in that, there would be a Danger to the good Lord from *London*; yet conſidering there was great Odds between his and his Brother's Preſence, he adventured, though the Deliberations made it ſomewhat over-late; but there grew on an Occaſion, that the next Night he was to lie there alſo, for there was no longer ſtaying in the Palace-Royal.

The Lord and his Lady cannot refuſe (a double Exile, for his Father's and his own Religion, and for his own Crime, Loyalty) to admit ſuch a Gueſt, while he can provide for his Voyage; for which 'twas preſumed he could find but two Horſes, and the Relics of his new-given 10*l.* for the monthly Privy-purſe.

We were laſt Night in ſome Apprehenſions too of Danger, by reaſon of the Situation of the Houſe, alone in the utmoſt Fauxbourgs, from either the Zealots, Welwillers to the horribly and notoriouſly Diſappointed, or from the Diſreliſh of the Courts that might happen: But all is well to Day, ſaving that his Abode there is not yet ſo known, but that divers of each *French* Religion think he removed from the Palace to the Jeſuits College; all Things being there ſo confidently ready long agone, and the Deſires of both Queens ſo concentrally tending to that Deſign, even ſince the peremptory Commands of his Brother from *Colagn* triplicated to him, and ſeconded with divers ſince.

December 5.

On *Monday* the Queen had not forgot her ſevere Threat and Interdict to the Duke; yet having taken all the Courſes ſhe could find in her own Sphere, had it ſeems engaged the Queen of *France* to try once more her Authority with him: But the Expectation of her coming to the Palace was diverſly interpreted; ſome imagined it was to make the Duke's Peace; ſome that ſhe might retract his Reſolution by freſh Aſſaults; ſome to ſhew him how little he muſt look for the Favour of their Preſence: But his Highneſs could not endure the Uncouthneſs of his Confinement to his Chamber, nor cared much to hazard the Sight of the Queen of *France*, he had been ſo fearfully aſſaulted of late.

But ſo it was, that ſo ſoon as ſhe came ſhe ſent her Son the Duke of *Anjou* to viſit him, who returned with News he was not at home. The Queen of *France* ſent then his Governor to enquire where he was; and having heard, ſent him immediately over to the Lord *H.* to labour to bend him to the Queen's Reſolution for him, and the Jeſuits College was vehemently preſſed again.

To

To the King's contrary Command, the Marquis, (Duke of *Anjou*'s Governor) replied with the greateſt Advantage of his own Parts, that it belonged to the Queen to diſpoſe of her Son ſince his Father's Death entirely; he diſputed, whether he was in his Brother's Power, only for being his Sovereign? And the Diſcourſe growing now ſomewhat publicker, and the Lords joining in with the Duke, the Marquis had now his Match; and the debating that ill-favoured Nicety of Authority between Queen Mother, and Brother King, was ſo agitated by the *Engliſh*, that the *French* Gentleman, a Man of huge Parts indeed, was put out of Hopes of prevailing in his Errand. The Queen, in Confidence of her Envoy, expects he ſhould bring her home entire News of the Change of the young Prince's Mind, and till almoſt Eight, ſhe tarried for him there; but the Report of the Diſcourſe did ſoon ſatisfy her no Alteration could be made in his Reſolutions.

The next Day therefore a Report is raiſed, how uncivilly the Queen of *France*'s Meſſage was received with Affront, and the laſt Step of Alienation and Diſtance, between the Queen and her Son, came to the Height. The great Palace of Cardinal *Richlieu* is not big enough for theſe two great Hearts, extracted from *Henry* the IVth.

Since his Departure, all Things are better than we imagined, ſave that the Preſumption they had of him heretofore is not yet worn away. It laſted to my Knowledge till *Thurſday*, in ſo great a Strength of Tumour, that one of the *French* Miniſters aſſured an *Engliſhman* that came to viſit him, that the Duke was for certain in the Jeſuits College. The Duke had made a Reſolution, that would have confuted the very Relics of that Miſtake, by an Intention to have come every Day to Prayers to us; but becauſe that might perchance have aggravated the Heat, and looked like a freſh Affront, it was adviſed to be omitted.

We begin now, ſince I began Writing, to be aſſured the Paſſion begins to abate. The Queen, they ſay, has condeſcended to give him Leave to go with my Lord of *Ormond*, and it is hoped may admit him to beg her Bleſſing, which makes my Letter ſomewhat the ſhorter; and I preſume you will be content to go to the Burying of paſt four Circumſtances, as ſoon as may be, with the Vindication of the Duke's ſincere and heroic Conſtancy.

The humble PETITION and ADVICE, preſented unto his Highneſs the LORD PROTECTOR, by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes aſſembled at the Parliament begun and held at *Weſtminſter* the 17th Day of *September*, 1656, and there continued until the 26th Day of *June* following, and then adjourned unto the 20th of *January*, 1657. As alſo their humble additional and explanatory Petition and Advice, preſented unto his Highneſs in the ſame Parliament; together with his Highneſs's Conſent unto the ſaid Petitions, when they were reſpectively preſented.

Printed in the Year 1657.

To his Highneſs the LORD PROTECTOR of the COMMONWEALTH of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging.

WE the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, taking into our moſt ſerious Conſideration the preſent State of theſe three Nations, joined and united under your Highneſs's Protection, cannot but in the firſt Place, with all Thankfulneſs, acknowledge the wonderful Mercy of Almighty God, in delivering us from that Tyranny and Bondage, both in our Spiritual and Civil Concernments, which the late King and his Party deſigned to bring us under, and purſued the effecting thereof by a long and bloody War; and alſo, that it hath pleaſed the ſame gracious God to preſerve your Perſon in many Battles, to make you an Inſtrument for preſerving our Peace, although environed with Enemies abroad, and filled with turbulent, reſtleſs and unquiet Spirits in our own Bowels, that as in the treading down the common Enemy, and reſtoring us to Peace and Tranquillity, the Lord hath uſed you ſo eminently, and the worthy Officers and Soldiers of the Army (whoſe Faithfulneſs to the common Cauſe, we and all good Men ſhall ever acknowledge, and put a juſt Value upon: So alſo, that he will uſe you and them in the ſettling and ſecuring our Liberties, as we are Men and Chriſtians, to us and our Poſterity after us, which are thoſe great and glorious Ends which the good People of theſe Nations have ſo freely, with the Hazard of their Lives and Eſtates, ſo long and earneſtly contended for: We conſider likewiſe the continual Danger which your Life is in, from the bloody Practices both of the malignant and diſcontented Party; (one whereof, through the Goodneſs of God, you have been lately delivered from) it being a received Princi-

Principle amongſt them, that no Order being ſettled in your Life-time for the Succeſſion in the Government, nothing is wanting to bring us into Blood and Confuſion, and them to their deſired Ends, but the Deſtruction of your Perſon; and in caſe Things ſhould thus remain at your Death, we are not able to expreſs what Calamities would, in all human Probability, enſue thereupon, which we truſt your Highneſs (as well as we) do hold yourſelf obliged to provide againſt, and not to leave a People, whoſe common Peace and Intereſt you are intruſted with, in ſuch a Condition as may hazard both, eſpecially in this Conjuncture, when there ſeems to be an Opportunity of coming to a Settlement upon juſt and legal Foundations: Upon theſe Conſiderations we have judged it a Duty incumbent upon us, to preſent and declare theſe our moſt juſt and neceſſary Deſires to your Highneſs.

I. That your Highneſs will be pleaſed, by and under the Name and Stile of *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*, to hold and exerciſe the Office of chief Magiſtrate of theſe Nations, and to govern according to this Petition and Advice in all Things therein contained, and in all other Things, according to the Laws of theſe Nations, and not otherwiſe; That your Highneſs will be pleaſed, during your Lifetime, to appoint and declare the Perſon who ſhall, immediately after your Death, ſucceed you in the Government of theſe Nations.

II. That your Highneſs will, for the future, be pleaſed to call Parliaments, conſiſting of two Houſes (in ſuch Manner and Way as ſhall be more particularly afterwards agreed and declared in this Petition and Advice) once in three Years at furtheſt, or oftener, as the Affairs of the Nation ſhall require, that being your Great Council, and in whoſe Affection and Advice, yourſelf and this People will be moſt ſafe and happy.

III. That the ancient and undoubted Liberties and Privileges of Parliament (which are the Birthright and Inheritance of the People, and wherein every Man is intereſted) be preſerved and maintained; and that you will not break or interrupt the ſame, nor ſuffer them to be broken or interrupted; and particularly, that thoſe Perſons who are legally choſen by a free Election of the People to ſerve in Parliament, may not be excluded from ſitting in Parliament to do their Duties, but by Judgment and Conſent of that Houſe whereof they are Members.

IV. That thoſe who have adviſed, aſſiſted or abetted the Rebellion of *Ireland*, and thoſe who do or ſhall profeſs the Popiſh Religion, be diſabled and made incapable for ever to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Member to ſit or ſerve in Parliament: And that all and every Perſon and Perſons, who have aided, abetted, adviſed or aſſiſted in any War againſt the Parliament, ſince the Firſt Day of *January*, One Thouſand Six Hundred Forty-one (unleſs he or they have ſince borne Arms for the Parliament or your Highneſs, or otherwiſe given ſignal Teſtimony of his or their good Affection to the Commonwealth, and continued faithful to the ſame;) and all ſuch as have been actually engaged in any Plot, Conſpiracy, or Deſign, againſt the Perſon of your Highneſs, or in any Inſurrection or Rebellion in *England*

or

or *Wales*, ſince the ſixteenth Day of *December*, One Thouſand Six Hundred Fifty-three, ſhall be for ever diſabled and made uncapable to be elected, or give any Vote in the Election of any Member to ſit or ſerve in Parliament. That for *Scotland*, none be capable to elect, or be elected to ſit or ſerve in Parliament, who have been in Arms againſt the Parliament of *England*, or againſt the Parliament in *Scotland*, before the Firſt Day of *April*, One Thouſand Six Hundred Forty-eight, (except ſuch as have ſince borne Arms in the Service of the Parliament of *England*, or your Highneſs, or given other ſignal Teſtimony of their good Affection) nor any that ſince the ſaid Firſt Day of *April*, One Thouſand Six Hundred Forty-eight, have been in Arms, or otherwiſe aided, abetted, adviſed or aſſiſted in any War againſt the Parliament of *England*, or your Highneſs, except ſuch as ſince the Firſt of *March*, One Thouſand Six Hundred Fifty-one (Old Stile) have lived peaceably, and thereby given Teſtimony of their good Affection to the Parliament and your Highneſs.

Provided, that nothing in this Article contained, ſhall extend to put any Incapacity upon any *Engliſh* or *Scotch* Proteſtants in *Ireland*, either to elect or be elected to ſerve in Parliament, who before the Firſt Day of *March*, One Thouſand Six Hundred Forty-nine, have borne Arms for the Parliament or your Highneſs, or otherwiſe given ſignal Teſtimony of their good Affection to this Commonwealth, and continued faithful to the ſame: That all Votes and Elections given or made contrary, or not according to the Qualifications aforeſaid, ſhall be void and of none Effect: And that if any Perſon or Perſons ſo uncapable as aforeſaid, ſhall give his or their Vote for Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament, all and every ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſo electing, ſhall loſe and forfeit one Year's Value of his and their reſpective real Eſtates, and one full third Part of his and their reſpective perſonal Eſtates; the one Moiety thereof to your Highneſs and the other Moiety to him or them who ſhall ſue for the ſame in any Court of Record by Action of Debt, Bill, Plaint, or Information, wherein no Eſſoign, Wager of Law, or Protection ſhall be allowed: And that the Perſons who ſhall be elected to ſerve in Parliament, be ſuch, and no other than ſuch, as are Perſons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good Converſation, and being of the Age of Twenty one Years, and not ſuch as are diſabled by the Act of the ſeventeenth Year of the late King, entitled, *An Act for diſenabling all Perſons in holy Orders, to exerciſe any Temporal Juriſdiction or Authority, nor ſuch as are public Miniſters, or public Preachers of the Goſpel*: Nor ſuch as are guilty of any of the Offences mentioned in an Act of Parliament bearing Date the Ninth of *Auguſt*, One Thouſand Six Hundred and Fifty, entitled, *An Act againſt ſeveral Atheiſtical, Blaſphemous, and Execrable Opinions, derogatory to the Honour of God, and deſtructive to human Society*; no common Scoffer, nor Reviler of Religion, or of any Perſon or Perſons for profeſſing thereof; no Perſon that hath married or ſhall marry a Wife of the Popiſh Religion, or hath trained, or ſhall train, up his Child or Children, or any other Child or Children under his Tuition or Government, in the Popiſh Religion, or that ſhall permit or ſuffer ſuch Child or Children to be trained up in the ſaid Religion, or that hath given or ſhall give his Conſent that his

Son or Daughter ſhall marry any of that Religion; no Perſon that ſhall deny the Scriptures to be the Word of God, or the Sacraments, Prayer, Magiſtracy and Miniſtry to be the Ordinances of God; no common Prophaner of the Lord's Day, nor prophane Swearer or Curſer, no Drunkard or common Haunter of Taverns or Ale-houſes. And that theſe Qualifications may be obſerved, and yet the Privilege of Parliament maintained, We deſire that it may be by your Highneſs's Conſent ordained, That Forty-one Commiſſioners be appointed by Act of Parliament, who, or any Fifteen or more of them, ſhall be authorized to examine and try, whether the Members to be elected for the Houſe of Commons in future Parliaments be capable to ſit, according to the Qualifications mentioned in this Petition and Advice: And in caſe they find them not qualified accordingly, then to ſuſpend them from ſitting until the Houſe of Commons ſhall upon hearing of their particular Caſes, admit them to ſit; which Commiſſioners are to ſtand ſo authorized for that End until the Houſe of Commons, in any future Parliament, ſhall nominate the like Number of other Commiſſioners in their Places; and thoſe other Commiſſioners ſo to be nominated in any future Parliament, to have the ſame Powers and Authorities: That the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall certify in Writing to the Houſe of Commons, on the firſt Day of their Meeting, the Cauſes and Grounds of their Suſpenſions of any Perſons ſo to be elected as aforeſaid: That the Accuſation ſhall be upon the Oath of the Informer, or of ſome other Perſon: That a Copy of the Accuſation ſhall be left by the Party accuſing, in Writing under his Hand, with the Party accuſed, or in his Abſence at his Houſe in the County, City or Town for which he ſhall be choſen, if he have any ſuch Houſe, or if not, with the Sheriff of the County, if he be choſen for a County, or with the chief Magiſtrate of the City or Borough for which he is choſen: And that the Number of Perſons to be elected and choſen to ſit and ſerve in Parliament, for *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Diſtribution of the Perſons ſo choſen within the Counties, Cities and Boroughs of them reſpectively, may be according to ſuch Proportions as ſhall be agreed upon and declared in this preſent Parliament.

V. That your Highneſs will conſent, That none be called to Sit and Vote in the other Houſe, but ſuch as are not diſabled, but qualified according to the Qualifications mentioned in the former Article, being ſuch as ſhall be nominated by your Highneſs, and approved by this Houſe; and that they exceed not Seventy in Number, nor be under the Number of Forty (whereof the *Quorum* to be One and Twenty) who ſhall not give any Vote by Proxies; and that as any of them do die, or be legally removed, no new ones be admitted to Sit and Vote in their rooms, but by Conſent of the Houſe itſelf: That the other Houſe do not proceed in any Civil Cauſes, except in Writs of Error, in Caſes adjourned from Inferior Courts into the Parliament for Difficulty, in Caſes of Petitions againſt Proceedings in Courts of Equity, and in Caſes of the Privileges of their own Houſe: That they do not proceed in any criminal Cauſes whatſoever, againſt any Perſon criminally, but upon an Impeachment of the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and by their Conſent: That they do not proceed in any Cauſe, either Civil or Criminal, but according

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ing to the known Laws of the Land, and the due Courſe and Cuſtom of Parliament: That no final Determinations or Judgments be by any Members of that Houſe, in any Cauſe there depending, either Civil, Criminal or Mixed, as Commiſſioners or Delegates, to be nominated by that Houſe; but all ſuch final Determinations and Judgments to be by the Houſe itſelf; any Law or Uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

VI. That in all other Particulars which concern the Calling and Holding of Parliaments, your Highneſs will be pleaſed, That the Laws and Statutes of the Land be obſerved and kept; and that no Laws be altered, ſuſpended, abrogated, or repealed, or new Law made but by Act of Parliament.

VII. And to the End there may be a conſtant Revenue for Support of Government, and for the Safety and Defence of theſe Nations by Sea and Land, We declare our Willingneſs to ſettle forthwith a yearly Revenue of Thirteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds, whereof Ten Hundred Thouſand Pounds for the Navy and Army, and Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds for the Support of the Government, and no Part thereof to be raiſed by a Land-Tax; and this not to be altered without the Conſent of the Three Eſtates in Parliament; and to grant ſuch other Temporary Supplies, according as the Commons aſſembled in Parliament ſhall from Time to Time adjudge the Neceſſities of theſe Nations to require: And do pray your Highneſs, That it be declared and enacted, That no Charge be laid, nor no Perſon be compelled to contribute to any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, Tallage, Aid, or other like Charge without common Conſent by Act of Parliament, which is a Freedom the People of theſe Nations ought by the Laws to inherit.

VIII. That none may be added or admitted to the Privy-Council of your Highneſs, or Succeſſors, but ſuch as are of known Piety, and undoubted Affection to the Rights of theſe Nations, and a juſt Chriſtian Liberty in Matters of Religion, nor without Conſent of the Council to be afterwards approved by both Houſes of Parliament, and ſhall not afterwards be removed but by Conſent of Parliament, but may in the Intervals of Parliament be ſuſpended from the Exerciſe of his Place by your Highneſs, or your Succeſſors, and the Council, for juſt Cauſe; and that the Number of the Council ſhall not be above One and Twenty, whereof the *Quorum* to be Seven, and not under: As alſo, that after your Highneſs's Death, the Commander in Chief, under your Succeſſors, of ſuch Army or Armies as ſhall be neceſſary to be kept in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, as alſo all ſuch Field-Officers at Land, or Generals at Sea, which after that Time ſhall be newly made and conſtituted by your Succeſſors, be by Conſent of the Council, and not otherwiſe: And that the ſtanding Forces of this Commonwealth ſhall be diſpoſed of by the chief Magiſtrate, by Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, ſitting the Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliament, by the chief Magiſtrate, by the Advice of the Council: And alſo, that your Highneſs and Succeſſors will be pleaſed to exerciſe your Government over theſe Nations by the Advice of your Council.

IX. And that the Chancellor, Keeper or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal of *England*, the Treaſurer or Commiſſioners of the Treaſury there, the Admiral, the chief Governor of *Ireland*, the Chancellor, Keeper or Commiſſioners

of the Great Seal of *Ireland*, the chief Juſtices of both the Benches, and the Chief Baron in *England* and *Ireland*, the Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Scotland*, and ſuch Officers of the State there, as by Act of Parliament in *Scotland*, are to be approved by Parliament, and the Judges in *Scotland* hereafter to be made, ſhall be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament.

X. And whereas your Highneſs, out of your Zeal to the Glory of God, and the Propagation of the Goſpel of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, hath been pleaſed to encourage a Godly Miniſtry in theſe Nations, We earneſtly deſire, that ſuch as do openly revile them or their Aſſemblies, or diſturb them in the Worſhip or Service of God, to the Diſhonour of God, Scandal of good Men, or Breach of the Peace, may be puniſhed according to Law; and where the Laws are defective, that your Highneſs will give Conſent to ſuch Laws as ſhall be made in that behalf.

XI. That the true Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion, as it is contained in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, and no other, be held forth and aſſerted for the public Profeſſion of theſe Nations; and that a Confeſſion of Faith, to be agreed by your Highneſs and the Parliament, according to the Rule and Warrant of the Scriptures, be aſſerted, held forth, and recommended to the People of theſe Nations, that none may be ſuffered or permitted by opprobrious Words or Writing, maliciouſly or contemptuouſly to revile or reproach the Confeſſion of Faith to be agreed upon as aforeſaid: And ſuch who profeſs Faith in God the Father, and in Jeſus Chriſt his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the holy Spirit, God co-equal with the Father and the Son, one God bleſſed for ever; and do acknowledge the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, to be the revealed Will and Word of God, and ſhall in other Things differ in Doctrine, Worſhip, or Diſcipline, from the public Profeſſion held forth; Endeavours ſhall be uſed to convince them by ſound Doctrine, and the Example of a good Converſation: But that they may not be compelled thereto by Penalties, nor reſtrained from their Profeſſion, but protected from all Injury and Moleſtation in the Profeſſion of the Faith, and Exerciſe of their Religion, whilſt they abuſe not this Liberty to the Civil Injury of others, or the Diſturbance of the public Peace; ſo that this Liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, or to the countenancing ſuch who publiſh horrible Blaſphemies, or practiſe or hold forth Licentiouſneſs or Prophaneneſs under the Profeſſion of Chriſt: And that thoſe Miniſters or public Preachers, who ſhall agree with the public Profeſſion aforeſaid, in Matters of Faith, although in their Judgment and Practice they differ in Matters of Worſhip and Diſcipline, ſhall not only have Protection in the Way of their Churches and Worſhip reſpectively, but be eſteemed fit and capable, notwithſtanding ſuch Difference (being otherwiſe duly qualified and duly approved) of any Truſt, Promotion, or Employment whatſoever in theſe Nations, that any Miniſters who agree in Doctrine, Worſhip and Diſcipline with the public Profeſſion aforeſaid are capable of: And all others who agree with the public Profeſſion in Matters of Faith, although they differ in Matters of Worſhip and Diſcipline as aforeſaid, ſhall not only have Protection as aforeſaid, but be eſteemed fit and capable (notwithſtanding ſuch Difference, being otherwiſe duly qualified) of any Civil Truſt,

Truſt, Employment, or Promotion in theſe Nations: But for ſuch Perſons who agree not in Matters of Faith with the public Profeſſion aforeſaid, they ſhall not be capable of receiving the public Maintenance appointed for the Miniſtry. Provided, That this Clauſe ſhall not be conſtrued to extend to enable ſuch Miniſters or public Preachers, or Paſtors of Congregations; but that they be diſenabled, and they are hereby diſenabled to hold any civil Employment, which thoſe in Orders were or are diſenabled to hold, by an Act, intituled, *An Act for diſenabling all Perſons in holy Orders, to exerciſe any Temporal Juriſdiction or Authority.* And that your Highneſs will give your Conſent, That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Clauſes in any Law, Statute and Ordinance, ſo far as they are contrary to the aforeſaid Liberty, be repealed.

XII. That all Acts and Ordinances of Parliament made for the aboliſhing of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and for the aboliſhing of Deans, Deans and Chapters, Canons, Prebends, and other Offices and Titles of, or belonging to, any Cathedral, or Collegiate Church or Chapel; and for the Sale or other Diſpoſition of the Lands, Rents, and Hereditaments, unto any or either of them belonging; or for the Sale or other Diſpoſition of the Lands, Rents, and Hereditaments of the late King, Queen, or Prince; or of the Lands of Delinquents, Fee-farm, or other Rents, Foreſt Lands, or any of them; or any other Lands, Tenements, Rents, or Hereditaments, lately belonging to the Commonwealth, ſhall no way be impeached, but that they do remain good and firm: And that the Security given by Act and Ordinance of Parliament, for any Sum or Sums of Monies, by any of the ſaid Lands, the Exciſe, or by any other public Revenue; and alſo the Securities given by the public Faith of the Nation, and the Engagement of the public Faith for Satisfaction of Debts, may remain firm and good, and not be made void by any Pretence whatſoever.

XIII. That all and every Perſon and Perſons, who have aided, abetted, adviſed or aſſiſted in any War againſt the Parliament, ſince the Firſt Day of *January*, 1641 (unleſs he or they have ſince borne Arms for the Parliament, or your Highneſs, or otherwiſe given ſignal Teſtimony of his or their good Affection to the Commonwealth, and continued faithful to the ſame) and all ſuch as have been actually engaged in any Plot, Conſpiracy, or Deſign, againſt the Perſon of your Highneſs, or any Inſurrection or Rebellion in *England* or *Wales*, ſince the Sixteenth of *December*, 1653: And for *Scotland*, that all and every Perſon and Perſons, who have been in Arms againſt the Parliament of *England*, or againſt the Parliament in *Scotland*, before the Firſt Day of *April*, 1648 (except ſuch as have ſince borne Arms in the Service of the Parliament of *England*, or your Highneſs, or given other ſignal Teſtimony of their good Affection) and every Perſon or Perſons, that ſince the ſaid Firſt Day of *April*, 1648, have been in Arms, or otherwiſe aided, abetted, adviſed, or aſſiſted in any War againſt the Parliament of *England*, or your Highneſs, (except ſuch Perſons who having been in Arms, or otherwiſe abetted, adviſed, or aſſiſted in any War againſt the Parliament of *England*, or your Highneſs, ſince the Firſt Day of *April*, 1648, and were not in Arms againſt the Parliament of *England*, or againſt the Parliament of *Scotland*, before the Firſt Day

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of *April*, 1648, and have ſince the Firſt Day of *March*, 1651, (Old Stile) lived peaceably, and thereby given Teſtimony of their good Affection to the Parliament, and your Highneſs) be made uncapable for ever, of holding or enjoying of any Office or Place of public Truſt in theſe three Nations, or any of them.

Provided, that nothing in this Article contained, ſhall extend to put any Incapacity in this Article mentioned, upon any *Engliſh* or *Scotiſh* Proteſtants in *Ireland*, who, before the Firſt Day of *March*, 1649, have borne Arms for the Parliament, or your Highneſs, or otherwiſe given ſignal Teſtimony of their good Affection to this Commonwealth, and continued faithful to the ſame.

XIV. And that your Highneſs will be pleaſed to conſent, that nothing in this Petition and Advice contained, nor your Highneſs's Aſſent thereto, ſhall be conſtrued to extend to the diſſolving of this preſent Parliament; but that the ſame ſhall continue and remain, until ſuch Time as your Highneſs ſhall think fit to diſſolve the ſame.

XV. And that nothing contained in this Petition and Advice, nor your Highneſs's Conſent thereunto, ſhall be conſtrued to extend to the repealing or making void of any Act or Ordinance which is not contrary hereunto, or to the Matters herein contained; but that the ſaid Acts and Ordinances not contrary hereunto, ſhall continue and remain in Force, in ſuch manner as if this preſent Petition and Advice had not at all been had or made, or your Highneſs's Conſent thereunto given.

XVI. And that all Writs iſſued out of the *Chancery*, and all Writs and Patents of the Juſtices of the one Bench, and of the other, Barons of the *Exchequer*, Commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer, Goal Delivery, and Juſtices of the Peace, and all other Commiſſions, Patents, and Grants, made and paſſed under the Great Seal of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, ſhall ſtand good and effectual in the Law, notwithſtanding this Petition and Advice, or your Highneſs's Aſſent thereunto, or any Law, Statute, or Cuſtom to the contrary; and that all Writs, and all Commiſſions, Indictments, Informations, Proceſs, Actions, Suits, Bills, or Plaints, taken out, or now depending in any Court of Record at *Weſtminſter*, or any other Court of Record in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, or in the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; and all Proceſs, Pleas, Demurrers, Continuances, and Proceedings, in every ſuch Writs, Indictments, Informations, Actions, Suits, Bills, and Plaints, ſhall be returnable, ſtand good and effectual, and be proſecuted and ſued forth, in ſuch Manner and Form, and in the ſame State, Condition and Order, the Stile and Teſt of Proceedings, after paſſing of theſe Preſents, being made conformable thereunto, this preſent Petition and Advice, or your Highneſs's Aſſent thereunto, or any Law, Cuſtom or Uſage to the contrary thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding: And that any Variance that ſhall be occaſioned by reaſon thereof, touching any the ſaid Writs, Proceſs, or Proceedings, in the Name, Stile, Teſt, or otherwiſe, ſhall not be in any wiſe material as concerning any Default or Error to be alledged or objected thereunto.

XVII.

XVII. And that your Highneſs and your Succeſſors, will be pleaſed to take an Oath, in ſuch Form as ſhall be agreed upon by your Highneſs and this preſent Parliament, to govern theſe Nations according to the Law.

And in caſe your Highneſs ſhall not be ſatisfied to give your Conſent to all the Matters and Things in this humble Petition and Advice, that then nothing in the ſame be deemed of Force, to oblige the People of theſe Nations in any the Particulars therein contained.

And theſe our Deſires being granted by your Highneſs, we ſhall hope (through the rich Mercy and Goodneſs of God) that it will prove ſome Remedy to thoſe Dangers, Diſtractions and Diſtempers which theſe Nations are now in, and be an effectual Means to remove thoſe Jealouſies and Fears which remain in the Minds of many Men concerning the Government of this Commonwealth; and thereby we ſhall be enabled and encouraged with all Chearfulneſs, to the Settling of ſuch Things which ſhall be further neceſſary for the Good of theſe Nations, and be moſt ready to join with you in promoting the Work of Reformation, happily begun by your Highneſs, the regulating Courts of Juſtice, and abridging both the Delays and Charges of Law Suits, and apply ourſelves to ſuch other Courſes and Counſels as may be moſt like to heal our Breaches and Diviſions, and to reſtore theſe poor Nations to a Union and Conſiſtency with themſelves, and to lay a Foundation of further Confidence between your Highneſs and them, to the Rejoicing of the Hearts of our Friends, and Terror of our Enemies.

Which Petition being preſented the 25th Day of May, 1657, *his Highneſs's Anſwer thereunto was read by the Clerk of the Parliament in theſe Words,*

The LORD PROTECTOR doth conſent.

To his Highneſs the LORD PROTECTOR of the COMMONWEALTH of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging:

The humble additional and explanatory Petition and Advice of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, now aſſembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth.

WHereas upon the humble Petition and Advice of the ſaid Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, now aſſembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth, lately preſented and conſented unto by your Highneſs, certain Doubts and Queſtions have ariſen, concerning ſome Particulars therein compriſed; for Explanation whereof, may it pleaſe your Highneſs to declare and conſent unto the Additions and Explanations hereafter mentioned, and may it be declared with your Highneſs's Conſent,

In the Fourth Article.

That ſuch Perſon and Perſons as invaded *England*, under Duke *Hamilton*, in the Year 1648, or adviſed, conſented, aſſiſted, or voluntarily contributed unto that

that War, and were for that Cauſe debarred from public Truſt by the Parliament of *Scotland*, be uncapable to elect, or be elected, to ſit and ſerve as Members of Parliament, or in any other Place of public Truſt, relating unto the fourth and thirteenth Articles in the Petition and Advice, excepting ſuch as ſince have borne Arms for your Highneſs, or the Parliament, or have been admitted to ſit and ſerve in the Parliament of this Commonwealth, and are of good Life and Converſation, or ſuch as ſhall hereafter be declared by your Highneſs, with the Advice of your Council, to have given ſome ſignal Teſtimony of their good Affection and Continuance in the ſame.

That the Proviſo in the ſaid fourth Article be explained thus, *viz.* That ſuch *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Proteſtants, (who ſince the Defection of the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Inchiquin*, and before the firſt Day of *March*, 1649,) have borne Arms for, and ever ſince continued faithful to, the Parliament, or your Highneſs, or have otherwiſe (before the ſaid firſt Day of *March*, 1649,) given ſignal Teſtimony of their good Affection to this Commonwealth, and have ever ſince continued faithful to the ſame, ſhall not be debarred or deemed uncapable of electing, or being elected to ſerve in Parliament.

And whereas in the ſaid fourth Article, public Miniſters, or public Preachers of the Goſpel, are diſabled to be elected to ſerve in Parliament; it is hereby explained and declared to extend to ſuch Miniſters and Preachers only as have Maintenance for Preaching, or are Paſtors or Teachers of Congregations.

In the ſaid fourth Article,

That inſtead of Commiſſioners to be appointed by Act of Parliament to examine and try, whether the Members to be elected for the Houſe of Commons, in future Parliaments, be capable to ſit according to the Qualifications mentioned in the ſaid Petition and Advice, there ſhall be the Penalty and Fine of One Thouſand Pounds laid and inflicted upon every ſuch unqualified Member (being ſo adjudged) by the ſaid Houſe of Commons, and Impriſonment of his Perſon until Payment thereof.

And that the enſuing Clauſes in the ſaid Article, *viz.* *We deſire that it may, by your Highneſs's Conſent, be ordained, That Forty and One Commiſſioners be appointed by Act of Parliament, who, or five, or more of them, ſhall be authoriſed to examine and try, whether the Members to be elected for the Houſe of Commons, in future Parliaments, be capable to ſit, according to the Qualifications mentioned in this Petition and Advice; and in caſe they find them not qualified accordingly, then to ſuſpend them from ſitting, until the Houſe of Commons ſhall, upon hearing their particular Caſes, admit them to ſit; which Commiſſioners are to ſtand ſo authoriſed for that End, until the Houſe of Commons, in any future Parliament, ſhall nominate the like Number of other Commiſſioners in their Places: And thoſe other Commiſſioners, ſo to be nominated in any future Parliament, to have the ſame Power and Authority; That the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall certify in Writing to the Houſe of Commons, on the firſt Day of their Meeting, the Cauſe and Grounds of their Suſpenſions of any Perſon ſo to be elected as aforeſaid: That the Accuſation ſhall be upon Oath of the Informant, or ſome other Perſon: That a*

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Copy of the Accuſation ſhall be left, by the Party accuſing, in Writing under his Hand, with the Party accuſed, or in his Abſence, at his Houſe in the Country, City, or Town, for which he ſhall be choſen, if he have any ſuch Houſe, or if not, with the Sheriff of the County, if he be choſen for a County, or with the chief Magiſtrate of the City or Borough for which he is choſen, ſhall not be put in Execution, or made uſe of, but ſhall be void, fruſtrate, null and of none Effect, and ſhall be ſo conſtrued and taken to all Intents and Purpoſes whatſoever, any Thing contained in the ſaid Petition and Advice to the contrary notwithſtanding.

In the fifth Article.

That the Nomination of the Perſons to ſupply the Place of ſuch Members of the other Houſe as ſhall die, or be removed, ſhall be by your Highneſs and your Succeſſors.

In the ſeventh Article.

That the Monies directed to be for the Supply of the Sea and Land Forces, be iſſued by Advice of the Council; and that the Treaſurer or Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, ſhall give an Account of all the ſaid Money to every Parliament.

That the Officers of State and Judges, in the ninth Article of the ſaid Petition and Advice mentioned, ſhall be choſen, in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Conſent of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament.

That your Highneſs will be pleaſed, according to the Uſage of former chief Magiſtrates in theſe Nations, and for the better Satisfaction of the People thereof, to take an Oath in the Form enſuing:

I *DO, in the Preſence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promiſe and ſwear, That to the uttermoſt of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, to the uttermoſt of my Power and Underſtanding, and encourage the Profeſſion and Profeſſors of the ſame; and that to the utmoſt of my Power, I will endeavour, as chief Magiſtrate of theſe Three Nations, the Maintenance and Preſervation of the Peace and Safety, and of the juſt Rights and Privileges of the People thereof; and ſhall in all Things, according to my beſt Knowledge and Power, govern the People of theſe Nations according to Law.*

That your Highneſs's Succeſſors do, before they take upon them the Government of theſe Nations, take an Oath in the Form aforeſaid.

That all ſuch Perſons who now are, or ſhall hereafter be of the Privy-Council of your Highneſs or Succeſſors, before they, or either of them do act as Counſellors, ſhall reſpectively take an Oath, before Perſons to be authoriſed by your Highneſs and Succeſſors for that Purpoſe, in the Form following:

I A. B. *do in the Preſence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promiſe and ſwear, That to the uttermoſt of my Power, in my Place, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion in the Purity thereof, as*

it is contained in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, and encourage the Profeſſion and Profeſſors of the ſame: And that I will be true and faithful to his Highneſs the Lord Protector *of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereto belonging, as chief Magiſtrate thereof, and ſhall not contrive, deſign, or attempt any Thing againſt the Perſon or lawful Authority of his ſaid Highneſs, and ſhall keep ſecret all Matters that ſhall be treated of in Council, and put under Secrecy, and not reveal them but by Command or Conſent of his Highneſs, the Parliament, or the Council, and ſhall in all Things faithfully perform the Truſt committed to me as a Counſellor, according to the beſt of my Underſtanding, in order to the good Government, Peace and Welfare of theſe Nations.*

That the ſame Oath be taken by the Members of your Highneſs's Counſel of *Scotland* and *Ireland.*

That every Perſon who now is, or hereafter ſhall be a Member of either Houſe of Parliament, before he ſit in Parliament, ſhall, from and after the firſt Day of *July*, 1657, take an Oath before Perſons to be authoriſed and appointed by your Highneſs and Succeſſors for that Purpoſe, in the Form following:

I A. B. *do, in the Preſence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promiſe and ſwear, That to the uttermoſt of my Power, in my Place, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, and encourage the Profeſſion and Profeſſors of the ſame, and that I will be true and faithful to the* Lord Protector *of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, as chief Magiſtrate thereof, and ſhall not contrive, deſign, or attempt any Thing againſt the Perſon or lawful Authority of the* Lord Protector, *and ſhall endeavour, as much as in me lies, as a Member of Parliament, the Preſervation of the Rights and Liberties of the People.*

That your Highneſs would be pleaſed, in convenient Time, before the next Meeting of this Parliament, to cauſe ſeveral Summons, in due Form of Law, to be iſſued forth to ſuch Perſons as your Highneſs ſhall think fit (being qualified according to the humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament, whereto your Highneſs hath conſented) to ſit and ſerve as Members in the other Houſe of Parliament; by which Summons the ſaid Perſons ſhall be reſpectively commanded to be, and perſonally to appear at a certain Place and Time, to be appointed by your Highneſs, to give their Advice and Aſſiſtance, and to do ſuch Things concerning the great and weighty Affairs of this Commonwealth, as to the other Houſe of Parliament doth appertain by the ſaid humble Petition and Advice.

That the Perſons ſo ſummoned and aſſembled together, ſhall be, and are hereby declared to be the other Houſe of Parliament; and ſhall, and may without farther Approbation of this Houſe, from ſuch Time of their Meeting, proceed, to do and perform all ſuch Matters and Things as the other Houſe of Parliament

Parliament ought to do and perform, and ſhall and may have, and exerciſe, all ſuch Privileges, Powers and Authorities, as the other Houſe of Parliament ought, by the aforeſaid humble Petition and Advice to have and exerciſe, the ſaid humble Petition and Advice, or any Thing therein contained to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding.

Which Petition being preſented the 26th Day of June 1657, *his Highneſs's Anſwer thereunto was read by the Clerk of the Parliament in theſe Words,*

The LORD PROTECTOR doth conſent.

A Time-Serving SPEECH, ſpoken once in Seaſon,

By a Worthy Member of Parliament,

And now thought fit to be re-printed, to prevent the Occaſion of having it re-ſpoken.

Printed in the Year 1680.

Mr. SPEAKER,

THIS Day's Debate is but too clear a Proof that we *Engliſhmen* are right Iſlanders, variable and mutable like the Air we live in. For (Sir) if that were not our Temper, we ſhould not be now diſputing, whether after all thoſe Hazards we have run, that Blood we have ſpilt, that Treaſure we have exhauſted; we ſhould not now ſit down juſt where we did begin, and of our own Accords ſubmit ourſelves to that Slavery, which we have not only ventured our Eſtates and Lives, but I wiſh I could not ſay, our Souls and Conſciences, to throw off. What others (Sir, think of this Levity, I cannot tell, I mean thoſe that ſteer their Conſciences by Occaſions, and cannot loſe the Honour they never had: But truly (Sir) for my own Part, I dare as little not declare it to be my Opinion, as others more prudential dare avow it to be theirs, that we are this Day making good all the Reproaches of our Enemies, owning of ourſelves Oppreſſors, Murderers, Regicides, Subverters of that which now we do not only acknowledge to have been a lawful Government, but by recalling it, confeſs it now to be the beſt; which (Sir) if it be true, and that we now begin to ſee aright, I heartily wiſh our Eyes had been ſooner open, and for three Nations Sake, that we had purchaſed our Conviction at a cheaper Rate. We might (Sir) in forty-two, have been what we thus contend to be in fifty-nine, and our Conſciences have had much leſs to anſwer for to God, and our Reputations to the World.

But, Mr. Speaker, I wiſh, with all my Soul, I did ſtate our Caſe to you amiſs, and that it were the Queſtion only, whether we would voluntarily relapſe into the Diſeaſe we were formerly poſſeſſed with, and of our own Ac-

cords take up our old Yoke, that we with Wearing and Cuſtom had made habitual and eaſy, and which (it may be) 'twas more our Wantonneſs than our Preſſure, that made us throw it off. But this (Sir) is not now the Queſtion: That which we deliberate, is not, whether we will ſay we do not care to be free, we like our old Maſters, and will now be content to have our Ears bored at the Door Poſts of their Houſe, and ſo ſerve them for ever; but (Sir) as if we were contending for Shame as well as Servitude, we are carrying our *Ears to be bored* at the Doors of *another Houſe*; a Houſe (Sir) without Name, and therefore it is but congruous it ſhould conſiſt of Members without Family; a Houſe that inverts the Order of Slavery, and ſubjects it to our Servants; and yet, in Contradiction to Scripture, we do not only not think that Subjection intolerable, but are now pleading for it. In a Word, Sir, it is a Houſe of ſo incongruous and odious a Compoſition and Mixture, that certainly the grand Architect would never have ſo framed it, had it not been his Deſign as well to ſhew to the World *the Contempt he had of us*, as to demonſtrate *the Power he had over us.*

Sir, that it may appear, that I intend not to be ſo prudent, (as far as my Part is concerned) as to make a voluntary Reſignation of my Liberty and Honour to this excellent Part of his late Highneſs's laſt Will and Teſtament, I ſhall crave, Sir, the leave to declare, in a few Particulars, my Opinion of this Other Houſe; wherein I cannot but promiſe myſelf to be favourably heard by ſome, but patiently heard by all: For thoſe *Engliſhmen* that are againſt this Houſe, will certainly, with Content, hear the Reaſons why others are ſo too; thoſe Courtiers that are for it, give me Evidence enough to think that in Nature there is nothing which they cannot willingly endure.

Firſt, Sir, as to the Author and Framer of this Houſe of Peers, let me put you in Mind, it was he, that with reiterated Oaths, had often ſworn *to be true and faithful to the Government without it*; and not only ſworn ſo himſelf, but had been the chief Inſtrument both to draw and compel others to ſwear ſo too. So, Sir, that the Foundation of this noble Fabric was laid in Perjury, and was begun with the Violation and Contempt, as well of the Laws of God as of the Nation. He, Sir, that called Monarchy *Antichriſtian* in another, and indeed made it ſo in himſelf. He that voted a Houſe of Lords *dangerous and unneceſſary*, and truly made it ſo in his Partiſans: He that with Fraud and Force deprived you of your Liberty when he was living, and entailed Slavery upon you at his Death; 'tis he, Sir, that hath left you theſe worthy Overſeers of that his laſt Will and Teſtament; who, however they have behaved themſelves in other Truſts, we may be confident they will endeavour faithfully to diſcharge themſelves in this. In a Word, Sir, had this other Houſe no other Fault but its Inſtitution and Author, I ſhould think that original Sin enough for its Condemnation: For I am of their Opinion that think, that for the Good of Example, all Acts and Monuments of Tyrants are to be expunged and eraſed, that, if poſſible, their Memory might be no longer lived than their Carcaſſes. And the Truth is, their good Laws are of the Number of their Snares, and but baſe Brokage for our Liberty.

But,

But, Sir, to impute to this other Houſe no other Faults but its own, you may pleaſe, in the firſt Place, to conſider of the Power which his Highneſs hath left it, according to that *humble Petition and Advice*, which he was pleaſed to give Order to the Parliament to preſent unto him. For, Sir, as the *Romans* had Kings, ſo had his Highneſs Parliaments amongſt his Inſtruments of Slavery; and I hope, Sir, it will be no Offence for me to pray that his Son may not have them ſo too. But, Sir, they have a *Negative Voice*, and all other Circumſtances of that arbitrary Power, which made the former Houſe intolerable; only the Dignity and Quality of the Perſons themſelves is wanting, that our Slavery may be accompanied with Ignominy and Affront. And now, Mr. Speaker, have we not gloriouſly vindicated the Nation's Liberty? have we not worthily employed our Blood and Treaſure to aboliſh that Power that was ſet over us by the Law, to have the ſame impoſed upon us without a Law? And after all that Sound and Noiſe we have made in the World, of the People's legiſlative Power, and of the Supremacy and Omnipotency of their Repreſentatives, we now ſee there is no more Power left them, but what is put in the Ballance, and equalled by the Power of a few Retainers of Tyranny, who are ſo far from being of the People's Choice, that the moſt Part of them are only known to the Nation by the Villainies and Miſchiefs they have committed in it.

In the next Place, Sir, you may pleaſe to conſider that the Perſons inveſted with this Power, are all of them nominated and deſigned by the Lord Protector (for to ſay, *by him and his Council*, hath, in effect no more Diſtinction, than if one ſhould ſay, *by Oliver and Cromwell.*) By this Means the Protector himſelf, by his own and his Peers Negative, becomes, in effect, two of three Eſtates; and by Conſequence, is poſſeſſed of two Parts of the legiſlative Power. I think this can be a Doubt to no Man, that will but take the Pains to read over that fair Catalogue of thoſe noble Lords; for certainly no Man that reads their Names, can poſſibly fancy for what other Virtues or good Qualities ſuch a Compoſition ſhould be made Choice of, but only the Certainty of their Compliance with whatſoever ſhould be enjoined them by their *Creator*. (Pardon, Sir, that Name, for 'tis properly appliable, where Things are made of nothing.) Now, Sir, if in the former Government, Increaſe of the Nobility was a Grievance, becauſe the new Nobility having freſh Obligations to the Crown, were the eaſilier led to Compliance with it; and if one of the main Reaſons for Excluſion of the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Lords was, becauſe that they being of the King's making, were, in effect, ſo many certain Votes for whatever the King had a-mind to carry in that Houſe, how much more aſſured will that Inconvenience now be, when the Protector, that wants nothing of the King, but, in every Senſe, the Title, ſhall not only make and nominate a Part, but of himſelf conſtitute the whole Houſe? In a word, Sir, if our Liberty was endangered by the former Houſe, we may give it loſt in the other Houſe; and it is, in all Reſpects, as advantageous and ſecure for the Liberty of the Nation, which we come hither to redeem, to allow this Power and Notion to his Highneſs's Officers, or Council, nay, his very Chaplains, as to his other Creatures and Partiſans in his Other Houſe.

Now

Now, having conſidered, Sir, their Author, Power and Conſtitution, give me leave to make ſome few Obſervations, though but in general, of the Perſons themſelves that are deſigned to be our Lords and Maſters, and let us ſee what either the extraordinary Quality or Qualifications are of theſe egregious Legiſlators, which may juſtify their Choice, and prevail with the People to admit them, at leaſt, into equal Authority with the whole Repreſentative Body of themſelves. But what I ſhall ſpeak, Sir, of their Quality, or any Thing elſe concerning them, I would be thought to ſpeak with Diſtinction, and to intend only of the major Part. For I acknowledge, Mr. Speaker, the Mixture of this other Houſe to be like the Compoſitions of Apothecaries, who are uſed to mix ſomething of Reliſh, ſomething grateful to the Taſte, to qualify their bitter Drugs, which elſe, perchance, would be immediately ſpit out, and never ſwallowed. So, Sir, his Highneſs, of deplorable Memory to this Nation, to countenance as well the want of Quality as Honeſty in the reſt, hath nominated ſome, againſt whom there lies no other Reproach, but only that Nomination; but not, Sir, out of any Reſpect to their Qualities, or Regard to their Virtues, but with Regard to the No Quality, to the No Virtues of the reſt; which truly, Mr. Speaker, if he had not done, we could eaſily have given a more expreſs Name to his other Houſe than he hath been pleaſed to do. For we know a Houſe deſigned only for Beggars and Malefactors, is *a Houſe of Correction*, and termed ſo by your Law. But, Mr. Speaker, ſetting thoſe few Perſons aſide, who, I hope, think the Nomination a Diſgrace, and the ever coming to ſit there a much greater; can we, without Indignation, think on the reſt? He that's firſt in their Roll, a condemned Coward, one that out of Fear and Baſeneſs did once what he could to betray your Liberties, and does now the ſame for Gain: The ſecond, a Perſon of as little Senſe as Honeſty, preferred for no other Reaſon but his No Worth, his No Conſcience; except that his cheating his Father of all he had, was thought a Virtue by him, who, by ſad Experience, we find hath done as much for his Mother, his Country: The third, a Cavalier, a Preſbyterian, an Independent; for a Republic, for a Protector, for every thing, for nothing, but only that one thing, *Money*. 'Twere endleſs to run through them all, to tell you, Sir, of their Lordſhips of ſeventeen Pound Land a Year of Inheritance; of their Farmer Lordſhips, Draymen Lordſhips, Cobler Lordſhips, without one Foot of Land, but what the Blood of *Engliſhmen* hath been the Price of; theſe, Sir, are to be our Rulers, theſe the Judges of our Lives and Fortunes; to theſe we are to ſtand bare, whilſt their pageant Stage Lordſhips deign to give us a Conference upon their Breeches. Mr. Speaker, we have already had too much Experience, how inſupportable Servants are, when they become our Maſters: All Kind of Slavery is miſerable in the Account of all generous Minds; but that which comes accompanied with Scorn and Contempt, ſtirs every Man's Indignation, and is indured by none, whom Nature does not intend for Slaves, as well as Fortune.

I ſay not this, Mr. Speaker, to revile any Man with his Meanneſs; for I never thought either the Malignity or Indulgence of Fortune to be (with wiſe or juſt Men) the Grounds either of their ill or their good Opinion. Mr.

Speaker, I blame not in theſe Men the Faults of their Fortune any otherwiſe, but as they make them their own. I object to you their Poverty, becauſe it is accompanied with Ambition; I mind you of their Quality, becauſe they themſelves forget it; ſo that 'tis not the Men I am angry with, but with their Lordſhips; not with Mr. *Barkſtead*, or Mr. *Goaler* (Titles I could well allow him) but with *The Right Honourable, our ſingular and good Lord* Goaler. 'Tis this Incongruity, Mr. Speaker, I am diſpleaſed with.

So, Sir, that though we eaſily grant Poverty and Neceſſity to be no Faults, yet we muſt allow them to be great Impediments in the way of Honour, and ſuch as nothing but extraordinary Virtue and Merit can well remove. The Scripture reckons it among *Jeroboam*'s great Faults, that *he made Prieſts of the meaneſt of the People*; and ſure it was none of the Virtues of our *Jeroboam* (who hath ſet up his Calves too, and would have our Tribes come up and worſhip them) that he obſerved the ſame Method in making of Lords.

One of the few Requeſts the *Portugals* made to *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, when he got that Kingdom (as his late Highneſs did this) by an Army, was, *That he would not make Nobility contemptible, by advancing ſuch to that Degree, whoſe Quality or Virtue could be no way thought to deſerve it.* Nor have we formerly been leſs apprehenſive of ſuch Inconveniencies ourſelves. It was in *Richard* the Firſt's Time, one of the Biſhop of *Ely*'s Accuſations, that Caſtles and Forts of Truſt he did *obſcuris & ignotis hominibus tradere*, put in the Hands of obſcure and unknown Men; but we, Mr. Speaker, to ſuch a Kind of Men are delivering up the Power of our Laws, and in that the Power of all.

In the 17th of *Edward* IV. there paſſed an Act of Parliament for the degrading of *John Nevil*, Marquis *Montagu* and Duke of *Bedford.* The Reaſon expreſſed in the Act, *Becauſe he had not a Revenue ſufficient for the Maintaining of that Dignity*; to which was added, *That when Men of mean Birth are called to high Eſtate, and have no Livelihood to ſupport it, it induceth Briberies, Extortions, and all Kinds of Injuſtices that are followed by Gain.* And in the Parliament of 2 *Carol.* the Peers, in a Petition againſt *Scotiſh* and *Iriſh* Titles, told the King, *That 'tis a Novelty without Precedent, that Men ſhould poſſeſs Honours where they poſſeſs nothing elſe*; *and that they ſhould have a Vote in Parliament, where they have not a Foot of Land.* But if it had been added, Sir, *Or have no Land but what is the Purchaſe of their Villanies*, againſt how many of our new Peers had this been an important Objection? To conclude, Sir, it hath been a very juſt and reaſonable Care, amongſt all Nations, not to render that deſpiſed and contemptible to the People, which is deſigned for their Reverence and their Awe: Which, Sir, bare and empty Title, without Quality or Virtue, never procured any Man any more than the Image in the Fable made the Aſs adored that carried it.

After their Quality, give me Leave, Sir, to ſpeak a Word or two of their Qualifications; which certainly ought in Reaſon to carry ſome Proportion with the Employments they deſign themſelves. The Houſe of Lords, Sir, are our Kings hereditary great Councils; they are the higheſt Court of Judicature; they have their Part in judging and determining of the Reaſons of making new Laws, and of abrogating old: From amongſt them we take

our

our great Officers of State; they are commonly our Generals at Land, and our Admirals at Sea. In Concluſion, Sir, they are both of the Eſſence and Conſtitution of our old Government; and have beſides the greateſt and nobleſt Share in the Adminiſtration. Now, certainly, Sir, to judge according to the Dictates of Reaſon, one would imagine ſome ſmall Faculties and Endowments to be neceſſary for the Diſcharging of ſuch a Calling; and thoſe ſuch as are not uſually acquired in Shops and Warehouſes, nor found by following the Plough: Now, what other Academies moſt of their Lordſhips have been bred in but their Shops? what other Arts they have been verſed in, but thoſe which more require good Arms and good Shoulders, than good Heads, I think, Mr. Speaker, we are yet to be informed? Sir, we commit not the Education of our Children to ignorant and illiterate Maſters; nay, we truſt not our very Horſes to unſkilful Grooms. I beſeech you, Sir, let us think it belongs to us to have ſome Care into whoſe Hands we commit the Management of the Commonwealth; and if we cannot have Perſons of Birth and Fortune to be our Rulers, to whoſe Quality we would willingly ſubmit, I beſeech you, Sir, for our Credit's and Safety's Sake, let us ſeek Men (at leaſt) of Parts and Education, to whoſe Abilities we may have ſome Reaſon to give way. If, Sir, a Patient dies under a Phyſician's Hand, the Law eſteems that not a Felony, but a Misfortune in the Phyſician; but if one that is no Phyſician undertakes the Management of a Cure, and the Party miſcarries, the Law makes the Empiric a Felon, and ſure, in all Men's Opinion, the Patient a Fool. To conclude, Sir, for great Men to govern, 'tis ordinary; for able Men, 'tis natural: Knaves many times come to it by Force and Neceſſity, and Fools ſometimes by Chance; but univerſal Choice and Election of Fools and Knaves for Government, was never yet made by any who were not themſelves like thoſe they choſe.

But methinks, Mr. Speaker, I ſee, ready to riſe after me, ſome Gentlemen that ſhall tell you the great Services that their new Lordſhips have done the Commonwealth; that ſhall extol their Valour, their Godlineſs, their Fidelity to the Cauſe; the Scripture too (no doubt) as 'tis to all Purpoſes, ſhall be brought in to argue for them; and we ſhall hear of the *Wiſdom of the poor Man that ſaved the City*, of the *not many wiſe, not many mighty*; Attributes I can no way deny to be due to their Lordſhips. Mr. Speaker, I ſhall be as forward as any Man to declare their Services, and acknowledge them; though I might tell you, that the ſame Honour is not purchaſed by the Blood of an Enemy, and of a Citizen: That for Victories in Civil Wars, till our Armies march through the City, I have not read that the Conquerors have been ſo void of Shame as to triumph. *Cæſar*, not much more indulgent to his Country, than our late Protector, did not ſo much as write public Letters of his Victory at *Pharſalia*, much leſs had Days of Thankſgiving to his Gods, and anniverſary Feaſts for being a proſperous Rebel, and given Juſtice, and his Country the worſt.

But, Sir, I leave this Argument, and to be as good as my Word, come to put you in mind of ſome of their Services, and the Obligation you owe them for the ſame. To ſpeak nothing, Sir, of one of my Lords Commiſſioners

Valour

Valour at *Briſtol*, nor of another noble Lord's brave Adventure at the *Bear-Garden*; I muſt tell you, Sir, that moſt of them have had the Courage to do Things, which (I may boldly ſay) few other Chriſtians durſt have ſo adventured their Souls to have attempted: They have not only ſubdued their Enemies, but their Maſters that raiſed and maintained them; they have not only conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, but rebellious *England* too, and there ſuppreſſed a malignant Party of Magiſtrates and Laws: And that nothing ſhould be wanting to make them indeed compleat Conquerors (without the Help of Philoſophy) they have even conquered themſelves. All Shame they have ſubdued, as perfectly as all Juſtice. The Oaths they have taken, they have as eaſily digeſted, as their old General could himſelf: Public Covenants and Engagements they have trampled under Foot. In Concluſion, ſo entire a Victory they have over themſelves, that their Conſciences are as much their Servants as, Mr. Speaker, we are.

But, Sir, give me Leave to conclude with that which is more admirable than all this, and ſhews the Confidence they have of themſelves and us: After having many Times trampled on the Authority of the Houſe of Commons, and no leſs than five Times diſſolved them, they hope for thoſe good Services to the Houſe of Commons, by the Houſe of Commons to be made a Houſe of Lords.

I have been over-long, Sir, for which I crave your Pardon; therefore, in a Word, I conclude. I beſeech you let us think it our Duty to have a Care of two Things: Firſt, that Villainies be not encouraged with the Rewards of Virtue. Secondly, That the Authority and Majeſty of the Government of this Nation be not defiled and expoſed to Contempt, by committing ſo conſiderable a Part of it to Perſons of as mean Quality as Parts.

The *Thebans* did not admit Merchants into Government, till they had left their Traffic ten Years: Sure 'twould have been long before Coblers and Dray-men would have been allowed. If, Sir, the Wiſdom of this Houſe ſhall find it neceſſary to begin where we left, and ſhall think we have been hitherto like the Prodigal, and that now when our Neceſſities perſuade us, *i. e.* that we are almoſt brought to herd it with Swine, now 'tis high Time to think of a Return: Let us, without more ado, without this motly Mixture, even take our *Rulers as at the firſt*, ſo that we can be but reaſonably ſecured to avoid our *Counſellors as at the Beginning*.

Give me Leave, Sir, to releaſe your Patience with a ſhort Story *Livy* tells us: There was a State in *Italy*, an Ariſtocracy, where the Nobility ſtretched their Prerogative too high, and preſumed a little too much upon the People's Liberty and Patience; whereupon the Diſcontents were ſo general and ſo great, that they apparently tended to a Diſſolution of Government, and the turning of all Things into Anarchy and Confuſion. At the ſame time, beſide theſe Diſtempers at home, there was a potent Enemy ready to fall upon them from abroad, that had been an Over-match for them at their beſt Union, but now in theſe Diſorders, was like to find them a very ready and very eaſy Prey: A wiſe Man, Sir, in the City, that did not at all approve of the Inſolency of the Nobility, and as little liked popular Tumults, bethought himſelf of

this Stratagem to couzen his Country into Safety. Upon a Pretence of Counſel, he procured the Nobility to meet all together; which, when they had done, he found a Way to lock all the Doors upon them; goes away himſelf, and takes the Keys with him: Then immediately he ſummons the People; tells them, That by a Contrivance of his, he had taken all the Nobility in a Trap: That now was the Time for them to be revenged upon them for all their Inſolencies: That therefore they ſhould immediately go along with him and diſpatch them. Sir, the Officers of our Army, after a Faſt, could not be more ready for the Villainy than this People were; and accordingly they made as much Haſte to the Slaughter as their Lord Protector could deſire them: But, Sir, this wiſe Man I told you of, was their Lord Protector indeed: As ſoon as he had brought the People where the Parliament was ſitting, and when they but expected the Word to fall to the Butchery, and take their Heads: *Gentlemen*, ſays he, *Though I would not care how ſoon this Work of Reformation were over; yet in this Ship of Commonwealth we muſt not throw the Steerſmen over-board, till we have provided others for the Helm: Let us conſider, before we take theſe Men away, in what other Hands we may more ſecurely truſt our Liberty, and the Management of the Commonwealth:* And ſo he adviſed them, before the putting down of the former, to bethink themſelves of conſtituting another Houſe. He begins and nominates one, a Man highly cried up in the popular Faction, a confiding Man, one of much Zeal, little Senſe, and no Quality. You may ſuppoſe him, Sir, a zealous Cobler. The People, in Concluſion, murmured at this, and were loth their Fellow Mutineer, for no other Virtue but mutinying, ſhould come to be advanced to be their Maſter, and by their Looks and Murmur ſufficiently expreſſed the Diſtaſte they took at ſuch a Motion. Then he nominates another as mean a Mechanic as the former: You may imagine him a buſtling rude Drayman, or the like. He was no ſooner named, but ſome burſt out a laughing, others grew angry and railed at him, and all deteſted and ſcorned him. Upon this, a Third was named for a Lordſhip, one of the ſame Batch, and every way fit to ſit with the other Two. The People then fell into a confuſed Laugh and Noiſe, and enquired if ſuch were Lords, who (by all the Gods) would be content to be the Commons.

Sir, let me be bold (by the good Leave of the other Houſe and yours) to aſk the ſame Queſtion? But, Sir, to conclude this Story, and with it, I hope, the Other Houſe: When this wiſe Man I told you of, perceived they were now ſenſible of the Inconvenience and Miſchief they were running into, and ſaw that the pulling down their Rulers, would prove in the End, but the ſetting up of their Servants, he thought them then prepared to hear Reaſon, and told them, *You ſee*, ſaith he, *that as bad as the Government is, we cannot, for any Thing I ſee, agree upon a better: What then, if after this Fright we have put our Nobility in, and the Demonſtration we have given them of our Power, we try them once more, whether they will mend, and for the future behave themſelves with more Moderation?* That People, Mr. Speaker, were ſo wiſe as to comply with that wiſe Propoſition, and to think it eaſier to mend their old Rulers,

Rulers, than to make new. And I wiſh, Mr. Speaker, we may be ſo wiſe o thin k ſo too.

England anatomized, her Diſeaſe diſcovered, and the Remedy preſcribed: In a Speech by a Member of the (ſo called) Parliament.

Mr. SPEAKER,

I Am not (I fear) the only Perſon that comes hither hopeleſs of doing any other Good (or Good any other Way) than by oppoſing Ill, and endeavouring to hinder the Deſigns of thoſe, who have brought the Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates of the People of three Nations, to have no other Support, than a Government without any Baſis or Foundation. Although, I hope, we have not any of us ſo naturalized ourſelves in the Devil's Dominions, by our habitual Crimes, as not to return to the Light of-Reaſon. Sir, I ſhould willingly be ſilent, could the Voice and Cries, Complaints and Groans, of the many Thouſands in theſe Nations (that have felt, and feel, the Weight of the Oppreſſors) be heard. But whilſt they are not heard, or not regarded; and others (as unconcerned for them, and too much for themſelves) purſue not the Truſt repoſed at their Elections to ſit here, *Nolo meam perdere*: I will not, muſt not, dare not, ſtifle my Reaſon, barter my Conſcience, nor loſe any Opportunity of declaring what I am, and think others ſhould be. And when Religion and Law, the two Pillars of a Commonwealth, have *Samſon*'s Shoulders (the Power of the Sword) ſet to pull them down, ſit as a calm Spectator. You know well, Sir, that it is the Part of ſuch as are called, to conſult the Concernments of the Republic; *ſemper vigilare & populorum ſuſcipere curam*, according to that Encomium of *Hector* by *Livy*, *Nocturnu vigilans & reipub. providens, &c.* But he that ſleeping doth nothing, is more commendable (or rather leſs culpable) than he that waking doth amiſs. Give me therefore Liberty, in diſcharge of myſelf, and as concerned for others, to be your Remembrancer of the Occaſion and Buſineſs, for which we that now ſit (and others, that, for aught I know, have as much Right as ourſelves to ſit here) were at firſt convented. And if it appear (as queſtionleſs 'tis too obvious) that we have degenerated or deviated, gone contrary to, or, at leaſt, walked out of the good Road-way, to the Peace, Security, and Advantage of the three Nations; I am unwilling to believe, that any Man (out of a Suppoſition that it is too late) will yet longer defer to return, and experience to himſelf, that, *Nihil eſt commodius vel tutius via Regia.* Mr. Speaker, I ſhall not ſo much as queſtion, whether thoſe ſitting here, are, or are not, a Parliament. But ſure I am, that many uſeful Members (if it were ſuch) are wanting to compleat this Body; and as ſure, that it were ſafeſt and beſt to join the Head

to the Members. The Conſtitution of Parliaments was to conſult and adviſe with the King, for the Government of his Subjects; to that Purpoſe were we called hither: And how far we have proſecuted that, all *Europe*, yea, the whole World, is made Judge. Let us make ſome Retroſpection, and take a ſhort Survey of the Tranſactions by and amongſt us, ſince our firſt Meeting. We ſate not long before our inconſiderate Folly and Arrogancy gave the King juſt Cauſe to abſent, and to decline our Actings. It did not then (to ſome) but hath ſince (to all) appeared, that there were two great Deſigns of two Sorts of Perſons ſitting in the Houſe; one of which (as in Charity I do believe of many that were then Members) was, to purge the Council of the King, and to reclaim the Inſolence, and Over-haughtineſs of the Biſhops and Clergy: The other, that which hath been ſince fatally effected, the Deſtruction of them all. How to diſtinguiſh theſe Perſons yet, I know not; there being many Members (doubtleſs) ſtill in being, (and ſome, I hope, ſitting here) that were then, and yet continue, hearty Lovers of their King and Country. But all, or moſt of us, without Diſtinction, are too guilty; ſome by acting, others by cowardly ſuffering that diſmal Tragedy to be acted. I need not prompt your Intellects, in the Nature of thoſe horrid Crimes we all have Cauſe to mourn for: I fear, too many underſtood too well, and acted deliberately and reſolvedly what was intended, to attain to what they propoſed. The Sum of all is plain, that out of Pretenſions to Zeal for God, Love to Religion, Allegiance and Duty to our King, and Care for our Country, we cauſed ſo many Thouſands to be murdered, ſo many Families to be ruined, the King (whom we promiſed and proteſted we would make a glorious Prince) to be betrayed and beheaded, his Queen baniſhed, his Royal Children expoſed to the Mercy of Strangers, Religion diſcountenanced, the Church defaced, the Laws violated, Men's Perſons impriſoned, their Eſtates confiſcate and ſold; and all this to ſerve our own baſe Ends, to enrich ourſelves, and to advance Libertiniſm, Anabaptiſm, Quakiſm, and Papiſm. Mr. Speaker, I wiſh theſe were not undeniable Truths; but ſuch we all know they are: And yet ſuch, as ſome, notwithſtanding, can add to their Confidence in committing, the Impudence of juſtifying and defending them, aſſerting their Right and Authority by their Power and Violence; though it be as ridiculous to wiſe Men to maintain an Authority in the Subject of dethroning and depoſing their Sovereign, as 'tis prophane and damnable to intrench upon the Prerogative of Heaven. And if the King be, *ſicut vicarius Dei, & miniſter in terra*, how dare any but the great Emperor and Deputer of that Viceroy, undertake or deſign his Removal? It was, Sir, no doubt, juſt Cauſe of Sadneſs upon the Spirits of all honeſt Perſons that had been too eminent in the Proſecution of what received ſo ill Succeſs, to have that little Power or Poſſibility they had of retrieving what, before the Murder of our late King, ſeemed poſſible to be recovered, wreſted from them, by the Force and Violence of the then and now Pretenders to Reformation, having no other Warrant than their rebellious Swords, which hath been the only Corrilium they have uſed, like the unſkilful Phyſician, *omnium oculos ſanare*. And when afterwards ſome were left ſitting, that were ſeriouſly ſenſible of their Miſcarriages, and endeavoured to evidence

their

their Remorſe, by reſettling and reducing what they found wholly out of Frame; then for ſome few ſelf-intereſted, irreligious, ſacrilegious Perſons, by meer Supremacy of Power, to inforce their Diſſolution, and give Way to the Succeſſion of corrupt, anabaptiſtical, jeſuitical Sect of People, to introduce an abſolute arbitrary Government, without Rule or Law, ſave only that of the Wills of the Legiſlators, that altered as their Occaſions and Advantages prompted. What muſt it then be to us, if there be any here (as God forbid the contrary) that dare be honeſt, to ſee the Tragedy continued, acting and acted for ſo many Years together; and when we now pretend an Authority, and have thereby Opportunity to become Men again (having hitherto appeared to the univerſal Spectators, as Beaſts, Wolves, Tygers, and a mere Antropophagi, devouring, and cauſing one another to be devoured) and to demonſtrate how fully ſenſible we are of our fatal and damnable Errors, to find the People ready to be intangled in another Labyrinth, out of which, 'tis evident to all rational Capacities, there is no Clue to conduct us, but that Thread of Government, which hath been raſhly cut in ſunder. Mr. Speaker, I muſt not waſte your Time, nor need not (I think) ſpeak much of this Subject, all of us having too great Teſtimony in ourſelves of the ſad Truths I mention. But, Sir, I beſeech you, let us not amidſt our Ills be ſo deſperate, as to believe ourſelves altogether unſafe, without attempting greater. No, let us rather take up the *nunquam ſera*; and whilſt ſome Poſſibility remains of ſuch a compenſatory Reſtitution, as may render us capable of Mercy, do ſomething may procure it. I cannot boaſt the Art, whereto ſome here pretend, of Preaching, although I may more juſtly now aſſert a legal Call, to preach Repentance (evidencing my own by a free Confeſſion) than they to aſcend the Pulpit, and become Umpires of Scripture, without other Warrant, than what they collect by Abuſe of that Part on't, which teacheth them to provide for thoſe of their own Houſhold, which they have done ſo ſucceſsfully, that they have inverted the Text, and are worſe than Infidels. But, Mr. Speaker, I ſhall beg your Conſideration only of two Things; firſt, of the Condition wherein we, and the three Nations now are; and, if I may ſpeak my own Thoughts freely, I hope I ſhall ſpeak ſome of yours too in them. 'Tis not unknown, that we were ſometimes the Wonder of the World, famous for Good, though now for Evil, and our Nation ſo glorious, and happily enriched with Fruitfulneſs, Peace and Plenty, and governed by ſuch wholeſome Laws, that thoſe in League with us, loved and honoured us, and our Enemies envied and admired us: And now we are become ſo hatefully ridiculous, that we are paſt the Benefit of Love or Pity, and are, and muſt be, looked on by all (ſave ſuch as By-reſpects ſeduceth) as a People without a Government, or Governors: And what Conſequence may be from thence expected, is eaſily inferred from the fatal Diſſenſions and general Misfortunes of thoſe People we read of, when there was no King in *Iſrael*. I may, Sir, challenge the beſt and moſt critical Etymologiſt, to give the Government we now are under (if we have any) a ſignificant Chriſtian Name. I am confident none, or very few here can think (whatever it may be expedient for us at preſent to ſay or declare) that it is a parliamentary Government, every Man rational, having ſo much

natural

natural Logic about him to evince the contrary. Parliaments were never heard of before Kings, nor never made, legally called, or conſtituted, but by the King. If then there be no King, what follows? *Ceſſante cauſa, ceſſat etiam effectus.*

But ſuppoſe an Impoſſibility, that there was a Parliament in *England* which did ſurvive the King that cauſed it; yet, was it not diſſolved, and legally too, notwithſtanding the Act we dote on, that it ſhould not be diſſolved but by Act of Parliament? However, others may truly expound that Act of Force, a Wrong; we are eſtopped by our Aſſent, to ſay it was illegal. Was the ſtanding at the Parliament-houſe Door, before the late King's Death, and with Violence denying Entrance to Men duly choſen by their Country, impriſoning their Perſons, and appointing a certain Number of their own to ſit, and directing them to enact what they had deſigned, and nothing elſe; Was that lawful? Were thoſe Perſons then left a compleat Parliament? and, were the reſt lawfully ſecluded? And, is it not as lawful for the ſame Perſons, by the ſame Power, when thoſe ſitting begun (or were feared) to be too honeſt for their Purpoſes, utterly to annihilate and diſſolve them? I beſeech you, Sir, let us not befool ourſelves into an Opinion of cheating the Eyes of the World with a Maſk that every one may ſee through. But finding now our Conſtitution, and the State of our Maladies, let our next Conſideration be, how, with the ſkilful Phyſician, to reſtore our own and the People's Health, ſo manifeſtly impaired, and become almoſt incurable. To which Purpoſe, Sir, it will not be amiſs to conſult, whether many, yea, moſt (now) that undertake to preſcribe Remedies, are fit Perſons to adminiſter this Kind of Phyſic. It is a Rule more conſonant to Reaſon, in all Trials at Law or Equity, that Perſons concerned in any Cauſe depending, ſhall not have Power to aſſert, by their own Teſtimony, their Right or Intereſt, much leſs to adjudge their own Properties: And, how much more unreaſonable and unjuſt is it, that thoſe Perſons who are become Purchaſers, and poſſeſſed of the Eſtates and Inheritances of the Perſon whoſe Title, upon no other Ground, is oppugned, to be Judges of his Right and Intereſt, and to give Laws, by no other Authority, than what is founded upon Rebellion and Treaſons? And what Juſtice can be expected from Men, that have no Rule but their carnal and diabolical Principles, to guide their partial Agitations to their own preſent Advantages?

Mr. Speaker, I could wiſh that more of us, than I fear there are, were of *Menander*'s Judgment, and could be perſuaded that *Honeſtius & tutius eſt pauperem eſſe quàm injuſtè divitem*; and that (ſure) would deter us from adventuring upon temporal Gain, by an eternal Loſs, and from digging into the Mines of other Men's Treaſure, by Murders, Thefts, Rapines, Treaſons, and Rebellions, which muſt inevitably determine in our own and the People's Deſtruction. Let us caſt our Thoughts a little upon the Fate of *Ziba*, *Architophel*, *Abſalon*, *Adonijah*, *Adoram*, *Judas*, and others, amongſt the many Traitors in holy Writ; of *Perſeus*, *Gracchus*, *Cataline*, *Decius Brutus*, *Trebonius*, *Milo*, *Cæpio*, *Marcus*, *Lollius*, *Beſſus*, and others in Hiſtory abroad; and *Straw*, *Cade*, *Tiler*, *Cromwell*, and others at home: And let us not dare to purſue their helliſh Stratagems, unleſs we would willingly ſuffer the ſame Deſtiny.

We

We have, Sir, by ſad Experience, at too dear a Rate, bought and learned the Knowledge of our Errors, and how unſuitable the Government we pretend to is, unto the Conſtitution of theſe Nations, having introduced nothing but Confuſion, and opened the Gap to all Licentiouſneſs, confirming that for Truth which others heretofore have found, that *Multos imperitare malum.*

Sir, I ſhall inſtantly make an end (for this time) of ſpeaking, and heartily deſire we all would now begin ſome ſeaſonable Acting: And by way of Prevention (leſt too ſoon it become too late to do what now we may, and That be forced from us, which now, by making a Virtue of the Neceſſity incumbent on us, we may with Advantage offer) ſpeedily lay by our private Intereſts and re-aſſume the public Spirits befitting us; recall our King, re-ſettle the Government under him, bear that *durus ſermo*, freely to ſurrender what any of us have detained from him, and join together with him in a firm Eſtabliſhment of the Church and State, Law and Religion; that the Land may once more flouriſh, and the Honour, Plenty, and Proſperity of the People be again revived: And that we (now) ſhould be perſuaded thus to do, I find no Reaſon to deſpair, having ſuch violent Inducements, by the Opportunities abroad and at home now tendered us. The ſickly Reign of Treaſon, in all Probability (whether we will or not) coming near its Period, can we, Mr. Speaker, be ſo ſottiſh, or bewitched in our Security ſo much, as to believe our ſcarlet Sins have not ere this reached Heaven, and that the great Avenger of Blood will not ſoon overtake us, unleſs we fly to the Sanctuary of penitential Expiation? No, Sir, be we aſſured, if Men concerned ſhould ceaſe to act their Duties, Heaven itſelf, by ſome Miracle, would create a Way to ſuch an eminent Juſtice. It is for want of this the Nations mourn? for this the ſilent Sighs of the immured Priſoners, the longing Wiſhes of our unjuſtly baniſhed Countrymen, the afflicted Mothers Lamentations for their murdered Sons; the pitied Wants of the innocent unſuſpecting Infants, of their undone Parents, do invoke Heaven. In fine, the Voice of God commands, and all good Men deſire it; let none therefore dare to contradict it.

ENGLAND's CONFUSION: Or, A true and impartial Relation of the late Traverſes of State in *England*; with the Counſels leading thereto: Together with a Deſcription of the preſent Power ruling there by the Name of a Parliament, under the Maſk of *The Good Old Cauſe.*

Written by one of the few *Engliſhmen* that are left in *England.*

Judg. xix. 30. *And it was ſo, that all that ſaw it ſaid, There was no ſuch deed done nor ſeen from the day that the children of* Iſrael *came up out of the Land of* Egypt *unto this day: Conſider of it, take advice, and ſpeak your mind.*

Rom. ii. 1, &c. *Therefore thou art inexcuſable, O man! whoſoever thou art that judgeſt; for wherein thou judgeſt another, thou condemneſt thy ſelf, for thou that judgeſt doſt the ſame thing.*

2 Tim. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *This know alſo, that in the laſt days perilous times ſhall come. For men ſhall be lovers of their own ſelves, covetous boaſters, proud, blaſphemers, diſobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy: Without natural affection, truce breakers, falſe accuſers, incontinent, fierce deſpiſers of thoſe that are good: Traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleaſure more than lovers of God: Having a form of godlineſs, but denying the Power thereof; from ſuch turn away.*

Gal. ii. 18. *If I build again the things which I deſtroyed, I make myſelf a tranſgreſſor.*

The Second Impreſſion, with new Additions.

Printed in the Year 1659.

IT is not unknown to any that have not been wilfully blind, with what a high Hand of arbitrary Power the late Protector *Oliver Cromwell* ſwayed the Scepter of theſe three Nations for the Space of five Years, and laid the beſt Foundations his ſhort and troubleſome Reign would give Leave to have continued his Poſterity in the ſame unlimited Dominion; declaring, when Death ſummoned him to account (if we may credit the greateſt of our preſent Rulers) his eldeſt Son *Richard* his Succeſſor in his uſurped Dominion, and leaving his Son *Henry* Lord Lieutenant, or Viceroy of *Ireland*, and his Daughter *Fleetwood*, married to the Commander in Chief under him of the Army (which they had very far new modelled for their Turn) and the moſt probable Competitor for Succeſſion to the Protectorſhip. Now, that ſubtle *Lambert* was upon Diſcovery, his active undermining Spirit removed from all Places of Truſt, and Opportunities of doing Miſchief.

In

In this Poſture of Affairs was *England*, and the Dominions thereof, when the Lion was forced to quit his Prey; of whom I will ſay no more, becauſe he is gone to his own Place; and where I can ſpeak no Good of the Dead, I hold it almoſt a Duty to ſay no Evil.

The Protector being interred among the Kings and Queens at *Weſtminſter* (at a vaſter Charge than had been uſed upon like Occaſions in the richeſt Times) Death giving him that Honour which he had aſpired to, but durſt not embrace in his Life-time; his Son *Richard*, an honeſt private Gentleman, well beloved in *Hampſhire*, the County where he lived, aſcended the Throne by the Invitation and Encouragement of *Fleetwood*, *Deſborough*, *Sydenham*, the two *Jones's*, *Thurloe*, and others the Relations and Confidents of his Father, and by the Contrivance of the Court, received Congratulations (prepared at *Whitehall)* from moſt of the Counties, Cities, and chief Towns of *England*, and from the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with Engagements to live and die with him; Addreſſes from the Independent Churches, by Doctor *Goodwin* and *Nye*, their Metropolitans, and was indeed worſhipped by many as the riſing Sun in our Horizon.

This Introduction being made to the transferring the Government of theſe Nations from the *Stewarts* to the *Cromwells*, it was conceived by thoſe who had proceeded thus far, that a general Convention, or Parliament, wiſely choſen by Influences from Court, would eaſily ſwallow what had been ſo well prepared to their Hands. And accordingly it was reſolved by the Junto before-mentioned, that a Parliament ſhould be called to meet the Twenty-ſeventh of *January* laſt, and (by Pretence of reſtoring the People to their antient Way of Elections, but really) that the Court might command the more Votes, the Boroughs had Writs alſo ſent to them, and the Elections were all made in the antient Way, only thirty Members were called by Writs from *Scotland*, and as many from *Ireland*, according to the late Combination of the three Nations into one Commonwealth.

This new Kind of Parliament being met at the Time and Place appointed, God had ſo well ordered the Elections, notwithſtanding the Practices of Men, that their *Engliſh* Spirit quickly appeared both againſt Impoſitions from Court and Army: And though their Counſels were at firſt interrupted with an Act of Recognition of the Protector, prepared and brought in by the Court, which took up the firſt Fortnight of their Time upon the very Point of Recognition, yet they were at length extricated from that Difficulty, by the Expedient of an honeſt Gentleman, in paſſing theſe Votes on *Monday* the 14th of *February*, 1658, without any Diviſion or Negative.

Reſolved,

That it be Part of this Bill to *recogniſe* and declare his Highneſs *Richard*, Lord Protector and chief Magiſtrate of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.

Reſolved,

That before this Bill be committed, the Houſe do declare ſuch additional Clauſes to be Part of this Bill, as may bound the Power of the chief Magiſtrate, and fully ſecure the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and the Li-

berties and Rights of the People: And that neither this, nor any other previous Vote that is, or ſhall be, paſſed in order to this Bill, ſhall be of Force or binding to the People, until the whole Bill be paſſed.

Their next Work was to appoint a Committee for Inſpection into the Accounts and Revenue of the Commonwealth, which had been lamentably ſquandered and waſted ever ſince 1648, (when the major Part of the Parliament, called in 17 *Caroli*, was forcibly impriſoned and ſecluded by the Army and their Fellow-Members) and twelve Members verſed in Matters of Account, whereof Mr. *Scowen* was in the Chair, were ſelected for this Work, and fully impowered for the Work they had in hand, in order to the retrenching and leſſening the Charge of the Commonwealth.

On *Saturday* the nineteenth of *February* they proceeded in the Act of Recognition, and reſolved,

That it ſhall be a Part of this Bill to declare the Parliament to conſiſt of Two Houſes.

And had afterwards ſeveral Days Debate by Order, concerning the Bounding of the *Chief Magiſtrate*'s Power, and the Bounds and Powers of another Houſe in relation to the former Votes, but could come to no Reſolution thereupon, the Court Party ſticking hard for the Powers given them by the Petition and Advice, and the honeſt Patriots of the Houſe (whoſe weighty Reaſons then convinced the Commonwealth Party now ruling to go along with them) denying it to be a Law, being obtained by Force, and Excluſion of above a hundred Members in the Year 1656, by which Force alſo the Purſe was taken from the Commons, by ſettling a Revenue of thirteen hundred thouſand Pounds a Year in Perpetuity of the Command of the ſingle Perſon, and the ruling Members of the Other Houſe, being moſt of them Officers of the Army and Courtiers; which being allowed for Law, the People would have been abſolute Slaves to their Power and Purſe, ſtolen from the Commons, as aforeſaid.

Whilſt the Temper of the Houſe was thus tried, and they appeared ſufficiently to be *Engliſhmen*, divers of the Members of *Scotland* and *Ireland* joining with them in the ſame Reſolutions; by the joint Advice of the Court and Army Party, the Queſtion of tranſacting with the Perſons ſitting in the Other Houſe, as an Houſe of Parliament, was ſet before them, upon pretended Grounds of Law and Neceſſity, and by Arguments of Force, and Interpoſition from the Army, and of Impoſſibility to proceed in any Thing without the ſaid other Houſe. This Attempt was as ſtoutly oppoſed for fourteen Days by the moderate honeſt Patriots of the Houſe as the former; the undoubted Right of the ancient Peers aſſerted, and all the ſaid Grounds and Arguments confuted, except that of Force, which was not to take Place with any Thing like a free Parliament of *Engliſhmen:* But in the Cloſe of the fourteen Days Debate, wherein much of the Honeſty, Ingenuity and Courage of the *Engliſh* Nation did appear, (ſeeing all Affairs at a Stand till ſomething were reſolved in this Point) they came, in a very full Houſe, to this well qualified-Reſolution:

Reſolved,

Reſolved,

That this Houſe will tranſact with the Perſons now ſitting in the Other Houſe, as an Houſe of Parliament, during this preſent Parliament: And that it is not hereby intended to exclude ſuch Peers as have been faithful to the Parliament, from their Privilege of being duly ſummoned to be Members of that Houſe.

The Houſe of Commons (between the Protector, the Other Houſe, and the General Council of Officers now ſummoned to meet at *Wallingford-Houſe*) may well be conceived at this Time to have had a Wolf by the Ears, and (having ſhewed themſelves *Engliſhmen* and not Slaves) had Reaſon to entertain wary Counſels, having ſome of their own Members undermining them without Doors; and foreſeeing a Diſſolution, though not knowing whether they ſhould die a violent or natural Death, or have a mixed Kind of Deceaſe, as it fell out afterwards: And therefore they reſolved not to own them in the Other Houſe as Lords, but called them, *The Perſons now ſitting in the Other Houſe as a Houſe of Parliament*; neither would they treat and confer with them, in the uſual Way, as with the Houſe of Peers; and therefore found out the new Word of *Tranſacting*: And not intending to have to do with them, but for a Trial, they limited the Time to be during this preſent Parliament, which they foreſaw would not be long; and to muzzle the new inconſiderable Upſtarts ſufficiently (if they ſhould take too much upon them) they aſſerted the Privilege of the ancient Peers as a good Reſerve, if the Parliament ſhould, by the Protector and Army be ſuffered, upon ſecond Thoughts, to ſit longer than was at firſt intended. And reſolved alſo, that they would receive no Meſſage from thoſe Perſons ſitting in the other Houſe, but by ſome of their own Number.

The Houſe of Commons by this Time, had alſo by a Saving in a Vote concerning the Fleet, aſſerted their Intereſt in the Militia, and had under Conſideration an Act for taking away all Laws, Statutes and Ordinances concerning the Exciſe and new Impoſts, and concerning Cuſtoms, Tonnage and Poundage, after three Years; and had vindicated the People's Liberties, by ſetting Major-General *Overton* and Mr. *Portman*, and divers others (illegally committed by the late Protector) at Liberty without paying Fees, and declaring their Impriſonments and Detention illegal and unjuſt; and had their new Lord Goalor *Barkſtead* and others at their Bar, under Queſtion for the ſame. And had alſo a high Reſentment of the illegal ſending freeborn *Engliſhmen* againſt their Wills to the *Barbadoes* and other foreign Plantations, and to the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, out of the Reach of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and had appointed a ſtrict Bill to be prepared for Remedy thereof. And had examined and diſcovered many other Grievances brought upon the People by the Officers and Farmers of Exciſe and others; and by Major-Generals, amongſt which *Butler* was, for his inſolent Actings and high Affronts to the Law and Courts of Juſtice, put out of the Commiſſion of the Peace, and a Committee appointed to draw up an Impeachment againſt him. The Committee alſo for Inſpection, before mentioned, had brought in and reported to the Houſe, the State of the Accounts and Public, and of the Martial and Civil Liſts in the

three Nations, by which it did appear, That the yearly Incomes of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, came to *Eighteen hundred ſixty eight thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventeen Pounds:* And the yearly Iſſues to, *Two millions two hundred and one thouſand five hundred and forty Pounds:* So that *Three hundred thirty two thouſand eight hundred and twenty three Pounds* of Debt incurred yearly, by the ill Management of double the Revenue that ever King of *England* enjoyed: And to maintain the unjuſt Conqueſt of *Scotland*, coſt us yearly *One hundred ſixty three thouſand ſix hundred and nineteen Pounds* more than the Revenue it yields.

Many other Particulars were under their Conſideration, as to the Religion and civil Rights of the People, too long now to be mentioned; but, in ſhort, to give them their Due, they did ſome Good whilſt they ſate, both to the Public and Particulars, and intended much more, and did no Hurt, gave no Offices nor Gratuities to themſelves out of the Public Treaſure, nor granted any Money from the People; which is more than can be ſaid of any Parliament in our Memory.

Proceeding thus ſucceſsfully and hopefully, to the general Satisfaction of the People in the three Nations, who choſe them; the Protector, and chief Officers of the Army, who were jealous of one another before, and Competitors for Government, grew now jealous of the Houſe of Commons alſo, who being the Repreſentatives of the People, were become alſo their Minions and Favourites. It was therefore now thought ſeaſonable to contend among themſelves for the Power, before the People ſhould recover it from them both: In order to which, the General Council of Officers kept their conſtant Meetings at *Wallingford-Houſe*, and the Protector, with his Party, countermined them at *Whitehall*. The Reſult of the Officers aſſembling was, a Repreſentation to the Protector, which was publiſhed by the Officers own Order, the ſeventh of *April*; and the Day after a Copy thereof ſent incloſed by the Protector, in a Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe.

This Repreſentation was like Lightening before Thunder, both to the Protector and the Houſe; for though it had ſome ſeeming fair Profeſſions intermixed, it is written in ſuch a canting equivocating Language, whereof the Sword was like to be Interpreter, that the Sting was eaſily viſible through the Honey, and their former Actions and ſuitable continuing Honeſty better credited than their Words.

Hereupon the Protector begins too late to think of ſecuring himſelf from being ſurprized with their Compliments, and ſtands upon his Guard. And the Commons Houſe, as became *Engliſhmen*, wiſely and courageouſly reſolved to let the Officers know that they took them ſtill to be their Servants, though they had for too many Years ill deſerved their Wages, rebelling and uſurping the Government at their Pleaſure; and intending to try what they meant by the *Good old Cauſe*, which, as they ſeemed to repreſent it, ſmelt of Gunpowder and Ball, and whether the Repentance held forth in their ſaid Repreſentation were real or Military, paſſed theſe Votes on *Monday*, *April* 18.

Reſolved,

Reſolved,

That during the Sitting of the Parliament, there ſhall be no General Council or Meeting of the Officers of the Army, without Direction, Leave and Authority of his Highneſs the Lord Protector, and both Houſes of Parliament.

Reſolved,

That no Perſon ſhall have or continue any Command or Truſt in any of the Armies or Navies of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, or any the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, who ſhall refuſe to ſubſcribe, That he will not diſturb or interrupt the free Meetings in Parliament of any of the Members of either Houſe of Parliament, or their Freedom in their Debates and Councils.

And the ſame time, to ſhew their Care of the Army, and to prevent Jealouſies, they paſſed the following Votes.

Reſolved,

That the Houſe do preſently take into Conſideration the Ways and Means for Satisfaction of the Arrears of the Armies, and providing preſent Pay for them.

Reſolved,

That Sergeant *Maynard*, the Attorney General, and Solicitor General do forthwith prepare an Act of Indemnity for all ſuch as have acted under the Parliament and Commonwealth.

Whilſt the Houſe ſpent the reſt of their Time in conſidering how to provide Money, without laying new Burdens on the People, great Conteſts grew between the Protector and the oppoſite Officers of the Army, both Sides keeping Guards Night and Day againſt one another, the Protector having, in Purſuance of the Votes of the Houſe, forbidden the Meetings of the Officers.

In this divided Poſture, Affairs continued till *Friday* the 22d of *April*, on which Morning early, *Fleetwood*, the Protector's Brother, *Deſborough* his Uncle, and the reſt of the mutinous Officers, carrying the greater Part of the Army after them, and the Protector's Party flinching, the Conqueſt was made without one Drop of Blood, (which was ſtrange in ſo ancient, hereditary, juſt, and undoubted a Title) and the Protector forced to conſent to a Commiſſion and Proclamation ready prepared, giving *Deſborough* and others Power to diſſolve the Parliament, contrary to the beſt Advice, and his own Intereſt and Promiſe. And accordingly the ſame Day, the Black-Rod was ſent twice to the Houſe of Commons (from *Fiennes*, Speaker of the Other Houſe) for them to come thither, but they admitted him not in, and much ſcorned the Motion, having ever looked upon that Muſhroom Houſe as the Lower Houſe, and their own Creature, the Language being to ſend down to the Other Houſe, when they ſent the Declaration for a Faſt, for a Trial of tranſacting with them: And therefore, underſtanding there were Guards of Horſe and Foot in the *Palace-yard*, after ſome Motions made by Mr. *Knightly*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrig*, and others, wherein Sir *Arthur* exceeded; That the Houſe ſhould firſt declare it Treaſon for any Perſons whatſoever to put Force upon any Members of the Houſe; and next, That all Votes, Acts, and Reſolutions, paſſed by any Members of Parliament, when the reſt were detained from, or taken out of the

the Houſe by Force, ſhould be null and void, and other Motions becoming *Engliſhmen*, to that End, judging themſelves under a Force; and finding they were very unanimous, though near four hundred in the Houſe, in the Things propoſed, they reſolved no Queſtion, but adjourned till *Monday* Morning the twenty-fifth of *April*, and attended the Speaker, in Order, through *Weſtminſter-Hall* to his Coach, in the Face of the Soldiery.

Now the Court (according to the Guiſe of the World in like Accidents) ſhrunk out of *Whitehall* into *Wallingford-Houſe*: And *Fleetwood*, *Deſborough*, and the reſt of the Officers, great and ſmall, took the Government into their own Hands, the Houſe of Commons being ſhut úp, and Entrance denied to the Members when they came on *Monday* (even to Sir *Henry Vane* and Sir *Arthur Haſelrig* themſelves) according to Adjournment, the Court of Requeſts and all Avenues being full of Soldiers, who told the Members that they muſt ſit no more.

After the Officers had new modeled themſelves, caſhiering *Whaley*, *Ingolſby*, *Goffe*, and divers others of the Protector's Party, and reſtoring *Lambert*, *Haſelrig*, *Okey*, and others diſplaced by Protector *Oliver*, and played with the Government for a few Days, and grew weary of it, the inferior Officers and the Pamphlets (that now flew about daily without Controul) carrying Things beyond the Intention of the chief Officers, who would have left the Protector *a Duke of Venice*, for his Father's Sake who raiſed them, and their Relation to him, which they had forgotten till now) they ſent to ſome of their old Hackney Drudges of the Long Parliament then in *London*, who they knew would do any Thing, ſo they might be ſuffered to ſit; and on the fifth and ſixth Days of *May* had Conference with them, the laſt of which was at their never-failing Speaker, the Maſter of the Rolls's Houſe in *Chancery-lane*, where both Officers, *viz. Lambert*, who had already gotten his old Place, and others with him, and Members, *viz.* Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrig*, *Ludlow*, *John Jones*, Mr. *Chaloner*, Mr. *Scot*, and others, to the Number of twenty, ſolicited *William Lenthall*, Eſq; to ſit Speaker again, but he objected Scruples in Judgment and Conſcience (which are not yet anſwered, nor never will): Nevertheleſs fifteen Articles between the Officers and ſome of the Members (who it ſeems over confidently undertook for the reſt) being firſt agreed on at ſome of their Meetings, they reſolved to meet in the Houſe on *Saturday* the 7th of *May*; yet that they might do it by Surprize, they gave out that they would not ſit till *Tueſday* the tenth of *May*: But the Itch of Ambition, and Lording it over the People, giving them no Quiet, on *Saturday* the 7th of *May* early, they met in the painted Chamber at *Weſtminſter*, and to make up their Number, ſent for the two chaſte Cock Sparrows, the Lord *Munſon* and Mr. *Henry Martin* out of Priſon, where they were in Execution for Debt, and honeſt *Whitlock*, and *Liſle* of the Chancery Bench, and with this Addition, being two and forty in Number, the Chancery Mace for Haſte being carried before them.

William Lenthall, Eſq; their tender-conſcienced Speaker, together with the ſaid Lord *Munſon*.

Henry Martin.

Mr.

Mr. *Whitlock.*
Mr. *Liſle.*
Temperate Mr. *Chaloner.*
Wiſe Alderman *Atkin.*
Truſty Alderman *Pennington*, who became Executor *de ſon tort* (to 7000 *l.* Eſtate of Sir *John Pennington*, who truſted him) before his Death.
Pedantic *Thomas Scot*, Succeſſor to *Laud* both at *Lambeth-Houſe* and the new Lordly Council-Board.
Haſtily rich *Cornelius Holland.*
Single-hearted preaching Sir *Henry Vane*, now become old Sir *Harry.*
Prideaux, Attorney General to all Governments.
Smiling Sir *James Harrington.*
Levelling *Ludlow.*
Pembrochian *Oldſworth*, that made the Earl his Maſter's wiſe Speeches.
Vain-glorious hair-brained *Haſelrig*, with Repentance like the Army's in his Conſcience, and the Biſhopric of *Durham* at his Back.
Sir *Thomas Middleton*'s Man *Jones.*
Doting *Pureſoy*, without Purity or Faith.
Colonel *White* the Lord *Fairfax*'s Secretary, got before his Maſter.
Religious *Harry Nevill.*
Mr. *Say*, the famous Lawyer.
Mr. *Blagrave*, better known at *Reading* than here.
Colonel *Bennet*, Sir *Henry Vane*'s little Second at Preaching.
Mr. *Brewſter*, a Cypher to make up the Number.
Sergeant Wilde, beſt known by the Name of the *Wild Sergeant.*
John Goodwin, alias *Herb John.*
Mr. *Lechmore*, the Attorney General's Second at all Governments.
Auguſtin Skinner, a *Kentiſh* Chriſtian.
Mr. *Downes*, another Cypher.
Mr. *Dove*, a Brewer of *Salisbury*, come to help in this new Brewing.
Mr. *John Lenthall*, *William Lenthall*'s own Son.
Saloway, a ſmart prating Apprentice newly ſet up for himſelf.
Mr. *John Corbet*, ſuch another Lawyer as *Miles*, and of his own Colour.
Mr. *Walton*, that will never forget his Son furniſhed Blacks for the Protector's Funeral.
Gilbert Millington the Church Snuffers, who deſires no better Trade than ſcandalous Miniſters.
Mr. *Gould*, newly married to get more, the Commonwealth being poor.
Colonel *Sydenham*, Colonel *Bingham*, } a *Dorſetſhire* Couple, in at all Governments, who had rather talk than fight, and yet will venture to do any thing, being backed with an Army, againſt the naked People.
Colonel *Ayre*, whoſe Name fills his Head.
Mr. *Smith*, a Six-Clerk, that wiſhes he could write and read.
Colonel *Ingolſby*, that fought ſo well lately for the Protector, againſt *Fleetwood:* And,

Fleetwood,

Fleetwood, that holy Man, who ſo ſmoothly ſupplanted the Protector, that he perſuaded him three Crowns were not worthy a drawn Sword, ſtole on the ſudden into the Houſe, the Invitation of the Army for the Sitting of the Long Parliament (as they call it) being firſt publiſhed in *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

Upon Notice of their Sitting, there being double their Number, Members of the ſame Parliament in Town, and many of them in the Hall, to prevent the Miſchiefs of a ſurreptitious packed Parliament, they agreed among themſelves in the Hall (though they were doubtful that Parliament was diſſolved) that about a Dozen or Fourteen of them ſhould immediately go to the Houſe; and the Perſons that did ſo were theſe, *viz.*

Mr. *Anſley*	Sir *John Eveling*	Mr. *Clive*
Sir *George Booth*	Mr. *Gewen*	Mr. *Hungerford*
Mr. *Prynne*	Mr. *Eveling*	Mr. *Harley*
Mr. *George Montague*	Mr. *Knightley*	Mr. *Peck*.

Who, though with much ado they got into the Lobby, where they found (Mr. *James* and Mr. *John Harbert*) they were not ſuffered by the Officers of the Army to go into the Houſe, though they diſputed their Privilege of ſitting (if the Parliament were yet in being;) but Reaſon, as well as the Laws, muſt be ſilent among Men of War; and therefore after they had fairly made their Claim, and found the Houſe under Force, they retired, and reſolved by Letter to acquaint the Speaker, and thoſe Gentlemen aſſembled with him, what Uſage they had received.

And accordingly, on *Monday* the 9th of *May*, they went to *Weſtminſter*, where, underſtanding that there were no Guards upon the Houſe, Mr. *Anſley*, Mr. *Prynne*, and Mr. *Hungerford*, went up to the Houſe, and had free Admittance, receiving the Declaration of the 7th of *May* at the Door, which was publiſhed this Day; but Mr. *Anſley* walking afterwards into the Hall (the Houſe not being ready to ſit) to let the Members know, that though they were repulſed by Force, on *Saturday*, the Houſe was open for honeſt Men this Day: At his Return, Captain *Lewſon*, of *Goffe*'s Regiment (as he confeſſed himſelf) and other Officers, denied him Entrance; he aſking them, whether they were a Committee to judge of Members without Doors? they ſaid No; but they were commanded by their ſuperior Officers to let none in that had not ſat till *April*, 1653. After ſome Reaſoning the caſe with them, the Captain told Mr. *Anſley*, that if he would give his Parole to return without ſitting, he might go in and ſpeak with whom he pleaſed; ſo upon his Parole paſſed to the Captain, he was permitted to go in the ſecond Time, and ſoon after returned, telling the Captain, as he came out, that he had kept his Parole, and wiſhed he and the Soldiers would do the like. Mr. *Prynne* continued ſtill there, and reſolved ſo to do, ſince he ſaw there was Force again upon the Houſe. The Diſcourſe Mr. *Prynne* had within Doors, and how he made them loſe that Morning, and adjourn, by reaſon of his Preſence, without the Speaker's taking the Chair, you may expect from another Pen; and how he attempted to ſit again in the Afternoon, but found there a Troop of Horſe,

Horſe, and two Companies of Red Coats, Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, and ſo bid them Farewel: Immediately after which, to prevent further Interruption in their Works of Darkneſs from honeſt Men, they barred the Door againſt three Parts of four of the Members of the Houſe, by the following Vote:

Ordered,

That ſuch Perſons, heretofore Members of this Parliament, as have not ſate in this Parliament ſince the Year 1648, and have not ſubſcribed the Engagement in the Roll of Engagement of this Houſe, ſhall not ſit in this Houſe till further Order of the Parliament.

Whereupon Sir *George Booth*, Mr. *Anſley*, Mr. *Knightley*, Mr. *Prynne*, and the reſt who had agreed on a Letter to be ſent to them, finding them in their old Temper of trampling the Privileges of Parliament under Foot, and judging without hearing, reſolved to make no Application to them.

But a Copy of the Letter coming to my Hands, I judge it ſo worthy of the Perſons that ſubſcribed it, and of the public View, that I have here inſerted it.

It was directed,

To WILLIAM LENTHALL, *Eſq*; *Speaker to the Members of the Houſe of Commons now ſitting at* Weſtminſter.

SIR,

WE the Perſons ſubſcribing, and others, Members of the Houſe, coming to *Weſtminſter-Hall* on *Saturday* the Seventh of this Month, underſtood that the Officers of the Army had, by their Declaration, dated the Day before, invited the Members of the Parliament to return to the Exerciſe and Diſcharge of their Truſt, by Virtue of an Act of Parliament paſſed 17 *Caroli*, wherein are theſe Words: *And be it declared and enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the Aſſent of the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That this preſent Parliament now aſſembled, ſhall not be diſſolved, unleſs it be by Act of Parliament to be paſſed for that Purpoſe; nor ſhall be at any Time or Times, during the Continuance thereof, prorogued or adjourned, unleſs it be by Act of Parliament to be likewiſe paſſed for that Purpoſe; and the Houſe of Peers ſhall not at any Time or Times, during this preſent Parliament be adjourned, unleſs it be by themſelves, or their own Order. And in like manner, that the Houſe of Commons ſhall not at any Time or Times, during this preſent Parliament, be adjourned, unleſs it be by themſelves or their own Order. And that all and every Thing or Things whatſoever done or to be done for the Adjournment, Proroguing, or Diſſolving of this preſent Parliament, contrary to this Act, ſhall be utterly void and of none Effect.* And having caſual Notice immediately after, that yourſelf, together with the Lord *Munſon*, Mr. *Henry Martin*, Mr. *Chaloner*, Mr. *Heningham*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Alderman *Atkins*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrig*, Mr. *Blagrave*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Mr. *Purfery*, and others, to the Number of Forty, or thereabouts, were privily met together in the *Painted Chamber*, and ſeen to paſs thence with a Mace before you into the Houſe, We did, not only out of Senſe of Duty to our Countries, if that Parliament be not diſſolved, but by the Perſuaſion of Multitudes

titudes of honeſt, faithful, and well-affected People, minding us of our Truſt, and that you wanted Number in the Houſe for the public Service, reſolve, That (in Regard of the great Croud) only about Fourteen of us (there being many more in the Hall) ſhould preſently go to the Houſe; where, if they found free Admittance, the reſt might follow; but getting, with much Difficulty, up the Stairs, we found the outward Door ſhut, and ſtrictly kept; yet by Degrees we got into the Lobby, where we found the inner Door of the Houſe guarded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Allen*, and other unknown Perſons, Officers as it was ſaid of the Army; who, though we preſſed hard to get into the Houſe, and urged their Incompatibility to judge of the Members without Doors, which, by the Privilege of Parliament, was proper only for the Houſe, and how they were all obliged to preſerve the Freedom, Rights, and Liberties of Parliament, the former Interruption and Forcing whereof, they had ſeemingly repented; and by your preſent ſitting, by Virtue of the ſaid Act of 17 *Car.* have publiſhed to the World the Injuſtice of their late diſperſing us; yet by no Earneſtneſs nor Arguments could we prevail, but were forcibly hindered by them from going into the Houſe; and when ſome of us acquainted Major General *Lambert*, whom he met in the Lobby as we returned, of our Uſage by the Officers, though he gave us civil Words, yet the Force was not removed; whereupon we withdrew ourſelves, reſolving to give you this Account thereof, that you may know, that though to yourſelves you may ſeem to ſit free, there is the ſame Force as we conceive continued at your Doors, which excluded, interrupted, and forced the major Part of the Houſe in 1648.

And now having laid before you the Matter of Fact, and not being conſcious to ourſelves of having done any Thing in Breach of our Truſt, or which may merit an Excluſion from public Councils, and duly weighing the ſad Condition of theſe three Nations, and that in the Multitude of Counſellors there is Safety, and that of the ſaid Houſe there are yet living at leaſt three hundred Members, beſides thoſe that ſat that Day, not being admitted to diſcharge our Truſt, and to give our faithful Counſel for the Good of theſe diſtracted and divided Nations in the Houſe, and to aſſert and vindicate our Innocence and faithful adhering to the *Good Old Cauſe*, as it was held forth by the Parliament's Votes, Declarations and Oaths, till we were forcibly excluded: We have thought it a Duty incumbent on us for ourſelves, and the reſpective Counties, Places, and all the People for which we ſerve in this Way, to claim our own and the People's Right of having their Repreſentatives freed from Force, and admitted to the Houſe, unleſs it be legally diſſolved, and unleſs in a parliamentary Way (by a full and free Houſe, and not by any without Doors) any Thing can be charged againſt them to diſable them, which we are ready, as Members in our Places, to anſwer, and quit our ſelves of. And having no more at preſent to ſay, but to deſire that this our Claim may be communicated to the Houſe, we remain,

Your loving Friends.

Weſtminſter, May 9.
1659.

Thus

Thus you ſee (to the Grief of all that fear God) the ſame pretended Parliament as was ſitting in 1653, (till the Protector *Oliver*, by the beſt Act of his Life, pulled them out of the Houſe) ſitting again upon a Declaration of the Army (whoſe Slaves they are) to do what they pleaſe, as Time will diſcover: And that you may ſee they can truſt few but themſelves, and are not charged (for all their feigned Repentance) they are already returned to the *Good Old Cauſe* of preferring one another, and their Friends to good Offices and Commands, and Counſellors Places, as appears by their Vote of the 9th of *May*, *viz.*

The Parliament doth declare, That all ſuch as ſhall be employed in any Place of Truſt or Power in the Commonwealth, be able for the Diſcharge of ſuch Truſt, and that they be Perſons fearing God, and that have given Teſtimony to all the People of God, and of their Faithfulneſs to this Commonwealth, according to the Declaration of Parliament of the 7th of *May*, 1659.

And their Proceedings thereupon, whereby they have choſen of their own Members, for a Council of State, Twenty-one, *viz.*

Sir *Arthur Haſelrig*	*Fleetwood*
Sir *Henry Vane*	Sir *James Harrington*
Ludlow	Col. *Walton*
Jo. Jones	*Nevill*
Sydenham	*Chaloner*
Scot	*Downes*
Saloway	*Whitlock.*

Whoſe ſeveral Characters you have before.

Hab. Morley, Squib-maker of the County of *Suſſex.*

Sidney, who hath nothing of Sir *Philip* but the Name.

Col. *Thompſon*, as wooden a Head as Leg.

Col. *Dixwell*, better known in *Kent* than truſted.

Mr. *Reynolds*, Half Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and whole Solicitor to the Infant Commonwealth.

Oliver St. Johns, late Sollicitor to the King, now Sollicitor to the Commonwealth, to be Chief Juſtice again; but they hold him to be *ſanctus nomine non re*, and too great a Patron of the Law.

Haſelrig remembers his and *Collingwood*'s Caſe.

Mr. *Wallop*, a ſilent *Hampſhire* Gentleman, much in Debt; fit indeed to be Counſellor, if he could adviſe the Commonwealth how to get out of Debt.

Of Perſons without the Houſe Ten, *viz.*

Bradſhaw, Preſident at the formal Murder of the King.

Lambert, a *Yorkſhire* Gentleman, not born to *Wimbleton* Houſe, but too crafty for them all, now old *Oliver* is gone.

Deſborough, a Country Clown, without Fear or Wit.

Lord *Fairfax*, an Allay for *Lambert*'s brittle Mettle.

Berry, the worſt of the Major-Generals, except *Butler.*

Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, a Gentleman too wiſe and honeſt to ſit in ſuch Company.

Sir *Horatio Townſend*, a Gentleman of too good an Eſtate to be hazarded with ſuch a Crew.

Sir *Robert Honewood*, Sir *H. Vane*'s Brother-in-law.

Sir *Archibald Johnſon*, never advanced before the Marquis of *Argyll* till he came for *England*.

Joſiah Barners, Fool of the Play.

Their next Work muſt be to vote Money anſwerable to the Dignities beſtowed on themſelves; they diſcontinued the Term (to the great Damage and Diſcontent of the People) becauſe many Suits were depending againſt *Vane* and *Haſelrig*; and if they rule on as well as they did when *Oliver* turned them out of Doors with the Brand of Knaves, Whoremaſters and Drunkards, to the general Rejoicing of the People, no doubt we ſhall be a happy Nation; and what Eſteem the People had of them, appears by the Elections to the laſt Parliament; wherein, though none but Perſons well affected to Parliaments had Votes, and the Perſons now ſitting laboured hard to be choſen, very few of them were elected, the People generally looking upon them as Apoſtates from the *Good old Cauſe*; and therefore no Wonder they would have that Parliament, to which only they were choſen, never diſſolved. I have now little more to do at preſent (honeſt and learned Mr. *Prynne* having ſaved much of my Labour) but to let the World ſee how they go about, by the Example of the Army, whoſe Apes they are, to cozen the People of their Religion, Laws, Liberties, Parliaments and Money, with a Rattle called the *Good old Cauſe*, which is a very Cheat, as you may ſee by the enſuing penitential Letter, of one better ſkilled in their Cheats than I am.

Mr. Hugh Peters's *Letter, written to a chief Officer of the Army.*

SIR,

WHereas the late Tranſactions of the Army have very ſore afflicted me, and with *Heman*, *Pſal.* lxxxviii. 15. have exceedingly troubled me, becauſe of my Love to my native Country, and the Concernments thereof, I thought it my Duty, being under much bodily Weakneſs, to deſire you to take and give Notice unto others, of theſe my Apprehenſions enſuing.

1. Though called to ſpeak to the Officers, I knew not their further Intentions.

2. When I heard of his Highneſs's diſtaſting their Meetings, I went to three of the chief, and begged, as for a Penny, that they would not proceed in any Meeting, and did the ſame to other Officers I met withall.

The Dangers, I conceive, are theſe; becauſe the Protector and the two Houſes, as they were ſet, was the hopefulleſt Way in the whole World to ſettle theſe Nations, and the croſſing thereof moſt dangerous, as now it appears, both in the Sin and Sorrow of it. As,

1. All the Army's Addreſſes to his Highneſs to live and die with him are broken, and their proclaiming of him every where ſlighted.

2. His

2. His Family, himſelf and Lady, being truly godly; yea, ſuch a Family of Godlineſs and Sobriety, not known in the Chriſtian World, now broken, and the Son of *Jerubaal* not regarded.

3. The Authority of the beſt Parliament, and moſt freely choſen, trampled upon; yea, ſuch a Sort of Men gathered together, as would have been a Defence and Eſtabliſhment againſt all Evils.

4. Nothing ſet up in their Place, an Enemy at the Door, a penurious Soldiery, thouſands of Poor periſhing, that by this Time might have been paid, Widows and Orphans already dying in the Streets.

Trade gone, private Soldier grown Maſter, Law and Goſpel dying, the whole Proteſtant Cauſe in the whole World overtottering; how much Animoſity, Diſcontent, and Self-Ends have prevailed herein, I know not; but if the leaſt Encouragement was taken, by any Word of mine, who was a Stranger to any Deſign, I do here profeſs my Sorrow and Grief for the leaſt Occaſion of it, and look upon the whole Buſineſs as very ſinful and ruining, of which the Child unborn, and After ages will be ſenſible; and this I write from the ſaddeſt Spirit of a ſick Man, and

Your loving Friend,

HUGH PETERS.

I know but one Expedient, which is,

That his Highneſs may be in the ſame Condition with his Houſe and Family; and that he be deſired to call in as many of the late Parliament as are at Hand, to make up a Houſe and Council, and Indemnity to paſs, and ſo forthwith to ſettle Things. And for that which they call the *Good old Cauſe*, (I look upon it as a Cheat by the Jeſuits put upon the Army) the which we enjoyed, it being Liberty and Peace.

Whitehall, May 10. 1659. *Thus far Mr.* Peters.

But for a further Diſcovery of the Cheat obtruded upon the People by puting of the *Good old Cauſe*, I ſhall, to avoid large Recitals of Remonſtrances, Votes and Declarations of Parliament, ſtate the true *Good old Cauſe* in the Houſe of Commons own Words, briefly out of their *Declaration of the* 17*th of* April 1646, at the End of the War, when they were full and free, which they cauſed to be affixed in all the Churches of *England*, to call God and Man to witneſs their Sincerity therein. And becauſe the Title of it is very ſignificant and comprehenſive, take that at large, *viz.*

Die Veneris, April 17. 1646.

A Declaration of the Commons of England *aſſembled in Parliament, of their true Intentions concerning the ancient and Fundamental Government of the Realm; the Government of the Church; the preſent Peace; ſecuring the People againſt all arbitrary Government; and maintaining a right Underſtanding between the two Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland, *according to the Covenant and Treaties.*

The

The Preamble recites, how their good Intentions had been misrepresented by divers Declarations and Suggestions of the King, and thereby, and by other Practices, the Minds of many possessed with a Belief that there was no just Cause of the War; and that now they had succeeded in the War, they desired to exceed or swerve from their first Aims and Principles in the undertaking the War, and to recede from the solemn League and Covenant, and Treaties between the two Kingdoms, and that they would prolong these uncomfortable Troubles and bleeding Distractions, in order to alter the fundamental Constitution and Frame of this Kingdom; to leave all Government in the Church loose and unsettled, and themselves to exercise the same arbitrary Power over the Persons and Estates of the Subjects which that Parliament had thought fit to abolish, by taking away, *the Star-Chamber, High Commission, and other arbitrary Courts, and the exorbitant Power of the Council Table.*

Then they declare, in general, That they will settle Religion in Purity, according to the Covenant, maintain the ancient and fundamental Government of this Kingdom, preserve the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, lay hold on the first Opportunity of procuring a safe and well-grounded Peace in the three Kingdoms, and to keep a good Understanding between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, according to the Covenant and Treaties.

Then to give fuller Satisfaction, they declare particularly concerning Church Government, that they are for the Presbyterial Government, with a due Regard that tender Consciences, *which differ not in any Fundamentals of Religion*, may be so provided for as may stand with the Word of God and the Peace of the Kingdom.

Then they declare, that there was nothing they had more earnestly desired, nor more constantly laboured after, than a safe and good Peace (with the King) which is the just End of a just War; and here they assert the fundamental Constitution and Government of this Kingdom to be by King, Lords and Commons, which they will not alter.

Then they conclude, that the first and chiefest Grounds of the Parliament's taking up Arms in this Cause, was to suppress Attempts of introducing an arbitrary Government over this Nation, and protecting Delinquents, Enemies of our Religion and Liberties, by Force, from the Justice of Parliament, and declare that they will not interrupt the ordinary Course of Justice in the several Courts and Judicatories of this Kingdom.

This is the good old Cause the Parliament owned.

And therefore, let all that fear God in the three Nations consider whence they are fallen, even from the *Good old Cause* held forth in the Votes, Remonstrances, Declarations, Protestations, Vows and Oaths of the Parliament, published in Maintenance of our *Ancient and well tempered settled Government, by King, Lords and Commons, to a sneaking olygarchical Tyranny*, under the bare Name of, *The Good old Cause*; which is as changeable as the Addle-heads that contrive it, as oppressive as the corrupt Wills of licentious Men can make it, must be as arbitrary as the Army will have it, and shall be more fully decyphered, if they persist in it, which they never dare do, if the People, who yet seem to be in a Lethargy, remember their first Works, and be as resolute

to aſſert their *Religion, Laws and Liberties*, as theſe deſperate Men of loſt Fortunes and Reputations are bold to trample them under Foot, and make this great People (once famous through the World for *Valour, Wiſdom, and Religion*) a Scorn and Deriſion to all that are round about us, and themſelves *Monſters of Men*, by their Atheiſm, Apoſtacy, and Inconſtancy.

I ſhall conclude with ſome Advice (now it is ſeaſonable) to the Army, to the People of all Sorts and Degrees, and to the Members ſitting at *Weſtminſter*.

I. *Faithful Advice to the Army.*

1. Remember the Ends for which you were raiſed; *For Defence of King, Parliament, Religion, and Liberties*; that you were Servants to them and received their Wages, and were tied by Oaths to them.

2. Remember how in 1647, you were firſt by ſome of your ambitious Officers, moſt whereof are ſince dead, ſeduced to *rebel againſt and betray your Maſters* (whom you accuſed falſely) and to refuſe to diſband when the War was ended, whereby you are become Oppreſſors and Robbers ever ſince, and *mere Janizaries*.

3. Remember how in *December* 1648, you rebelled the ſecond Time againſt your Maſters, and forcibly and traiterouſly, as well as perjuriouſly, broke the Parliament, impriſoning and driving away moſt of the faithful Members, keeping only a few that proſtituted themſelves, and the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, with the Lives of the King, Nobles, and Commons, to their own Ambition, and to your Luſts and Wills, as your Penſioners in the Houſe, till *April* 1653, when you rebelled againſt them; and for their ſelf-ſeeking and notorious Crimes and Miſcarriages (printed then at large in your Declaration) you abſolutely diſſolved them, to the general Satisfaction of the People.

4. Remember how giddily and impiouſly your ambitious wicked Officers have led you, through horrid *Murders, Treaſons, and Breach of Oaths*, from a happy ſettled Government under a King and Parliament; firſt, to a *ridiculous Commonwealth*, thence to a *new Kind of Protector*, thence to *Praiſe God Barebones's little Parliament*, thence to a *Protector with an Inſtrument of* Lambert's *making, but never in Tune*, thence to *Tyrannical Major Generals*, thence to a new Crotchet, called *the Petition and Advice*, thence to a *new Protector and two Houſes of Parliament, whereof one was ſtill-born*, thence *to build up the Things which you deſtroyed, whereby you have made yourſelves Tranſgreſſors*, Gal. ii. 18.

Thus have you marched ſo faſt from one Government to another, that the poor People wearied out, are fain to return home, and ſit ſtill in Amaze, abhorring your unſtable ungodly Ways, and crying to God in ſecret, that he will at length reſtore unto *England, our Kings and Nobles as at the firſt, and our Judges as at the Beginning*, making it a quiet Habitation, which by your ungodly Courſes hath been ſo long a howling Wilderneſs, full of Birds of Prey, and Beaſts that do devour.

I have no more to ſay to you, but that if your miſleading Officers can reconcile your Actings ſince 1646, to the Scripture Rule, which you find in *Luke* iii. 14. by which all Chriſtian Soldiers much more than Heathen are to walk, *viz. Do Violence to no Man, neither accuſe any falſely, and be content with*

your

your Wages; then let them go for honeſt Men and count me miſtaken: But if this Diſcourſe of mine, by God's Bleſſing, becomes inſtrumental for the awakening your drowſy Conſciences, to ſee your long Courſe of Sins and Provocations, and to repent; then let me tell you your Work is ſhort to make your ſelves and the Kingdom happy; for, as you have lately gone ſix Years backward at one Step, *viz.* from this Time to *April* 1653, ſo if your Officers and you will but make one Step more, *viz.* from *April* 1653, to *December* 1648, to our *ancient long-experienced and fundamental Conſtitution of Government, by King, Lords and Commons*, you will juſtify your Repentance to be ſincere, and render it famous to all the World, and deſerve, and have Rewards from your Country, inſtead of Indemnity, which you now beg from every Power that ſits.

2. *Advice to the People of all Sorts and Degrees.*

Delirant reges plectuntur Achivi, your Rulers dote and go aſtray, but you ſuffer by it as well as they; therefore ſtrive to ſet them right; and though they forget their Oaths and Promiſes, do you remember yours: Have you ever ſeen Quiet or Settlement ſince *the King was inhumanly murdered at his own Gate, and our ancient Government by King, Lords and Commons changed?* ſince *our Covenant was counted an Almanack out of Date?* This was one in 1648. Shall I perſuade you to return whence you are fallen? I need not. I know you are ready for it, and watch your Opportunity.

Let me only tell you the Time is now come; for having tried all other Ways, inſomuch that we are going round again, where we firſt turned aſide. You ſee no Foundation to build upon but our ancient one, ſtrive therefore for the reſtoring of *King. Lords and Commons*, that you may enjoy them and be happy. Remember how the Miniſters and others of *London, Eſſex, Suffolk, Northamptonſhire, Lancaſhire, and other Counties*, gave their Teſtimony againſt the King's Death in 1648, and repent for that Blood with which the Land is defiled. Let thoſe who ſo boldly, in their late mutinous *Repreſentation* to the Protector, moved for a *Juſtification of the King's Death, and all Acts done in purſuance thereof*, know, that they may as ſoon pull the Stars out of God's Right Hand, as make thoſe that fear his Name in *England*, juſtify ſuch a horrid Impiety, for which God hath made us an unſettled People ever ſince, and hath given them and the Kingdom no Reſt ever ſince; nor will till they repent and do their firſt Works, and call all *the Members of the Long Parliament together to ſit free*, that they, or a new Parliament, called by their Advice, may upon the ſecure Terms offered at the *Iſle of Wight* by the King, and ſuch further reaſonable Additions as the Times may require, reſtore us to our *ancient Government*, and put an End to our Giddineſs and Confuſion, which deſtroys *Trade, encreaſeth Poor, and threatens Ruin to our Religion and Laws.*

And let none be any longer deluded with the *Baſtard Good Old Cauſe* now cried up by ſome, which is but the ſetting a ſelf-ſeeking Generation of unſtable bloody Men in ſupreme Authority; who, as zealous as ſome of them ſeemed lately in the new diſſolved Parliament for the Liberties of the People, think now, that by their Hypocriſy and Falſhood, as well as Force, they have advanced themſelves upon the Ruin of their Country, that the Work

is

is done: And though they have cried down a ſingle Perſon, and another Houſe, think you ſuch Fools or Slaves that you will not take Notice that an armed General is a worſe ſingle Perſon, and ſuch a co-ordinate Senate as they intend by the Propoſals of the Army (which now are come to the Houſe by way of Petition, as if they had not been agreed on before) *a worſe Other Houſe* than the laſt, which was the worſt that *England* ever ſaw: And this *Rump* of a caſhiered Houſe of Commons, taken into Service again at Mercy, and new dreſſed by Sir *Henry Vane* (another ſingle Perſon amongſt them) worſe than the late Houſe of Commons, which was full and free, or than the *Long Parliament reſtored to its Freedom*, or than any other that may be choſen by the free Votes of your ſelves, and legally ſummoned to ſit and decree our Settlement.

I ſhall ſay no more to you, but deſire you to conſider what I have ſaid to the Army, with Hearts ready to forgive them, and pay them their Arrears with additional Rewards, if now at length they repent and reſtore our violated Government, and obediently ſubmit to what they and the King ſhall ordain for the Settlement of theſe diſtracted, and no otherways to be cured Nations; for we ſee by Experience, that one Faction devours another, and will at length devour the People and their Liberties in the Ways of Sin and Guilt that we are in. Let all of you therefore inſiſt on this, *That the Members of the Long Parliament, who have been unjuſtly impriſoned and ſecluded*, may be reſtored to diſcharge the Truſt you have put in them, and then we may hope for Settlement, which we have tried almoſt eleven Years, that we cannot have without them: And if the Army ſhall again interpoſe and interrupt you in your ſober and honeſt Endeavours for Settlement, let them find, by your vigorous appearing againſt them, that you know them to be the meaneſt of the People, and ſo few in Number, that they are not one in every Pariſh in *England*, and many ſingle Pariſhes have ten Times their Number of People.

3. *Advice to the Members ſitting at* Weſtminſter.

1. Remember the Volumes of *Remonſtrances, Declarations, Votes, Ordinances, Proteſtations, Oaths and Covenants*, wherein you as Members of that Houſe, with others, have held forth to God and the World, the *Good Old Cauſe* you engaged in *to be for the Defence of the King, Parliament, Proteſtant Religion, Privileges and Liberties of the People*; and that you renounced all other Cauſes wherewith you were aſperſed, and never owned any other till that in *March* 1649, after you had injuriouſly joined with the Army in forcing away the *Majority of the Houſe of Commons, and the whole Houſe of Lords*, you perjuriouſly apoſtatized from the *Good Old Cauſe*, and ſet up another of a *Commonwealth, or Free State*, oppoſite to it, and which you had ever formerly diſowned as a Scandal caſt on you when you were charged but with an Intention that way.

2. Remember, and be aſhamed, that you have ſtuck at no Oaths, but have taken the Oaths of *Allegiance and Supremacy, the Proteſtation, the Vow and Covenant, the ſolemn League and Covenant, the Engagement, the Recognition of Protector* Oliver, *the Oath to be true and faithful to Protector* Richard, and

have kept theſe contrary Oaths and Engagements all alike, and now do ſet Men of the ſame Stamp in Offices and Places of Truſt, inſtead of Men of Courage, fearing God and hating Covetouſneſs; but do not think all is well, when you have advanced yourſelves and Friends; rather believe, that though returning to what you have ſo often ſworn to maintain, you cannot ſo many of you be *Counſellors of State, Judges and Officers Military or Civil*, yet you may become honeſt Men and Chriſtians, which will better become you, and bring you more Comfort and Peace at the laſt.

3. Remember, that though by Lyes and Subterfuges Men may be deceived and abuſed for a while, God is not mocked, *Gal.* vi. 7. but will, though he bear long, at length wound the hairy Scalp of ſuch as go on in their Wickedneſs, *Pſal.* lxviii. 21. and pierce you through with many Sorrows.

4. Conſider how God had emptied us from Veſſel to Veſſel, and led us thorough a Wilderneſs of Changes theſe eleven Years of Apoſtacy, and gives no Settlement; return therefore to *December* 1648, where you forſook Settlement when it was offered by the King, and accepted by the Parliament; and in doing your firſt Works for King and Parliament in a full and free Houſe, God will bleſs you and this Kingdom as at the firſt; and the preſent Protector cannot but rejoice alſo to part with his Power upon thoſe Terms which both he and his Brother the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* muſt needs grudge to have wreſted from him by you and his treacherous Relations.

I intended a Word alſo of Juſtification of Mr. *Prynne*, but that his *learned and ſeaſonable Writings* praiſe him in the Gates, and carry ſuch Evidence of undeniable Truth with them, and ſo clear a Teſtimony (from *a Martyr for the People*) againſt the abominable Iniquity and horrid Impieties of this iron Age, that the *railing Rabſhekahs* of the Time in what they belch out againſt him do but as Dogs that bark againſt the Moon, and therefore I ſhall leave him to the Cure preſcribed by God himſelf for ſuch Tongues in the 120th *Pſalm*, ver. 3, 4. *What ſhall be given unto thee? or, what ſhall be done unto thee thou falſe Tongue? ſharp Arrows of the Mighty with Coals of Juniper*; and do depend, as I believe Mr. *Prynne* doth alſo, upon that Scripture Word, *That in due Time the Mouth of all Iniquity ſhall be ſtopt.*

The

The SPEECH and DECLARATION of his Excellency the Lord General *Monck*, delivered at *Whitehall* upon *Tuesday* the 21st of *February* 1659, to the Members of Parliament at their Meeting there, before the Re-admission of the formerly secluded Members into the Parliament House.

Ordered by his Excellency the Lord General, *that this Speech and Declaration be forthwith printed and published.*

WILL. CLARK Secretary.

Entered in the Stationers Hall according to Order.

Printed in the Year 1659.

The SPEECH of his Excellency the Lord General *Monck*.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU are not, I hope, ignorant, what Care and Endeavours have been used, and Means essayed, for healing the Breaches of our Divisions amongst ourselves; and that in order thereunto divers Conferences have been procured between you, though to small Effect: Yet having at length received fuller Satisfaction from these worthy Gentlemen that were secluded than formerly; I was bold to put you all to the Trouble of this Meeting, that I might open myself to you all, even with more Freedom than formerly. But lest I might be misapprehended or mistaken, as of late it befel me, I have committed to Writing the Heads of what I intended to discourse to you, and desire it may be read openly to you all.

The DECLARATION of his Excellency the Lord General *Monck*.

GENTLEMEN,

IT appears unto me, by what I have heard from you and the whole Nation, that the Peace and happy Settlement of these bleeding Nations, next under God, lieth in your Hands. And when I consider that Wisdom, Piety, and Self-denial, which I have Reason to be confident, lodgeth in you, and how great a Share of the Nation's Sufferings will fall upon you, in case the Lord deny us now a Settlement, I am in very good Hopes there will be found in you all, such melting Bowels towards these poor Nations, and towards one another, that you will become Healers and Makers up of all its woeful Breaches. And that such an Opportunity may clearly appear to be in your Hands, I

thought good to aſſure you, and that in the Preſence of God, that I have nothing before my Eyes but God's Glory, and the Settlement of theſe Nations, upon Commonwealth Foundations. In purſuit whereof I ſhall think nothing too dear; and for my own Particular I ſhall throw myſelf down at your Feet, to be any Thing or nothing, in order to theſe great Ends. As to the Way of future Settlement, far be it from me to impoſe any Thing; I deſire you may be in perfect Freedom; only give me Leave to mind you, that the old Foundations are by God's Providence ſo broken, that in the Eye of Reaſon, they cannot be reſtored but upon the Ruins of the People of theſe Nations, that have engaged for their Rights, in Defence of the Parliament, and the great and main Ends of the Covenant, for uniting and making the Lord's Name one in the three Nations: And alſo the Liberty of the People's Repreſentatives in Parliament will be certainly loſt; for if the People find, that after ſo long and bloody a War againſt the King for breaking in upon their Liberties, yet at laſt he muſt be taken in again, it will be out of Queſtion, and is moſt manifeſt, he may for the future govern by his Will, diſpoſe of Parliaments and Parliament-men as he pleaſeth, and yet the People will never more riſe for their Aſſiſtance.

And as to the Intereſt of this famous City (which hath been in all Ages the Bulwark of Parliaments, and unto whom I am, for their great Affection, ſo deeply engaged) certainly it muſt lie in a Commonwealth; that Government only, being capable to make them (through the Lord's Bleſſing the Metropolis and Bank of Trade for all Chriſtendom, whereunto God and Nature hath fitted them above all others.

And as to a Government in the Church, the Want whereof hath been no ſmall Cauſe of theſe Nations Diſtractions; it is moſt manifeſt, that if it be monarchical in the State, the Church muſt follow, and Prelacy muſt be brought in, which theſe Nations I know cannot bear, and againſt which they have ſo ſolemnly ſworn.

And indeed moderate, not rigid, Preſbyterian Government, with a ſufficient Liberty for Conſciences truly tender, appears at preſent to be the moſt indifferent and acceptable Way to the Church's Settlement.

The main Thing that ſeems to lye in the Way, is the Intereſt of the Lords, even of thoſe Lords who have ſhewed themſelves noble indeed, by joining with the People; and in Defence of thoſe juſt Rights, have adventured their deareſt Blood and large Eſtates. To that I ſhall only ſay, that tho' the State of theſe Nations be ſuch, as cannot bear their ſitting in a diſtinct Houſe; yet certainly, the Wiſdom of Parliament will find out ſuch hereditary Marks of Honour for them, as may make them more noble in After-ages.

Gentlemen, Upon the whole Matter, the beſt Reſult that I can make at preſent for the Peace of theſe Nations, will be, in my Opinion, that you forthwith go to ſit together in Parliament: In order,

1. To the ſettling the Conduct of the Armies of the three Nations, in that Manner as they may be ſerviceable to the Peace and Safety of them, and not to its own and the Nation's Ruin, by Faction and Diviſion.

2. To

2. To the providing ſufficient Maintenance for them; that is, for the Forces by Land, and for the Navy by Sea, and all their Arrears of both, and other Contingencies of the Government.

3. To the appointing a Council of State, with Authority to ſettle the Civil Government and Judicatories in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and to take Care, for the iſſuing of Writs, for the ſummoning a Parliament of theſe three Nations united, to meet at *Weſtminſter* the 20th Day of *April* next, with ſuch Qualifications as may ſecure the Public Cauſe we are all engaged in, and according to ſuch Diſtributions as were uſed in the Year 1654. Which Parliament, ſo called, may meet and act in Freedom, for the more full eſtabliſhing of this Commonwealth, without a King, ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Lords.

4. To a legal Diſſolution of this Parliament to make Way for Succeſſion of Parliaments.

And in order to theſe good Ends, the Guards will not only willingly admit you, but faithfully both myſelf, and every the Officers under my Command, and (I believe) the Officers and Soldiers of the three Nations will ſpend their Blood for you and ſucceſſive Parliaments.

If your Conjunction be directed to this End, you may part honourably, having made a fair Step to the Settlement of theſe Nations, by making a Way for ſucceſſive Parliaments.

But I muſt needs ſay, that if any different Councils ſhould be taken (which I have no Reaſon to fear;) theſe Nations would preſently be thrown back into Force and Violence, and all Hopes of this much deſired Eſtabliſhment buried in Diſorder, which the Lord, in his great Mercy, I hope, will prevent. And ſo God ſpeed you well together, and unite your Hearts for the Preſervation of Peace and Settlement of theſe Nations, to his own Glory and yours, and all our Comforts.

An APOLOGY in the Behalf of the Sequeſtred Clergy, preſented to the High Court of Parliament.

By R. Mossom, Preacher of God's Word at *S. Pet. P. Wh. London.*

Lex Juſtitiæ, Juſtitia Reipub. baſis, I. C. ax.

Printed in the Year 1660.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons aſſembled in PARLIAMENT.

Moſt Noble Lords, and Worthy Patriots,

GLorious is the Day of our *Sion*'s Deliverance, in which the Sun hath broken through the Clouds. Sovereignty diſpelled the Miſts and Storms too of Diſloyalty. Now, after our Hallelujah's to the King of Glory for the Wonders of his Providence; fit it is that we make Oblations of Gratitude for your prudent Counſels and exemplary Allegiance.

Whereby, whatever have been our Turnings and Rollings, all as excentric to Righteouſneſs as to Peace, we are now fixed upon our right Centre, a loyal Subjection to our lawful Sovereign.

And O! what Joy is it, to ſee in the High Court of Parliament, *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles* forget all Injuries and Animoſities, changing their private Contention into this public Emulation *, *Uter melius de patria mereri poſſit*, whether may deſerve beſt of his Country.

This is that (worthy Heroes) which gives Confidence to this Addreſs, by way of Apology, ſo to repreſent the ſequeſtred Clergy's Cauſe and Condition, that, in the common Joy, and public Exultation, they may not be the only Mourners at home †, in their deep Diſtreſs of private Affliction; which yet muſt needs be, if when their Perſecution is ceaſed, their Sufferings continue; if when their Oppreſſors are removed, they remain ſtill under their Oppreſſions. They have had their Part in the Faſtings, and Prayers, and Tears, for obtaining the Bleſſing of Reſtauration; O let them have their Portion in the Comfort, and Peace and Joy of the Church and State reſtored. They have, though ſequeſtred, threatened, and impriſoned, they have, very many of them (if not moſt of them) from Preſs and Pulpit, prayed and preached, and earneſtly contended for that Liberty wherein theſe Nations now ſtand; and O let them have at leaſt this Reward of their Services, a Releaſe from their Sufferings.

Many of us have been ſequeſtred before the late King, of bleſſed Memory, was murdered, and many of us ſince that black and diſmal Treaſon; and for

* *Herod.* Hiſt.

† If yet they have any Home ſince they were thruſt out of their Houſes.

no

no other Crime but acting in our Callings according to the Dictate of our Consciences, discharging our Ministry according to the Rule of our established Laws. (If Ignorance or Scandal be truly and legally objected against any Man's Ministry or Person, let them that will plead for *Baal.)* Not being conscious then of violating either the Law of God or Man, if our Accusers, and their Accusations be produced in Judgment, we are ready either clearly to justify our Innocence, or humbly to submit unto our Sentence. Besides, impossible it is, that all Notes of Discord and Parties (as his Majesty in his Declaration graciously desires, and positively ordains) should be utterly abolished, whilst our Sequestrations continue, and, which is worse, if the unlawful Possession of Intruders be confirmed.

We humbly conceive, that the Occasion of our Sequestration is now removed, and this not by any Pretence of Power or Party pleading Conquest (a Thing to be for ever silenced) but by a wonderful Work of God upon the very Hearts of Men; he and he alone hath overcome us all, in his Kindness and Love, to teach us to overcome one another, by all Loving-kindness.

Now, the Occasion, I say, of our Sequestrations being thus, even thus removed, shall a worse Evil come upon us (not only all Loving-kindness, but all common Justice being forgotten) the unjust Possession of our Livings confirmed? What could our greatest Enemies do more? Nay, they would have done much less, had we submitted to their Usurpation and Tyranny. We doubt not but the Honourable Court of Parliament, taking this one Particular into their judicious and Christian Consideration, it will persuade a speedy Removing, whatsoever may obstruct our so just, so reasonable, so necessary Readmission.

Sure we are, the Civil Law * does not (nor any other) justify Possession without Right; so that † unjust Possession, though long, cannot give Title; and without Title there is no Plea for Prescription; but the Law obliges to Restitution. We are right in the State of Captives ‖ returned, to whom, by all Rules of Equity, plenary Restitution is to be made; which yet we remit of in our Desires, as to the *summum jus* of a plenary Restitution, referring ourselves (honoured Patriots) to your Candour and Moderation.

This Precedent we can produce, (we will not take the Confidence to propose) that when the thirty Tyrants under *Gallienus* and *Valerianus*, had brought the *Roman* Empire into much Disorder and Confusions; and that by *Basiliscus* ** tyrannizing in the East, that venerable Council of *Chalcedon* was condemned, and the holy Fathers of the Church, the Bishops, and other Pastors were displaced and expulsed, *Zeno* the Emperor subduing this Usurpation and Tyranny, with the Advice of the Senate, makes a Decree for a Restitution to the Church, with a †† *Decernimus, in integrum restituantur universa, & ad suum ordinem revocentur*, We decree that all Things be restored wholly, and reduced into their own Order.

* *Possessio jure consistens est civilis possessio,* Cod. l. 7. tit. 32.

† *Injusta possessio non est titulus, &* [illegible] *titulo non est locus prescriptioni.* Ibid.

‖ *Reversus de captivitate, &c.* Cod. l. 7. tit. 35.

** *Evagr.* Hist. l. 2.

†† Cod. l. 1. tit. 35.

And

And not only the Civil Law aſſerts our Cauſe, but alſo the Common Law hath done its utmoſt to ſecure our Eſtates; for, beſides the *Articuli Cleri*, ſo full and particularly expreſs, we have our Intereſt in *Magna Charta* as to Privilege and Propriety, as clear and as full as any whatſoever. It is ordained in that Royal Charter, ſo often confirmed in Parliaments, that * *if any Thing be procured by any Perſon, contrary to our Privilege and Propriety* (the Premiſes intended) *it ſhall be holden of no Force or Effect*: So that, without an open Breach made to the Violation of all Men's Property, we cannot be denied the aſſerting ours.

Many Objections are ſtrongly made, which here (I humbly conceive) are fully anſwered.

1. *Object.* Many learned and godly Men will be unprovided, if the ſequeſtred Clergy be reſtored.

Anſ. We give their Learning its juſt Eſteem; but let me ſay (and 'tis beyond any Man's Gainſaying) the *learnedeſt Clergy* that ever *England* had, was that ſequeſtred; their Works do witneſs it to the whole World: And as for their Godlineſs, if † *the Tree may be known by its Fruits*, theſe here pleaded for, have given Teſtimony beyond Exception: Yet theſe ſo eminently *learned and godly Miniſters* have been (without all Tenderneſs and Compaſſion towards them) unprovided for almoſt twenty Years, which (if the *Objection* have any Weight) may juſtly require, and urge their ſpeedy Re-admiſſion, having been out too long to be kept out any longer, when God himſelf hath opened the Way for their Return: And, indeed, it is God's Providence which miraculouſly hath opened the Way; and, ſhall any human Power adventure to obſtruct it? We deſire no more but the Benefit of the known Law, and ſhould not have Need of any Plea, Petition, or Apology to recover our own, did not ſome endeavour to prevail with this *Honourable Court* to interpoſe their Authority to intercept our Claim.

How then are they godly, who will knowingly (and ſo their Learning does encreaſe their Guilt) add Sin unto Sin, by uſurping another's Right after ſo many Years unlawful Poſſeſſion, and taking upon them the Guiding of thoſe Flocks the chief Shepherd never committed to them, as not ‖ *entering by the right Door*: Beſides, if this Parliament ſhould enact (which God forbid) that ſuch Intruders ſhould be confirmed in other Men's Livings as to Eſtate, and other Men's Charges as to the Miniſtry; how great a Snare would it be to Men's Conſciences? (if at all godly) which certainly would not hereby be quieted, if truly awakened.

For *our Right* being indubitable by the Law of God and Man; a Law *poſt fact*, ſuch as this, deſired from the Parliament, can no ways acquit thoſe pretended godly Miniſters of palpable Injuſtice; but *in foro Conſcientiæ*, they lie under the known and wilful Guilt of Injury and Wrong, which cannot, without Reſtitution, admit of Repentance to receive Pardon; that Maxim among the *Caſuiſts* from St. *Auguſtine* being clear and certain, ** *non dimittitur peccatum, niſi reſtituatur ablatum*, there can be no Remiſſion (becauſe no true Repentance) without Reſtitution in repair of Injuries. I beſeech thoſe godly

* *Mag. Chart.* cap. 37. † Matth. xii. 33. ‖ John x. 1, 2. ** Auguſt. Epiſt. 54.

Miniſters

Miniſters to conſider, if they cannot anſwer this now, how they will anſwer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment.

2 *Object.* This of reſtoring ſequeſtred Miniſters to their Livings will diſturb the Calm of State.

Anſw. Sure I am the contrary will cloud the Face of Heaven, and turn the Calm into a Storm, and leave the Nation under a Curſe. The greateſt * *Troubler of Iſrael* is certainly Oppreſſion and Injuſtice; and if the unjuſt Poſſeſſion ſhould be confirmed by the Parliament (as ſome Men would have it) what were this but † *to eſtabliſh Iniquity by Law?* For if we have Right to poſſeſs, it is unjuſt to keep us out of our Poſſeſſion; unjuſt in them that uſurp our Right, but more unjuſt in thoſe who confirm that Uſurpation; eſpecially when they have the Power in their Hands, and Law on their ſides, and are appealed to us as a Court, and the higheſt Court of Juſtice, to have our Right aſſerted, and our Injury redreſſed.

Under Favour, we may, and muſt plead, the Parliament will not (for it is a Court of Juſtice) and it is an audacious Boldneſs to think they will, or petition they would, againſt ‖ our Wills, give away our Rights. If the Law take our Livings from us, we ſtand to our Trial and ſubmit; if the Law does not, the Parliament ſure will not; I had almoſt ſaid, cannot. This I am ſure, though they may confirm Men's preſent Poſſeſſion, yet they cannot make our Right to have been no Right; it implies a Contradiction: Be it ſo then, that the Parliament ſhould think fit to make their Poſſeſſion firm, can they make it juſt? juſt *in foro Poli*, whatſoever it is *in foro Soli:* And what Conveniency ſhould prompt the Parliament to confirm an unjuſt Poſſeſſion, I cannot imagine, nor dare to enquire. Reaſon of State is a Secret which Duty forbids my Curioſity to pry into. I doubt not but this good Service I ſhall do the Parliament by this Apology, to clear their Juſtice and Honour againſt thoſe Men's Inſolence and Clamour, who would engage them to violate *Magna Charta*, the chiefeſt of Laws, and Subject's Property, the chiefeſt of Rights.

3 *Object.* If the Miniſters muſt reſtore their Livings, then the Purchaſers their Lands; and if ſo, the Conſequences will be, a new Diſturbance and Diſtraction.

Anſ. As the Miniſters invading other Men's Livings, became too much a Precedent for the Purchaſers to poſſeſs other Men's Lands; ſo it were to be wiſhed, that a juſt Reſignation in the Miniſters might become (as in godly Men and Miniſters it ſhould become) exemplary for a juſt Reſtitution in the Purchaſers: But to ſay Truth, the Purchaſers are generally far more the ingenuous, who have very many of them been ſatisfied with this Propoſal, that, upon their Diſburſements being repayed, with Conſideration of Improvement for the Time, the Lands ſhould be reſtored.

Now, if the Miniſters had purchaſed our Livings, as others did the Church Lands, there might be ** ſome Appearance of Equity for Satisfaction of Charge; but yet ſtill no Plea for Property.

* 1 Kings xviii. 17.

† Pſalm xciv. 20.

‖ Who yet are willing to ſacrifice what is moſt dear to the Peace of the Church, upon a brotherly Accord for making up all Breaches.

** Notwithſtanding the ſure Rule in Civil Law, that *iniquis comparatoribus pretium reponſcere non liceat.* Cod. l. 7. Tit. 38.

4 *Object.* All muſt be content to be Loſers.

Anſ. We think, after almoſt twenty Years Excluſion from our Livings, to the utter undoing of ſo many numerous Families *, forced too too many to beg their Bread, and very often want Bread when they have been begging of it: We think, after this, to tell us of being further Loſers, when for ſo many Years we have loſt all, is but the Part of miſerable Comforters.

Alas! many of us are ſo aged, that if not ſpeedily reſtored, they ſhall not probably live to enjoy any Part of what is their own, which in this ſo miraculous a Deliverance, is given unto them again of God: And indeed, this adds a further Difference from the Caſe of the Purchaſers; that as the Poſſeſſors of our Rights never were at Charge for our Livings, ſo nor are their Heirs or Executors cut off from any After-benefit by their reſtoring of them. Our Tenure is but for Life; that the Purchaſers have paid for, is Perpetuity; ſo that all the Advantage we have by Reſtitution, is only to our ſelves for that Pittance of Life which remains; whereas in the Reſtitution from the Purchaſers, there is a Profit to Poſterity.

5 *Object.* You of the ſequeſtred Clergy ſhall not be left without Proviſion: The Fanatic, and not ordained Preachers, being removed, and Livings as they fall vacant reſerved, there will be found Livings enough, equal in Number and Value, to admit you all to your miniſterial Employment, and a plentiful Subſiſtence.

Anſ. A good Way, if rightly ordered, to preſerve the Parliament's Honour in adminiſtring us Juſtice; and this without the leaſt of Clamour, in not providing for learned and godly Miniſters. And 'tis thus: The ſequeſtred Clergy, according to Law and Reaſon, Equity and Conſcience, being reſtored; thoſe vacated Livings mentioned, will be a preſent Supply for the godly Miniſters removed; and this, honourable to the Parliament, and juſt to us; but that we ſhould be debarred our Right againſt Law, and thus diſpoſed of to other Livings, however it might ſeem a Way of Relief to us, yet can it not (as we conceive) be an Act of Juſtice in the Parliament; and ſo, though it does ſuſtain our Lives, yet it will not ſupport their Honours.

For, if we are judged capable of other Livings, why not of our own? If we are not criminous, how comes it to paſs, that having Property we are kept out of our old? And, if we are criminous, how come we to have the Capacity of being admitted into new? Beſides, we know many, put into our Livings, have deſerted their firſt Principles, and have taken the late Engagement, and done (according to that) what was dangerous and deſtructive to King and Parliament. Now, we ſuppoſe ſuch Perſons, without diſpute, ſhall not be ſheltered by any Parliamentary Authority, from the Laws of the Land, by which they (and all others too) are required to make Reſtitution.

Theſe then being removed (whether pretended Heads of Houſes in the Univerſities, or Miniſters of ſeveral Churches, or the like) there will not be found (conſidering how very many ſince their Sequeſtration have died in their

* I ſpeak not this as to my ſelf, though I have ſome Time taſted the bittereſt of Sufferings; for I acknowledge with Thankfulneſs, through a Bleſſing of Providence upon my unwearied Labours, I have maintained myſelf and Family in ſome plentiful Subſiſtence.

Loyalty)

Loyalty) there will not be found ſo conſiderable a Number of the ſequeſtred Clergy, to return to their reſpective Charges, as to make any apparent Diſturbance in the State, and ſo not ſo conſiderable a Number of the aforeſaid godly Miniſters, for whoſe Sakes the Parliament ſhould be put upon ſo great an Act of Diſhonour as that of Injuſtice.

6 Object. The Miniſters are now ſo well acquainted with their People, and the People with their Miniſters, that it will be a Diſtraction to the ſeveral Pariſhes to receive new Preachers.

Anſ. How the ſeveral Pariſhes are affected towards their antient Paſtors, is very evident; many of them (I am ſure) much deſiring, and earneſtly longing, yea inviting their Return: Indeed (I believe) if the Colleges were to petition for their Governors, and the Pariſhes for their Miniſters, it would ſoon appear, whether is moſt diſſatisfactory and diſtracting to the Colleges and Pariſhes, the Abſence or Return of their lawful Heads and Miniſters.

Wherefore, it may be confidently averred, that it would be not only a great Contentment and Comfort to the aged Heads and religious Hearts of many truly reverend for Learning and Godlineſs, to be re-admitted to the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry in their reſpective Cures, but it would be alſo an abundant Satisfaction to their ſeveral Charges, who earneſtly pray and long for their Returns, being conſcientiouſly ſenſible how they have, like Sheep, erred and ſtrayed ſince they loſt their lawful Shepherds.

Now, if notwithſtanding this Apology and Plea, fortified with Arguments of Law and Equity, Reaſon and Religion; if notwithſtanding all this, the Judgment of this ſo honourable Parliament thinks fit (for Cauſes beſt known unto themſelves) to wave our Right, and determine againſt our Readmiſſion; we have diſcharged our Conſciences as to that * Natural Obligation of providing for our Families; that Political, of aſſerting our juſt Titles; and that Religious, of attending our miniſterial Charges; all which will acquit us in our Account at the laſt Day: And having done this, we will not impatiently repine, nor uncharitably cenſure, much leſs undutifully reſiſt, but in our accuſtomed Silence ſit down in Submiſſion to this High Court's prudential Decree and final Determination.

At preſent then, in the Face of the World, we plead for that which ſo honourable a Parliament will not deny us; to our Cauſe, Juſtice; to our Condition, Mercy; Mercy, for we may not doubt but at *Weſtminſter*, as well as *Athens*, amidſt ſo many noble Hearts we ſhall find an † Altar dedicated to *Mercy*; whoſe Sacrifices are Sighs and Tears, of which we can give a plentiful Offering, from Parents and Children oppreſſed with Neceſſities and Wants.

We know, indeed, Compaſſion is pleaded, as to the Families of the preſent Poſſeſſors; but what! may it not be more equally pleaded as to thoſe the ſo long diſpoſſeſſed? The ſequeſtred Clergy have, generally, from plentiful Eſtates, been reduced to the deepeſt of Neceſſities; but they who entred upon the Sequeſtrations, were advanced from neceſſitous Eſtates to a plentiful Main-

* 1 Tim. v. 8. † *Parca ſuperſtitio non thurea flamma nec Altus. Accipitur ſanguis, lachrymis Altaria ſudant*, &c. Stat. lib. 12.

tenance; and ſo are provided even with our Incomes, to bear the Want of Profits (if it muſt be) better than thoſe of the ſuffering Brethren, quite exhauſted, and fainting under their Afflictions.

Whether, indeed, is more equal? that they be expoſed to Want who have Right, but no Poſſeſſion; or they who have Poſſeſſion, but no Right.

Suppoſing that many, very many poſſeſt of our Livings, not being ordained Miniſters, (or but lately ordained, in Deſign to hold their Livings) ſhould not continue, but muſt give Place to the lawful Incumbents; ſuppoſing this, conſider I beſeech you (noble Worthies) how it clearly evinceth Right of Poſſeſſion to be on our Side; but a Reſpect of Party (a Thing his Majeſty would have buried, and this Parliament hath diſclaimed) is made the grand Stop to our free Return; for, that all others do not recede, to give us Poſſeſſion, cannot be juſtified by Law, therefore do they ſeek to be countenanced by Favour.

If in this Apology, any Error of Judgment, any Heat of Zeal, any Unfitneſs of Expreſſion, Imprudence of Addreſs, or the like, be liable to juſt Cenſure, I humbly crave that it may be wholly laid upon myſelf, acquitting the Reverend Fathers, and the Miniſterial Brethren, as not in the leaſt culpable. The Haſte of this Addreſs (leſt it ſhould be prevented by the Parliament's proceeding to the Bill) not permitting a deliberate Conſultation with them, or a particular Approbation from them.

Now, the God of all Wiſdom direct your Conſultations (moſt noble Lords and honoured Heroes) *to the Glory of his Name, the Honour of the King, and the Peace of our* Sion, *through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen. Amen.

Thus prays your Honour's Suppliant,

R. MOSSOM, *a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and one of the* SEQUESTRED CLERGY.

SEASONABLE OBSERVATIONS humbly offered to his Highneſs the Lord PROTECTOR.

By *Samuel Lambe* of *London*, Merchant.

IT hath been often aſſerted, That if all People under one Government did ſeek the general Good, every ſingle Perſon would then receive a particular Benefit thereby.

And it is obſerved in Societies that are in a joint Trade, and have By-Laws and Orders among themſelves, that if an Interloper privately trade among them in the ſame Way, not ſubmitting himſelf to the By-Laws and Orders of that Company, that he will receive to himſelf a greater Profit for the preſent, than any particular Perſon of the ſame incorporated Society, though if the undiſcovered Practice thereof ſhould be continued, and not prevented, it would

would tend to the utter Ruin and Deſtruction of the ſaid Society and Trade for the future. Even ſo it is in a populous Commonwealth, where Part of the People, by unlawful and deſtructive Ways, ſeek their ſiniſter Ends, to the general Hurt and Prejudice of the well-governed People therein.

To avoid which Evils in all good Governments, neceſſary and wholeſome Laws are contrived and eſtabliſhed, to preſerve and protect the Property and Peace of each particular Perſon, and every one living under ſuch Protection, is bound in Duty to further the Proſperity of his Country with all his utmoſt Endeavours; for no one is born to himſelf alone, but alſo to do good to others, and ſome Way or other may be a profitable Member to his Country, according to the Meaſure God hath given him: To which End I have, for the general Good, obſerved theſe two chief Ways that make a Nation rich and flouriſhing, *viz.*

By Arms and Conqueſt.

By Foreign Traffic and Merchandize.

To both which no People are more apt and prone than the *Engliſh* Nation. In the former, their Actions both by Sea and Land have ſufficiently manifeſted it to all the World both at home and abroad, in former and later Ages, to this very Day; in the latter, our former Proſperity and Strength in Shipping have ſufficiently ſhewed our Aptitude therein, though then much hindered, and diſcouraged from our growing Greatneſs, by the Avarice of ſome, who minded their particular Profits before the general Good; which hath cauſed the Strength of our warlike Shipping in Trade, to be much impaired and diminiſhed, though ſmall Notice is publickly taken of it, which hath put me upon the Conſiderations following.

1. *The Uſefulneſs and Neceſſity of increaſing the Trading-Shipping of* England.
2. *The State and Condition our Trading-Shipping were in before the late Wars in* England; *and the Condition they are in at preſent.*
3. *The State and Condition of the* Hollanders *Shipping and Trade at preſent.*
4. *The Reaſon of the* Hollanders *ſo great Thriving in Trade in ſo ſhort a Time (among others) is ſhewed their Uſe of Banks.*
5. *The Benefit they have received by Banks.*
6. *The Prejudice and Hindrance we receive by their Banks.*
7. *The Good we may do ourſelves by the Uſe of Banks in* England.
8. *The Manner of a Bank deſcribed.*
9. *Laſtly, the Uſefulneſs of a Court of Merchants.*

All which I ſhall treat of in their Order.

Firſt, It hath always been the general received Opinion (grounded upon uncontradicted Reaſon) that the People of *England* need not fear any foreign Invaſion, ſo long as they do maintain and increaſe the Walls of their Land, *viz.* their Shipping and Mariners; which is the chiefeſt Power and Strength of the Nation againſt a foreign Enemy; whoſe Increaſe will not only much ſtrengthen and inrich the maritime and frontier Towns and Countries bordering

ing on the Sea-coaſt, but alſo the whole Nation; and will make us always capable to ballance the Affairs of another State in reference,

To War,

To Trade.

By the former, we are now ſeaſonably ſeeking Reparations from the *Spaniard*, for the many and cruel Injuries and Murders committed by them upon the Perſon and Goods of the People of *England* in the *Weſt Indies*, and other Places; for which, ſince no reaſonable Satisfaction could be tendered in a peaceable Way, do hope, by God's Bleſſing, will be obtained by a juſt War: And therefore it is neceſſary upon this Occaſion, as againſt all others, for the *Engliſh* Nation to ſtrengthen themſelves what they can, and to uſe all good Endeavours thereunto.

For the latter, in reference to Trade, we may well ſuſpect the ſtudious Induſtry of our Neighbour the *Hollanders*, will ſoon over-balance us, if not timely prevented, they, at preſent, making a great Advantage to themſelves to our great Prejudice, by the War between us and *Spain*, whoſe King hath lately prohibited wearing the Manufacture of *England*, of which Kind the *Hollanders* will furniſh them with of their own making, and if they want Workfolks, will eaſily entice over *Engliſh*, wanting Employment, to work for them, and teach their People, by which Means much increaſing their Trade; and when they know themſelves thereby to grow rich by Increaſe of Trade, and conſequently ſtrong by Increaſe of Shipping and Mariners, and another Nation poor by Decreaſe of Trade, and alſo weak by Decay of Shipping and Mariners, how forward will they then be to preſcribe Laws to ſuch a decayed Nation? For it hath been long obſerved, that as the *Spaniard* aims to get the univerſal Monarchy of *Chriſtendom*, ſo the *Hollander* the univerſal Trade, not only of *Chriſtendom*, but of all the known World, from which they have been termed the Carriers of the World, through their Multitude of Shipping, ſending them out to all Nations that have any Trade by Sea, and ſometimes for Men of War; and until the late encouraging Act for increaſing the Navigation of this Land, the *Engliſh* Merchants themſelves, ſince the Beginning of the late Wars in *England*, uſually freighted *Holland* Ships to fetch home their own Goods, becauſe they would go for leſs Freight than the *Engliſh* Ships could, having leſs Charge, by carrying fewer Men than an *Engliſh* Ship of the ſame Burden, and leſs Proviſion, which Ships were uſually inſured in *London*; and it is the *Hollanders* Cuſtom to this Day, that when they ſend any ſingle Ship to the Southward for their own Accounts, oftentimes to inſure them in *England*; and if they miſcarry, then the *Engliſh* make good their Loſſes, as too often it ſo falls out; and if ſuch Ship comes well home, they ſave the Premium in ſailing ſuch Shipping with leſs Charges than the *Engliſh* do theirs of the ſame Burthen; and being ſo weakly manned, if they at any Time chance to meet a *Turk*'s Man of War (they ſeldom fight with them as the *Engliſh* do, and ſo oftentimes honourably acquit themſelves) but deliver up their Shipping without firing a Gun, to ſave the Seamen's Liberty, and what belongs unto them, and ſo arm the *Turks* againſt all *Chriſtendom*: But when they ſend unarmed Fleets into any Country, at the fit Seaſons of the Year, when Merchandize is to be had

had in ſuch Country they are bound for; then if there be Danger, they ſend a Squadron of Men of War to convoy them at the public Charge, and theſe are ſeldom inſured: But if any *Engliſh* Ship of Force go the ſame Voyage ſuch ſingle *Dutch* Ship went, ſeldom any Inſurance is made (except ſhe be miſſing, or her Safety doubted) becauſe they uſually go ſafer, being better provided of Men and other Neceſſaries for Defence againſt the Danger of Enemies and bad Weather; and alſo before the ſaid Act, the *Hollanders* ſerved us with the Commodities of other Nations in their own Ships, both in *England* and in our Weſtern Plantations, while our *Engliſh* Ships lay in Harbour for want of Employment till they were unſerviceable, and our Mariners took Employment of the *Hollanders* to ſail their Ships to get their Livelihoods, to the great Loſs and Diſhonour of the *Engliſh* Nation; and ſince the ſaid late Act, how diligent the *Hollanders* have been, notwithſtanding the ſame, that to their Coſt a whole Fleet of them together were ſurprized, trading at the *Barbadoes*, and forfeited according to the Penalty of the ſaid Act, which ſhews how well they like trading with us with foreign Goods in their own Ships, that though they dared not bring any for *England*, fearing the Penalty of the ſaid Act, yet they would run ſo great an Hazard to ſerve our Plantations, peradventure intending to over-awe the Penalty of Confiſcation, by continually having a greater Power in Shipping there than we had, that if a Seizure had been attempted by the *Engliſh* there, they might have overpowered them, and made ſuch an Attempt of no Effect, not once dreaming that a Fleet of Men of War would ſtop there to ſeize them in their Way to *Santa Domingo* and *Jamaica*. Now, although the ſaid Act hath breathed ſome Refreſhing to the decaying Trade of the *Engliſh* Nation, yet it hath not altogether cured her of her Diſeaſe, as will be ſhewn hereafter; beſides, the preſent Abuſe not looked into as ought to be, in entering Strangers Ships in *Engliſhmen*'s Names in the Cuſtom-houſe.

It hath been alſo obſerved how induſtrious the *Engliſh* Nation are and have been, not only in contriving and building convenient and ſtrong Ships for Burthen, ſwift-ſailing, and of Force, but alſo in managing the ſame as well in ſingle Fights in Trade for Defence againſt Pyrates, and in Fleets in public Wars with a foreign Enemy, to their perpetual Honour and Terror of their Adverſaries; witneſs the many ſingle Fights at Sea againſt the *Turks*, to whom it is believed the *Dutch* loſe ten Ships for our one, and the remarkable Sea-fights againſt the *Hollanders* themſelves in the late Wars, wherein many Merchants Ships, from about 300 Tons to about 500 Tons, did engage againſt the Enemy, with the States Ships and Frigates to our great Advantage, which at that Time would have been much wanted, if they had not been built; the Enemy, notwithſtanding, much overnumbering us every Fight in Ships and Tonnage, and yet ſupplied their Loſs of Ships daily taken and deſtroyed by us, aſſiſting their Men of War ſtill with their Merchant-men of equal Force and Burthen, and ſome bigger, ſuch as they uſually ſend to the *Eaſt Indies*; which foregoing Paſſages ſhew the excellent Uſe of *Engliſh* Shipping, and the Neceſſity of increaſing them, which cannot be done no way ſo well as by Trade, for War is known to be chargeable, hazardous and bloody; therefore how ought

Trade

Trade to be cheriſhed, maintained and encreaſed with all Power, Diligence and Invention that can be contrived.

Secondly, If we take into Conſideration the State and Condition our trading Shipping were in, before the late Wars in *England*, we may find by the *Eaſt India* Company's Account, that they alone did employ, in that Trade, at once 15000 Tons of Shipping, which were accounted to be of the beſt ſort of trading Ships belonging to *England*, of the Burthen of about 300 Tons to about 600 Tons: But the old Company were at laſt ſo decayed in their Shipping, through the Diſcouragement of Trade, and undermining of the *Dutch*, and other Caſualties, that they had hardly one good Ship remaining at their giving over; ſo the laſt new Company thought it better to freight Ships for their Employment, which they always did, rather than build any: But now, if the new eſtabliſhed Company will freight Ships alſo, and not build, they will find very few of Force and Burthen fitting for that Employment; for I cannot hear, for about theſe ten Years paſt, that a trading Ship of about 400 Tons hath been built in *England*, and thoſe that have been built within that Time, ſeldom were ſo big as 200 Tons; but I believe ten for one of leſs Burthen, which with other ſlight Ships, that are uſually inſured, do ſupply that little Trade the *Dutch* have left the *Engliſh* Nation in the *Streights*, which in former Times uſed to employ, by Eſtimation, not leſs than about 80 or 100 Sail of good Ships of about 3 and 400 Tons Burthen each Ship, and upwards; but now the *Engliſh* Trade will not maintain and employ Ships of ſuch Burthen and Defence, which is the Reaſon ſo many ſmall ones have been taken by the *Spaniards* of *St. Sebaſtians*, *Majorca*, and other Places: And I have formerly known many Ships of the like Burthen built and equipped in *England*, purpoſely to ſend to *Venice* to let out to that State for Men of War to ſerve them againſt the *Turks*; but the *Hollanders* ſoon eat us out of that Employment alſo, by ſerving them with Ships of equal Burthen with ours, for leſs Freight than we could with our Ships, which they might afford to do for the Reaſons hereafter declared.

And whereas the Company of Merchant Adventurers trading for *Hamburgh*, uſed yearly to ſend about Twenty good Ships thither, chiefly laden with the Manufactures of *England*, the Vent whereof gave great Employment to many Tradeſmen, beſides the Poor; but this Year they have ſent only one Ship from *London*, the laſt Shipping, and the Goods of that Ship will not go off neither; and the Wool that makes theſe Manufactures, that uſually ſold for about 10 *d. per* Pound, is ſold now, as I hear, for 6 *d.* or 7 *d.* which ſhews a great Alteration and Deadneſs of Trade, which at this Time is the general and daily Complaint of all Tradeſmen of what Profeſſion ſoever: The like might be inſtanced in our Shipping trading for the Eaſt Country, and other Places, where we ſend one now, formerly we ſent Ten at leaſt, the Continuance whereof will much decreaſe the Strength of the *Engliſh* Shipping, and is an apparent Sign of the general Decay of the foreign Trade of *England*, which ought to be ſo well managed and encouraged without Delay, as that we ſhould equal, if not exceed, all other our Neighbour Nations; for if any one Nation grow greater in Power than another, ſo as the weaker become ſubject to the

Conditions

Conditions of that one greater Nation, either in State Affairs, or Government of Trade, how ready then will all other Nations be to endeavour to make their own Terms? or to be ready to make a Prey of ſuch a declined People; and if the Caſe were ours, would it not be ſo with us? other Nations bearing a Kind of Envy to our former Happineſs in good Succeſſes and noble Atchievements, both at home and abroad; for, what Corner of the World hath not been ſearched by us to find out Trade? The Profit whereof (the Reward of Induſtry) gave firſt Boldneſs to venture to paſs the main Ocean, and make new Diſcoveries in foreign Parts round about the World, and hath enlarged our Nation with many new and large Plantations, to the enriching, cheriſhing and employing of many Thouſands of our People, by which may be diſcerned the flouriſhing and proſperous Condition the *Engliſh* Shipping were in; which without doubt will ſoon encreaſe again with the Increaſe of Trade.

But it may be objected, there is no ſuch Need of great Ships now, as hath been for the Defence of the Seas, ſeeing we have ſo great and gallant a Fleet of Men of War, which are more ſerviceable upon Occaſion than Merchantmen taken into warlike Employment.

It is anſwered, That admit a very ſtrong Fleet of Men of War were always maintained, ſuch a one as, in any Man's Judgment did equal any Fleet of Men of War of any Neighbour Nations, and that we ſhould have War with any ſuch Nation, and in Fight Part of the Fleet ſhould be loſt, or ſo battered that they could not be ſo ſuddenly recruited, or made ſerviceable, as there might be Occaſion for them to ſupply the Place and Service of thoſe Ships that might be ſo loſt or defective, but by Merchants Ships; as in the late War with *Holland*, it was obſerved what gallant Service every Merchant's Ship performed, when each Captain was ſhifted out of his own Ship into another; when at the firſt every Captain continuing in his own Ship was not ſo adventrous, not out of Cowardice, as dreading what might happen to his Perſon, but out of Deſire to prevent the Damage that might happen to his own Ship, which might turn to the Loſs of his Owners, the Captain well knowing the Charge in repairing them again, or building others; and peradventure, if their old ones had been loſt, it might have been a hard Thing for him that loſt his Ship to get Friends to join together to build him another; for now Shipping is eſteemed the worſt Commodity this Day in *England*, every one that hath any, being willing to ſell, becauſe they loſe by them through want of Trade and Employment for them; whereas if Trade were quick, and any Profit came by them, every one would be deſirous to be intereſted in them.

Moreover, if a ſtanding Fleet of Men of War, as aforeſaid, ſhould be maintained, and having a War with another Nation, that Fleet ſhould hold always good, ſo as there were no Need of Merchant Ships to join with them; yet it muſt be conſidered, that infallibly the Want of Trade will much impoveriſh the People of *England*, which otherwiſe know not how to ſubſiſt, they encreaſing ſo much, notwithſtanding the late Wars, and the Land (though full of Plenty) not encreaſing with them, being an Iſland; witneſs the many entertained for Soldiers, either for want of Trades, or by Decay of their Trades, and the many daily going for *Ireland* and the Plantations, and yet

there is no miſs of them; for in any Town or Pariſh, where any Houſe or Farm is to be let (notwithſtanding the Improvement of the late King's and Biſhops Lands, *&c.*) how many ſtrive for it till the Rent thereby is ſo raiſed upon the Landlord, by out-bidding each other, till at laſt he that taketh it, is either undone or weakened in his Eſtate, with over-renting it; and ſo the People's Eſtates are too often impaired in defraying their reſpective Charge for want of Trade; and conſidering that ſuch a ſtanding Fleet of Men of War will be a great Charge and Burthen to the People to maintain it, which will help to impoveriſh them more and more: But on the contrary, the Preſervation and encreaſe of Trade will not only maintain a gallant Fleet of warlike Ships and Mariners, ſuch as all the known World will not only admire, but ſtand in Fear of, and will alſo enrich and ſtrengthen the whole Nation.

Thirdly, the Condition and Number of the *Hollanders* remaining Shipping in Trade is ſuch, that they are beholding to the *Engliſh* for them, in that not only their Shipping, but their People too, were not deſtroyed in the late Wars with them, which in Probability might have come to paſs, had the War continued till this Time with the like Succeſs, that it pleaſed God then daily to give to the *Engliſh* Nation; but if the ſame Succeſs had happened to them, their former Cruelties to the *Engliſh* in *Amboyna*, and preſent Practices in *Eaſt India*, would make it queſtionable, whether they would have granted ſuch good Conditions to the *Engliſh*, as they did to them at the concluding of the Peace between both Parties; for, who knows but that their beſieging *Bantam* (which is ſuppoſed to be taken by them) is only a Deſign upon the Natives, contrived purpoſely to enable them, by the gaining of it, wholly to remove the *Engliſh* from that Factory, to prevent them of Trade in *India*, now the *Engliſh* Company trading thither had ſo much diſcontinued it; and if they could do as much by *Surrat* alſo, then how eaſy will it be for them to command the Coaſt? they being ſo powerful in Shipping there, may deny any Nation trading thither, without Danger, but whom they pleaſe, and then if we will have any Commodities from thence, it muſt be with their good Liking and Conſent; but it is not often known that they eaſily yield to any thing that hinders their Advantage, or the Increaſe of their Traffic and Navigation: And if they ſhould gain that Trade to themſelves, as is doubted is their Deſires and Deſign, and is feared they will effect without a Bank in *England*, and then it is believed it will be more profitable to them by Trade, than all the *Weſt Indies* is any way to the King of *Spain*; and if the *Engliſh* ſhould loſe that Trade, as it hath been in great Danger, then what Need have we of Merchant Ships of Burthen and Force? and, who would build any, having no Employment for them? and if no Employment for ſuch Shipping of Force, through Decay of Trade, then in a ſhort Time what will become of the Maritime Power and Strength of the *Engliſh* Nation? For, beſides the many Advantages the *Dutch* will accrue to themſelves by having the ſole Trade of *Eaſt India*, enriching their People many ſundry Ways,

This great Prejudice they will do us,

We ſhall be weaker by ſo much Shipping, and ſo many Mariners as we might employ thither.

It

It will hinder thoſe Tradeſmen, in their ſeveral Profeſſions, that furniſh thoſe Ships that go to Sea, as Shipwrights, Smiths, Maſt-makers, Sail-makers, Rope-makers, *&c.* and diminiſh the Trade of thoſe Materials.

It will hinder the Vent of our native Commodities, which thoſe Shipping would carry thither, which will impoveriſh our People that made thoſe Commodities.

It will hinder us of thoſe Commodities which that Country doth afford, that we may have great Need of; as in Time of War, of Salt-Petre to make Gun-powder; ſo as we ſhall have no Commodity from thence but what the *Dutch* will ſpare us at their own Prices; which makes me remember a notable Paſſage I have heard of the *Dutch* in *India*, where a Ship of theirs arriving at a trading Port in that Country, laden with one only Commodity, which they knew the Place wanted, therefore ſet what Price on it they pleaſed; which the Townſmen refuſed to give them, and on the contrary held off buying the ſame, preſuming they would take their Offer for the Commodity, rather than go to another Market, or lye in Port with a great Charge of Men, Victuals and Wages, to expect more, which the *Dutch* perceiving, reſolved to prevent the Townſmen of their delaying them, and yet alſo have their Price, therefore immediately cauſed the one Half of the Commodity to be carried aſhore, and there burnt in the Sight of the Townſmen, and then demanded as much for the remaining Half as the whole would have come to at the Price they made; which the Inhabitants were forced to give for the ſaid half Part, rather than want the ſaid Commodity, fearing leſt half the remaining Part ſhould be burnt alſo, and then muſt give as much for one Quarter of it, as they might have had the whole Parcel for, before any of it was burnt: Such is the Force and Power of Trade where a uſeful Commodity is wanting, and when engroſſed into one Hand.

But beſides the Trade of *India*, it is too much felt how the *Engliſh* Trade in *Turkey* is at this preſent; alſo, in the Eaſt Country, and at *Hamburgh*, to ſerve all *Germany*, and in all the *Streights* over, where the *Dutch* not only underſell us in their own, but in our native Commodities, as Cloth, Tin, Lead, *&c.* they buying theſe Commodities of the *Engliſh* at the beſt Hand, and cheapeſt Seaſon of the Year; as Cloth carried over to them rough and white, they dye and dreſs, and ſell it, before we can ours dreſſed and ſhipped from hence; beſides that, they ſell made in *Suffolk*, and of their own making of *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Wool mixed together; alſo, they may buy our Lead here, when the *Engliſh* Merchants ſhip out leaſt, at that Time it is cheapeſt, and commonly riſeth at the going out of *Turky* Ships, or at any Herring-ſeaſon, which I have often known, to my Coſt, to riſe from 11 or 12 *l. per* Fodder, to 14 or 15 *l. per* Fodder, and upwards, as at this Day, which is about 20 *l. per Cent.* Difference; which, with the Cheapneſs of Freight in their own Ships, to what is paid in *Engliſh*, and ſaving Inſurance, by ſending Convoys with their Fleets, enables them to underſell us abroad, and to have the Pre-emption of foreign Goods for Returns, and raiſe the Price of them upon us; ſo have they Advantage of us every Way, to the great Diſcouragement of the *Engliſh* Trade, and inſenſible weakening of the *Engliſh* Power, which Courſes the *Engliſh* can-

not take for want of Stock, much of it lying dead, ſometimes two or three Years, and in danger oftentimes in a remote Country, in unſold Commodities, as at this Day: And ſhould they take up Monies at Intereſt, to proſecute ſuch a Trade, as the Caſe now ſtands, it would ſuddenly and inſenſibly eat them out of their Eſtates, which oftentimes is gained with long and toilſome Labour, and great Hazard. On the contrary, the *Dutch* are herein enabled to raiſe good Profit by the Quickneſs of their Returns, the Largeneſs of their Stock, which is increaſed by Banks, and the Continuance of their Trades from one Generation to another, and partly by Lowneſs of Money at Intereſt, which is occaſioned as I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

The like may be ſaid of the Trade in *Ruſſia*, the Eaſt Country, and other Places, where the *Dutch* and we have Trading together; they find Ways to undermine us, to our great Loſs and Diſcouragement, though few old Traders conſider the Cauſe in all their Lives. But I inſtance only in the two former Trades, becauſe they chiefly give Employment to our warlike ſhipping Trade.

Fourthly, Touching the Reaſon of the *Hollanders* ſo great Thriving in Trade before us, may be theſe:

Their Stateſmen ſitting at the Helm, ſteering the Affairs of their Government, are many of them Merchants in preſent Trade, or have been bred ſo in their Minorities, or by Travel in other Countries, or well-grounded Experience at home, have well underſtood the Courſe of Trade, whereby they are enabled the better (making the Increaſe, Protection, and Encouragement of Trade their chiefeſt Care) to further it in their Intereſt of State with other Nations in all Treaties, and therein make ſuch Proviſion for the Furtherance thereof in their own Behalfs, as may make moſt for their Benefit and Advantage, and Prejudice and Inconvenience of the other State, whom they can moſt prevail with and over-rule; ſo that their good Management in foreſeeing the Benefits and Inconveniencies that may happen, is one main Cauſe of their ſo admired flouriſhing Condition, from ſo ſmall Beginnings: For who can give better Advice in any Trade than he that ſtudies it, or is bred up in the ſame.

They have a Cuſtom, that when any of their Tradeſmen die, they divide their Eſtates equally among their Children, whereby the youngeſt having equal Education with the eldeſt, is with his Stock capable of driving as good a Trade as the eldeſt; by which Means, their Eſtates in Trade deſcend to their Poſterities, and alſo the Rules, Inſtructions, and many Years Experience and Obſervations, that gained their Parents their Eſtates, and oftentimes the very ſame Trades alſo, they having no Lands to purchaſe, as other Nations have.

But, on the contrary, it is the uſual Cuſtom in *England*, when a Tradeſman dies that hath Children, having raiſed his Eſtate, to give mean Portions to his younger Sons, and make the eldeſt Poſſeſſor of the greateſt Part of his Eſtate, who addicts himſelf oftentimes to the Pleaſures of Hunting, Hawking, and ſuch like Paſtimes, betaking himſelf wholly to a Country Life, where either by Increaſe of his Charge, ill Huſbandry, or want of Skill to manage his Eſtate, which peradventure is thereby much impaired, therefore is uſually deſirous, if he have ſo much Money left, to put his Sons Apprentice to learn Trades to get their Livelihoods: And when they are made Freemen (if they did not miſ-

carry

carry before) are oftentimes as far to ſeek for a Way to get their Livings by, for want of Stock to ſet up their Trades, as their Grandfather was, before he gained their Father's Eſtate. But if the Grandfather, who knew how to get that Eſtate he left his eldeſt Son, had alſo bred him up in his own Trade, or in ſome other, he had been capable to inſtruct and enrich his Children by it alſo; ſo as inſtead of weakening the Eſtate, it would have mightily increaſed on him, and have augmented the Stock of the Nation.

Their true and faithful making their Manufactures without Deceit, as Cloth, Sayes, Serges, Perpetuanaes, *&c.* and giving them their due Contents, makes them the more ſerviceable, and their ſeveral Goodneſs (by Experience) being known abroad, cauſeth them to ſell before thoſe of the Manufacture of *England*, that are made ſlight and unſerviceable, wanting their due Contents and Goodneſs; which is not ſo well looked into as ought to be, according to the good Laws provided in that Behalf, which not only brings the *Engliſh* Commodities into Diſgrace at Market abroad, but is a great Prejudice to the Nation in general, by wanting Vent for them, the Makers ſtriving daily to exceed each other in ſlight making, as Cloth made of Flocks mingled with Wool, *&c.* that they may the ſooner ſell and afford them at the *Engliſh* Merchant's low Price, to which he is tied to buy, being guided by the *Dutchman*'s low Rate he ſells of the ſame Kind at Market, contenting themſelves, and thriving with the leſs Profit, by ſelling much greater Quantities abroad of ſeveral Sorts of Goods, and having quicker Returns and greater Stocks than the *Engliſh*, and ſo the *Dutch* have the Pre-eminence in the Sale of their Manufactures before us, by their true Making, to their very Files and Needles

Their Care and Vigilancy over their Traffic, in taking off and laying on Impoſitions on ſundry Commodities, to quicken or dull them in their Sale and Price, as they ſee Occaſion to encourage their own Manufactures, or hinder thoſe of a foreign Nation, for the better Employment of their Shipping and People, beſides each Merchant's particular Correſpondence with their reſpective Factors or Servants in the Countries where they trade, in which they are alſo very dextrous in communicating certain and early Advice, as well of the public, as of their own private Occurrences.

Their giving Countenance and Encouragement to new Deſigns propounded to them for public Good, which whets the Invention, and occaſions new Diſcoveries, and the bringing in of many profitable and delightful Arts and Myſteries among them, the Author never wanting his due Reward, which is made good to him out of the public Stock, none feeling the Charge thereof, and is alſo preferred to ſuch Employment as his Genius and Capacity leads him unto, wherein he may be more profitable to himſelf and them, preferring ſuch for their Merit and Encouragement, rather than others leſs deſerving, for Favour or ſiniſter Ends.

But their chief and moſt conſiderable Way, by which they have brought themſelves to what they are, is their profitable Uſe of Banks.

Fifthly, the Benefit they have received by Banks, are theſe:

By the Help thereof they have raiſed themſelves from Poor, Diſtreſſed, to High and Mighty States.

They

They have increaſed the general Stock of their Country ſo much, that they can, when they pleaſe, ingroſs the particular Commodity of one Country, and ſell it again at their own Price, in the ſame, or another that wants it.

They maintained Wars many Years with the King of *Spain*, and hired foreign Soldiers, to ſave their own People in that War, and received in ready Money (with which they paid their Armies) the Proceed of their Utenſils of War, and other Commodities they ſold their Enemies, which they bought with imaginary Money in Banks, and ſo furniſhed the *Spaniard* with thoſe Things he wanted, for their own Profit, which otherwiſe they knew another Nation would elſe have done.

They have increaſed their Trade, and thereby grown ſo rich and ſtrong in Shipping and Mariners, that they forced the King of *Spain* to a Peace with them.

To make their own Terms with the King of *Denmark*.

To hold the King of *France* to ſuch Conditions as have not always pleaſed him.

To make War with the *Engliſh* at Sea, to whom they there always yielded and acknowledged Obedience and Submiſſion.

To rule over many petty Kings and Principalities in the *Eaſt Indies*, and other Places where they have Power to overcome them.

Theſe are ſome of the Benefits the *Hollanders* have received by Increaſe of Trade, occaſioned by Banks.

Sixthly, the Prejudice we receive by their Banks are theſe:

It brings down their Intereſt of Money to 3 or 4 *l. per Cent.* (at which Rate, I know at preſent many thouſand Pounds there let out, in a Parcel, in ready Money, which the *Dutch* do often deliver by Exchange for *London*, and there the ſame Takers at Intereſt out of the Banks, may let it out again in *England* at 6 *l. per Cent.* formerly at 8 *l. per Cent.* and when the Money is come into them again, it may be more than ſuſpected, that it is privately ſent into *Holland*, both in Silver and Gold, ſome Profit ariſing thereby, the latter being grown ſo dear, and both far more ſcarce in *England* than formerly (little being of late imported to coin, for ſundry Reaſons) and ſo plentiful in *Holland*, that great Payments have been made there in *Sterling* Money only, beſides that concealed in their Bank, which is a great Hindrance to Trade in *England*, by wanting ſo much Stock as is ſo tranſported, and doth alſo impoveriſh this Land.

Alſo, by their Banks, they may be furniſhed in *England* by Exchange, with ready Money to buy the native Commodities of the Maker, at the firſt hand, and at the cheapeſt Seaſons of the Year, as Lead, Tin, Cloth, Bays, Says, Serges, Perpetuanaes, Stockings, *&c.* having, as is ſuſpected, their *Engliſh* Packers at *London*, to buy ſuch Goods there for their Accounts, and their Agents reſiding in the Countries and Towns in *England*, where ſuch Manufactures are made, and there buy them cheaper of the Maker himſelf for ready Money, by about 10 *l. per Cent.* than the *Engliſh* Merchants can do at *London* of ſuch Makers Factors, to whom elſe he ſends them, to ſell for his Account, the Maker thereby ſaving Factorage, and other Charges and Adventures, and making bad

Debts

Debts in ſending ſuch Goods to ſell at *London*, beſides Uncertainty in ſelling them for Time, or ready Money, and other Troubles and Caſualties in returning the Money into the Country; for which Reaſons, the Maker had rather ſell a better Bargain by himſelf at home, receiving his ready Money there to ſerve his Occaſions, than run the former Uncertainties, by which Help of Banks, having Money there at a low Rate, the *Dutch* are enabled, and do underſell the *Engliſh* Merchants at Market in their own native Commodities, to their great Loſs and Diſcredit; and it is doubted, that many *Engliſh* Merchants alſo do colour ſuch Goods for them at the Cuſtom-houſe, having alſo underſtood that at this Time *Engliſh* Wool and Fullers Earth, is too often carried from hence into *Holland*, in the *Engliſh* Men of War, ſuch Ships being never viſited by the Officers of the Cuſtom-houſe, which ought ſuddenly to be prevented, the *Dutch* being too well ſtored with thoſe Commodities, moſt of the Wool of this Year's Growth in *Kent*, being doubted already to be tranſported from, or near *Dover*, *Rocheſter*, &c. which are the Back-doors out of which ſuch Commodities are ſuſpected to be too often conveyed through Connivance.

But if it be objected, That the *Engliſh* may alſo buy of the Maker on the ſame Terms: It may be anſwered, They want Stock, through Deadneſs and Decay of Trade. But if it be replied, That they may then take up Money at Intereſt to do it: To which is anſwered, that if they have ſo much Credit to do ſo, they muſt then give 6 *l. per Cent.* for it, beſides Procuring and Continuance, and the *Dutch* hath it for about 3 *l. per Cent.* or under, which, with the Cheapneſs of Freight in their own Ships, *&c.* doth enable them, notwithſtanding, to ſell our native Commodities for us abroad, cheaper than we can afford to ſell them ourſelves, and ſo ſecretly eat the Bread out of our own Mouths, and undermine and work us out of Trade, and Employment of our own Ships all the World over, being in the *Eaſt Indies* accounted much inferior to them.

By the Help of Banks, they ſo much augment their Stocks, that they ſet out ſo many hundred of Buſſes, and other Fiſher-boats yearly, to catch Herring and Cod-fiſh in our Seas, with which they ſerve all *Chriſtendom*, to their incredible Gains, and formerly our own Nation to our great Loſs, Decay of our Fiſhery, and many Fiſhing-towns on the Sea Coaſt.

Theſe Inconveniencies we receive by their Banks, and many other, there being none in *England* to countermine them, by which it may appear, it is not altogether the raiſing of Exciſe, or laying on Impoſitions upon the Commodities retailed and ſpent within ourſelves, as is often ſuggeſted to be the Cauſe of the preſent Deadneſs of Trade, but the mere Advantage and undermining of the *Dutch*, with their great Stocks, who always have alſo had a great Exciſe charged upon the moſt Part of the Commodities ſpent within themſelves, which cauſeth the Spender of ſuch Goods to pay dearer for them, they being enabled ſo to do, by cheriſhing their foreign Trade for the general Good, in laying on ſmall Duties on the Commodities tranſported, with other Privileges and good Orders to puniſh Miſdemeanors in Trade, wherein they are as unmercifully juſt, in the executing them without reſpect of Perſons, for the pub-

lic

lic Good, as the *Engliſh* are too often unjuſtly merciful, in ſparing each other for private Ends, to the general Hurt.

Seventhly, the Good we may do our ſelves by Banks, if ſettled in *England*, are many; for no Nation yet ever made uſe of them, but they flouriſhed and thrived exceedingly.

Firſt, they will, by well ordering them, bring back the Gold and Silver which hath been drained out of this Land by the *Hollanders* Banks, and by other Princes raiſing the Value thereof in their Dominions.

They will much increaſe the Stock of this Land, which will wonderfully encreaſe all manner of Trade, and will bring in that excellent tranſporting Trade, and make *England* the Staple of all Foreign Commodities, as *Holland* is at this Time, and hath been ſince they had the Uſe of Banks, who have nothing conſiderable of their own Growth and Manufactures, yet have the Staple of all Commerce as a rich Treaſure, in Money and Jewels, all Materials for Shipping and War, all manner of Cloathing, and the Granary and Vineyard of *Europe*, with which Commodities they furniſh moſt Countries, which *England* may alſo do with much Eaſe and Profit, and make this Land the Staple for Trade; for, by Experience, our People are known to be as tractable in Trade as any other Nation, had they but Stock, which is thought to be the only Thing wanting, beſides a few Privileges in Ports, to carry on that ſo much deſired and profitable Trade, and our Land lies more convenient for it than any other, having the Sea open on every Side, and ſo many ſafe Harbours to ſhelter Shipping in foul Weather, and ſo many convenient Ports for landing of Goods, from whence they may be tranſported with all Winds, at all Seaſons of the Year; and the *Engliſh* Mariners are as good as any be in the known World, and may have as good Shipping to carry Goods for as little Freight, and may victual them as cheap as any other Nation.

They will increaſe and much encourage the Fiſhery of this Nation, and breed up in that Employment many Thouſand of Seamen, which will find Employment in the *Eaſt Indies*, *Streights*, and other Voyages into other Parts of the World, and will alſo increaſe and ſtrengthen the decayed Fiſher-Towns, and all other Ports and Havens along the Sea Coaſt.

They will increaſe the warlike trading Shipping and Mariners of this Nation, which will much ſtrengthen us againſt all our Enemies.

They will alſo increaſe the Revenues and Cuſtoms of this Land, by Increaſe of Trade.

They will wonderfully employ the Poor of this Land, and increaſe the natural Manufactures thereof, and make us capable to buy or ſell, at home or abroad, with as much Advantage as any other Nation; whereas now, if any *Engliſh* Merchant buy any Foreign Goods abroad, with the Proceed of *Engliſh* Goods there, and tranſport them for any Place but *England*, he is in Danger to loſe by the Voyage.

They will make the *Engliſh* capable to ingroſs the Commodity of any Country, and withhold it from another that may be at Enmity with us, to whom the ſaid Commodity may be uſeful to our Prejudice, and alſo make our own Price of it.

They

They will encreaſe Trade in our Plantations, and cauſe Ships to be built in *New England*, as good, or better than any be built in *Holland*, to carry Goods for as little Freight, and will alſo encourage the making Materials for Shipping there, and will ſave our own Timber here until a Time of Need, which ſhould be preſerved and increaſed as much as could be, having of late been much decayed and ſold into *Holland*, as is much ſuſpected.

They will furniſh Factors in *England* with Credit to pay Cuſtom and Charges of a great Cargo of Goods, which may on a ſudden be conſigned to them; for many Times ſuch *Engliſh* Factors may be of a good Eſtate and Credit, yet have not always a great Caſh lying by them for ſuch Uſes (though the *Dutch* are ſeldom without it) therefore may oftentimes be forced to ſtrain their Credit, to take up Money at Intereſt, or ſell all, or part with ſuch Goods at Under-rate for want thereof, which may be a great Prejudice to themſelves, and Loſs to their Principals; and is believed, cauſeth many ſuch great Commiſſions to be carried from the *Engliſh* and Conſigners to the *Dutch* reſiding in *England*, to their great Benefit and Advantage, and Loſs and Prejudice of the *Engliſh* Nation.

They will increaſe Trade in *Ireland*, which will people that Iſland, and increaſe the Revenues thereof.

They will furniſh many young Men with Stock, that have, by their Induſtry and well-ſpent Time and Travels in their Apprenticeſhips, gained good Experience in Foreign Traffic; but when they are come to be for themſelves, wanting Stock, Friends, or Credit, to begin to trade with (being commonly younger Brothers) are thereby much diſcouraged, and thinking to drive away ſuch Diſcontent, do oftentimes fall into bad Company, and take ill Courſes, to the utter Ruin of their Hopes and Fortunes, which otherwiſe might have made good Commonwealths-men, which is the greateſt Reaſon why ſo few young Men, among ſo many entertained, do come to good.

They will preſerve many good Men from failing and loſing their Credit; for inſtead of loſing by Trade, they will, by the well regulating of it, be more certain of Profit, and the quick and ſure Satisfaction of a Debt by Aſſignment in Bank, will preſerve many a good Man's Credit, which many times is impaired, though he may have a good Eſtate out in Trade beyond the Seas, and cannot command it, or becauſe he cannot receive his Money where it is owing to him, to make Payment where it is due; it being ſeldom ſeen, that any of the *Dutch* Nation fail: And if any of them by Loſſes do miſcarry, being known to be induſtrious, are ſoon credited again with Stock out of Bank, or otherwiſe to recover themſelves again by Trade.

And many others, which Trial and Experience will daily diſcover, as quick and eaſy, paying Bills of Exchange, Foreign or Domeſtic, and all other Payments, preventing fraudulent Payments in counterfeit and clipt Coin, or miſ-telling Money, rectifying Errors in Accompts, which occaſion Law-Suits, preventing Theft, and breaking open Houſes, where Money is ſuſpected to lie, and robbing on the Highways Graziers, Carriers, or others, that uſe to carry Money from Fairs, or other Places, which may be returned by Aſſignment in Bank; whereas now the ſeveral Hundreds, in many Places, are forced

to guard ſuch as carry Money, for fear of their being robbed, and ſuch Hundred paying them the Money they loſt, as it hath often fallen out of late Times, *&c.*

Eighthly, A Bank is a certain Number of ſufficient Men of Eſtates and Credit joined together in a joint Stock, being, as it were, the general Caſh-keepers or Treaſurers of that Place where they are ſettled, letting out imaginary Money at Intereſt at 2 and ½ or 3 *l. per Cent.* to Tradeſmen, or others, that agree with them for the ſame, and making Payment thereof by Aſſignation, and paſſing each Man's Account from one to another with much Facility and Eaſe, and ſaving much Trouble in receiving and paying of Money, beſides many Suits in Law, and other Loſſes and Inconveniences, which do much hinder Trade; for oftentimes a Merchant hath Goods come from ſome Place beyond the Sea, which he is not willing to ſell at the Price Current, knowing either that he ſhall loſe by them, or that he hopes they will yield more in *England*, or ſome other Country, when there will be more Need of them; therefore is deſirous to keep them, and yet drive on his Trade, which peradventure he cannot well do, wanting Stock, ſo much of it lying dead in the ſaid Commodity, therefore procures Credit in the Bank for ſo much as he ſhall have Occaſion for, at the Rates aforeſaid, and receives and makes Payment thereof where he hath Occaſion for it, by Aſſignment in Bank. As for Example: The ſaid Merchant buys Cloth of a Clothier for 100 *l.* Value, more or leſs, and goes with him to the Bank, where he is Debtor ſo much Money as he takes up, and the Clothier is made Creditor in Account for ſo much as he ſold for to the ſaid Merchant, then ſuch Clothier having Occaſion to pay Money to a Stapler or Woolmonger, for Wool he doth buy of him; ſo the ſaid Clothier is made Debtor, and the Woolmonger Creditor in Account: The ſaid Woolmonger hath bought his Wool of a Country Farmer, and muſt pay him for it; ſo the Woolmonger is made Debtor, and the Farmer Creditor: The Farmer muſt pay his Rent to the Landlord, with the Proceed of the ſaid Wool; ſo the Farmer is made Debtor, and ſuch Landlord Creditor: The Landlord for his Occaſion, buys Goods of a Mercer, Grocer, Vintner, or the like; then he is made Debtor, and ſuch Mercer, or other Tradeſman, Creditor; then peradventure ſuch Mercer, or other Tradeſman, buys Goods of the ſame Merchant that took up the firſt Credit in Bank, and ſtands yet Debtor there; but upon Sale of Goods to the Mercer, or other Tradeſman, both clear their Account in Bank, and ſuch Mercer, or other Tradeſman is made Debtor, and the ſaid Merchant Creditor: Thus every Man's Account is cleared, and ſo in all Trades, as Occaſion preſents; which Way, if it be thought fit to be ſettled for a Trial at *London*, I verily believe will be found ſo convenient, and ſuch an Encouragement to Trade, by Increaſe of the Stock of the Land, and be ſuch an Eaſe to the People, that it will be ſoon deſired that others might be alſo ſettled at *Edinburgh* for *Scotland*, at *Dublin* for *Ireland*, and in ſome other chief Cities and Shire Towns in *England*, as *York*, *Briſtol*, and *Exeter*, *&c.* for the Furtherance of Trade, by holding Correſpondence with each other, than which I do not apprehend or know any way better to equal the *Dutch* in Trade, both at home and abroad, in buying and ſelling all ſorts of Commodities, and

making

making quick Returns, and alſo ſo much exceed them, as by far this Land lies more convenient for Trade than theirs doth, and will alſo ſuddenly inrich the People, and increaſe and maintain the Maritime Power and Strength thereof.

Laſtly, To which may be added a Court of Merchants to be choſen every Year, to end and determine all Controverſies ariſing from one Merchant to another; for although ſuch Suits may be determined in the reſpective Courts already eſtabliſhed in *England*, yet the guilty Adverſary takes ſuch Advantage by Appeals from one Court to another, having oftentimes a conſiderable Eſtate in his Hand, the Profit whereof in Trade making him unwilling to part with it; therefore with the Intereſt of it wageth Law with the Parties to whom it is truly due, to his great Charge, Wrong and Prejudice, if not utter undoing; and then at laſt it is oftentimes referred to good Men that are Merchants and underſtand ſuch Matters and Accounts better than many worthy Lawyers do; but in caſe ſuch a Court be not approved to be ſettled, then the Court of Inſurance ſitting in the Inſurance-Office, who are yearly choſen, may have Power to determine all ſuch Matters as they do Cauſes of Inſurance, which will much quicken and encourage Trade, to the inriching and ſtrengthning the *Engliſh* Nation.

And ſeeing a Court of Merchants is ſo neceſſary, what a glorous and honourable Profeſſion would it be, if your Highneſs's Court were all Merchants, and alſo your domeſtic Servants every one adventuring ſo much Stock as he could ſpare into other Parts of the World, as well as to the *Eaſt Indies* (your Highneſs having been pleaſed lately to give ſo great Countenance and Encouragement to that Company) which may eaſily be effected; for thoſe that know not the Way of Trade may join in a Stock, or come in a Share with the Experienced, until the Ingenious have learned it themſelves; for it is preſumed there are but few but may ſpare ſomething to venture, which may be a Means to inrich themſelves and their Poſterity; for it is well known that many Servants, of both Sexes, to private Men in *Holland*, do improve their Eſtates by having Adventures in Trade, which all your Highneſs's Court would be ſoon invited unto by the Profits they know any one hath received by firſt adventuring, which will alſo cauſe theſe Beneſits to enſue.

It will be an high Example to the Gentry of the Land, as well the elder as the younger Brothers, and their Domeſtics to do the ſame, therein employing their Minds, which oftentimes are buſied in contentious Suits in Law, or unnatural contriving how to over-reach and deceive one another.

It may make your Highneſs's Court and Domeſtics the moſt rich and flouriſhing of any Potentate's in the World, and loath and hate unhandſome and diſhonourable Ways to inrich themſelves; whereas in other Prince's Courts, their Neceſſities and Covetouſneſs doth inforce and induce them to buy and ſell Offices and Places of Truſt, and making uſe of the Time preſent (doubting their Continuance, Length of Life, or Change of Affairs) to raiſe and inrich themſelves by Bribes, to beg or obtain Suits of their Prince, which may be, to the general Hurt, diſhonourable for him to grant, or Loſs of the Affections or good Opinions of his People.

It will add to the Reputation of the *Engliſh*, and cauſe them to be better eſteemed and reſpected of the Princes and Subjects in the foreign Countries where they reſide and trade, and will increaſe the maritime Power and Strength of this Nation by ſo much Shipping as they will employ.

It may cauſe Grievances in Trade to be ſooner heard and redreſſed, which is oftentimes hindered by a particular Perſon to the general Hurt, when the Courtier, as well as the private Tradeſman, feels the Evil thereof, which oftentimes, for want of being heard in due Time, may continue unremedied or deferred till it be too late.

And divers other, tending much to the Tranquillity of your Highneſs, and the Welfare of the *Engliſh* Nation, which, with your Highneſs's favourable Encouragement, I ſhall, in all Humility, be ready to make known unto you, and remove any Objections as can be alleged in the Premiſſes, and propound a Way how it may be effected, and the Evils remedied and prevented, being unwilling to bury the Talent in a Napkin, which it hath pleaſed the Giver of all Bleſſings, in his great Goodneſs and Mercy, to beſtow upon me, hoping I ſhall not offend in tendering this with my beſt Services to your Highneſs.

Certain Propoſals for eſtabliſhing a Bank at London, *humbly offered by* Samuel Lambe *of* London, *Merchant.*

THAT the Society of good Men or Governors that ſhall manage the Bank, be choſen by the ſeveral Companies of Merchants of *London*, viz. *Eaſt India*, *Turky*, *Merchant Adventurers*, *Eaſt Country*, *Muſcovy*, *Greenland*, and *Guinea* Companies, each Company chooſing out of themſelves two or more of the moſt underſtanding and ableſt Members of each reſpective Company, and when any of the ſaid Members, ſo choſen, do happen to die, then the ſaid Company, of which he was that died, to chooſe another in the Room and Stead of the Deceaſed, from time to time; and when ſuch Members are choſen and met together, then they to chooſe to themſelves two or more of the ableſt Merchants that trade chiefly or altogether for *Spain*, and the like who trade for *France*, *Italy*, and the Weſt *Indies*, for each Place two or more, as ſhall be thought fitting; and when any of them choſen that trade for the Countries laſt named do die, then the major Part of all the Members together, choſen as before preſcribed, may chooſe others from time to time trading to the ſaid Countries which he did that died, and when all theſe ſo choſen meet together, they may have Power to make Orders of their own approving or contriving, for the carrying on and managing of the Work, and ſuch a Society, ſo dealing into all Parts of the World, will well know moſt *Engliſh* Merchants that trade into any Part thereof, and thereby know whom to credit that have Occaſion, and by their Knowledge will well underſtand how to govern the Bank, and by the Help thereof countermine the *Dutch* in their Deſigns in any Port of the World, where they prejudice the *Engliſh* by their Banks; for in any Place where there is Exchange or Trade, they may lay a great Stock to furniſh the *Engliſh* with Credit and Ability to carry on their laborious and honeſt Deſigns, and by this Means may be carried on any great and notable Enterprize;

Enterprize; for which Purpoſe, and that they may perform with every Perſon that hath Money in Bank, and may preſerve the Credit thereof inviolable, and without the leaſt Blemiſh, they muſt keep their Caſh in a ſafe Place from the Danger of Fire, and other Accidents, as the Army Treaſure is in *Guildhall*, and ſo are the general Treaſurers and Caſh-keepers of moſt of the ſpare Money of the Place where they are ſettled; and moſt Men will deſire to have Money there, that they may have Credit in Bank two or three times the Value thereof; for he will not be thought to be of any Eſtate or Worth, that hath not ſome Money in Bank to procure Credit there without Trouble, againſt he have Occaſion for it.

That all be at Liberty to bring in any Money into Bank or not, and if any that have Money there, deſire to have it again in Kind, ſhould have it at Demand, the *Dutch* had rather have their Money in Bank than in their own Keeping, accounting Payment in Bank better than any other by $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* by their good and punctual Payment.

That they allow ſuch Intereſt to the Aged and Widows that deſire to have their Money in Bank, as ſhall be agreed unto, for and towards their Maintenance.

That they let out imaginary Money or Credit, upon Ticket, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 *l. per Cent.* at the moſt.

That all Bills of Exchange be received and paid in Bank.

That the ſaid choſen Men do take a Houſe near the Exchange for Convenience of Merchants reſorting thither, and ſit there ſuch certain Hours of the Day to be appointed.

That the good Men, who manage the Bank, do make up their Accounts at leaſt once in every Year.

That the Profits of the Bank go to the good Men that manage the ſame, in lieu of their great Care and Pains, and defraying Bank Charges, and Officers Salaries, or ſo much as ſhall be thought fitting to be reſerved toward the Increaſe of the Stock; and as the Bank increaſeth in Credit, ſo the Reſervation to increaſe to augment the Stock, but the Stock always to remain whole and intire.

Or any other, or ſo many more that ſhall be thought fitting to be ſettled by Act of Parliament, therein declaring in what Manner, and by whom the ſame ſhall be managed and governed, granting Power to ſuch Governors to chooſe Officers, and make Orders to carry on the Work, and thereby alſo to be enacted, that none ſeize, moleſt, or diſturb the Bank, or violate the Credit thereof, upon ſuch great Penalties as ſhall be thought fitting.

That the ſame Bank may alſo furniſh another Bank with a competent Stock, to let out any Sum of Money under 5 or 10 *l.* at reaſonable Rates, upon Pawns or other Security; whereas now many poor People, to raiſe a ſmall Stock to get a Living by, are forced to give intolerable Rates, as about 6 *d. per* Week for the Uſe of 20 *s.*

And convenient Orders would ſoon be contrived to carry on ſuch a charitable Work, if it be approved after Trial made of the former Bank deſcribed.

And

And ſuch a Society to be choſen every Year, as is before propoſed, with an able Civilian joined with them, would be an excellent knowing Committee, or Court of Merchants to regulate and advance Trade, and determine Controverſies therein ariſing, having incomparable Correſpondence together with all the World, by communicating every one's Advice, Knowledge and Experience to each other, having thereby Knowledge of the Tranſactions and Occurrences of every Country, and ſo knowing moſt Men's Dealings, and the Accounts and Trade of all Places, and ſo the better enabled to judge of any Matter coming before them, and contrive Remedies for all Grievances in Trade for the Advantage of the *Engliſh* Nation.

Here follow the Remedies againſt the Evils obſerved in the Book.

A Bank will hinder importing of Goods in Strangers Ships, contrary to the Act for Increaſe of Navigation, and daily entering ſuch Ships in *Engliſhmen*'s Names.

A Bank will increaſe the general Stock and Trade, which will cauſe Ships to be built for the *Engliſh* as cheap as any other Nation can build any, to carry Goods for as little Freight into any Country, which will cauſe them to be employed as ſoon or before any Strangers Ships, by all Nations that have Occaſion, and then we need not fear entering their Ships in *Engliſhmen*'s Names, ſo few in Likelihood to come then for *England.*

A Bank will prevent Packers, or others that buy Goods in *England* for *Dutchmen*'s Accounts, and colouring them under *Engliſhmen*'s Names at the Cuſtom-houſe, by cunning and fraudulent Pretences, ſuſpected to be now practiſed, notwithſtanding the Laws and Penalties in Force, and lately revived againſt ſuch Evils.

A Bank will increaſe the general Stock ſo much, that it will enable the *Engliſh* to buy for ready Money as good and cheap, of the Maker or otherwiſe, as any Agents for any Strangers can do, by which Means the *Engliſh* will be enabled to ſell abroad for as much Profit, and at as low a Price as any other Nation can, of the like Sort of Goods, and cheaper, by ſaving Strangers Cuſtom outwards, if ſuch Goods be fairly entered; and when they know the *Engliſh* have found the Way to underſell them, and gain by it too, they will have but ſmall Encouragement to contrive Ways to employ Agents to buy any *Engliſh* Goods in *England*, and ſhip them out for them; and when the Makers of *Engliſh* Manufactures find ſuch quick Vent for them, they will then ſtrive as much to excel each other in true making as now in ſlight making; this will bring *Engliſh* Manufactures in good Requeſt again at Market, and will cauſe the *Engliſh* to have the ſame Advantage of the *Dutch* as the *Dutch* now have of them in buying foreign Commodities, as in ſelling our own abroad, they growing ſo populous, their Shipping ſo numerous, their Stock and Credit of their Bank ſo great.

A Bank in *England* will hinder tranſporting of *Engliſh* Wool and Fullers Earth out of *England.*

A Bank

A Bank will increaſe the general Stock and Trade ſo much, that it will encourage and increaſe making the Woollen Manufactures in *England*, and employ not only the Makers thereof now here, but invite thoſe out of *Holland* that are gone thither already; for the great Quantities that will be made at home, and afforded at eaſier Rates than the *Dutch* can theirs of the ſame Goodneſs, which will diſcourage the making any in *Holland*, ſo they will have no Occaſion for our Wool and Fullers Earth, which is chargeable for them to obtain againſt a ſtrict Law, and the greater Uſe there is of Wool in *England*, will cauſe it to be dearer, ſo as will be impoſſible for the *Dutch* then to make any Woollen Manufactures, without great Probability to loſe by them, the *Engliſh* being ſo enabled to make cheaper of equal Goodneſs, ſo if they have no Uſe for Wool, they will need but little Fullers Earth.

By which it may be plainly diſcerned, that the meer Advantage the *Dutch* have of a Bank, is the Cauſe of the aforeſaid and other Evils, and of their gaining ſo much by our Loſs, and of all other Nations that have not a Bank; which I believe cauſed the King of *France* to raiſe the Value of his Coins, to hinder them carrying it out of his Dominions; for in any Place that hath no Bank, where they carry any Commodities, and ſell them for ready Money, how eaſily may they carry back the ſame Money for a Return, and put it into their own Bank, and with a Ticket of Credit there buy other Goods at home or abroad by Exchange, and ſtill make Returns in Money or prohibited Goods, and ſo ſecretly beggar or impoveriſh any Nation they ſo deal withal, and ſo by Exchange they may charge vaſt Sums in any Country by Credit in Bank, and on a ſudden, or by Degrees, inſenſibly ſweep away all the Treaſure out of any Country, and then may eaſily overcome them, wanting Stock to carry on ſuch a War, and to buy ſuch Materials for War as may be wanted within themſelves, which muſt be had from another Country; but in a Country where a Bank is ſettled, and Tranſportation of Money forbidden, a Law may be made to prevent this dangerous Evil; for by ſo much as their general Stock and Shipping is greater than any other Nation, ſo much more Advantage have they of any ſuch Nation as have not a Bank, to ruin them with greater Expedition, and may ſecretly lay a Plot to do it at Pleaſure; and may it not be ſo with *England*, when her Mariners and Shipping are decayed, by permitting Goods to be imported daily in Strangers Ships as now are, contrary to the Act for Increaſe of Navigation?

It may be objected, that rich Men will not bring their Money into Bank for theſe two Reaſons,

Firſt, Becauſe they will not diſcover their Eſtate ſo much, which will cauſe great Taxes to be laid on them.

Secondly, That in a Monarchical Government, the ſupreme Governor may ſeize or borrow the Money in Bank, to carry on that public Deſign, ſo the Money may not be returned again into the Bank, which will ruin the Credit thereof, and undo ſuch as have Eſtates therein.

To the firſt it is anſwered, That if rich Men will not bring in their Money into Bank, then thoſe that deſire to be rich will for their Conveniency and Eaſe to attain Riches.

Alſo

Alſo thoſe that would be thought to be rich will, for the ſame Reaſons, and both to gain, ſupport and increaſe their Credit.

To the ſecond it is hoped, that his Highneſs the *Lord Protector* (to further ſo good a Work) will be pleaſed to conſent to a Law to be made as aforeſaid, that no ſupreme Governor may ſeize, moleſt, or diſturb the Bank upon any Occaſion whatſoever, under a great Penalty.

That till a Bank be ſettled, and take ſuch Effect as is hoped it may, to remedy the Evils before-mentioned, that a capable honeſt Perſon be appointed by his Highneſs the *Lord Protector* to reſide at *London*, to take account of the Entries of all Ships there, and alſo to take Care that no Strangers Ships be entred (as now daily are) contrary to the Act for Increaſe of Navigation; and that the ſaid Officer do overſee and keep Account of all the Entries of all Ships in all other Ports throughout *England*, and alſo prevent as much as may be tranſporting *Engliſh* Wool and Fullers Earth, and entring Strangers Goods in *Engliſhmen's* Names, which is a great Prejudice to the *Engliſh* Nation, and the ſaid Officer to have ſuch fitting Salary allowed him by the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtom-houſe as ſhall be appointed, or ſuch other Allowance to be paid by the Maſter of each Ship (as formerly they did, and do now deſire to do without Charge to the State) according to a Table of Fees as was uſually paid by them before Colonel *Harvy* was a Commiſſioner.

A POSTSCRIPT.

IT is objected, that the *Eaſt India* Company, trading into the *Eaſt-Indies* is unprofitable to the *Engliſh* Nation; becauſe they ſend out of *England* ſo much Money thither to drive that Trade, that it hath waſted the *Engliſh* Coins and impoveriſhed the Land.

It is anſwered, that if the *Dutch* do not diſturb the *Engliſh* in that Trade, it is probable they may be furniſhed from their Factory at *Cormanteen* on the Gold Coaſt in *Guiney*, and from *China* with Gold enough, alſo from *Japan* with Silver to carry on that Trade, as the *Dutch* themſelves do, and then there will be no Occaſion to ſend any out of *England* to the Prejudice thereof.

But admit the ſaid Company ſhould have Occaſion yearly to tranſport foreign Coins thither out of *England*, they ſhould but imitate the painful Huſbandman, who ſows his Seed in the Ground, that he may reap it again with Advantage in the Harveſt, when the Earth liberally returns her grateful Crop. For admit they ſend out of *England* into *Eaſt-India* to the Value of 1000 *l.* in Silver, Gold, or both, which there they inveſt into the Commodities of that Country, as Indico, Spice, Callicoes, Salt-petre, Drugs, *&c.* And when the ſaid Commodities do arrive in *England*, which coſt the Company the ſaid 1000*l.* in Probability they may yield here about 2000 *l.* clear of all Charges, which the ſaid Company, or other Merchants, that buy that Commodity of them do ſend into *Spain* (in Time of Peace) *Italy* or other Countries (for *England* cannot ſpend all that they bring in) and when the ſaid Commodities are there ſold; peradventure the ſaid 2000 *l.* worth may yield about 3000 *l.* ready Money, which from thence hath been uſually brought into *England* for Returns in *Specie*;

Specie; ſo that inſtead of the 1000 *l.* tranſported, about 3000 *l.* is imported, and ſo proportionably for a greater or leſſer Sum, to the great Profit and Advantage of *England*, beſides the Employment of ſo much warlike Shipping as they ſend thither, maintaining many Trades belonging thereunto, the Increaſe of ſo many Mariners as they breed up and employ in that Shipping, and the vending *Engliſh* Manufactures and Return of others employing many Trades here, and Increaſe of the Revenues and Cuſtoms. For,

It is preſumed, that that Nation which hath moſt warlike Shipping and Mariners, will command in chief at Sea; and he that commands the Sea may command Trade, and he that hath the greateſt Trade will have the moſt Money, which is of ſuch Value, that it doth command all wordly Things, both in War and Peace.

In the former, beſides the procuring all Neceſſaries thereunto, how many Garriſons hath it opened and relieved? how many Battles hath it helped to win? and, what Secrets hath it not diſcovered out of the inwardeſt Counſels of great Princes?

In the latter, as it doth maintain Commerce, ſo the Want of it doth decay it, as ſad Experience doth manifeſt in *England*, ſince there hath been ſo little left, and ſo much tranſported, as may appear by the great Payments in *Holland* in Half Crowns, and there, and in *France* in 20 and 22 *s.* Pieces, that now at *London* 20 *s.* in Gold will coſt 22 *s.* in Silver, and that little Silver that is remaining and paſſing in the Countries, ſo clipt and filed, that moſt of it wants near a fifth Penny in Weight.

And as Money is the Sinew of War, ſo doth it appear to be the Life of Trade, all Commodities being valued by it, and in both as uſeful in the Body Politic as Blood in the Veins of the Body Natural, diſperſing itſelf and giving Life and Motion to every Part thereof; ſo that the Preſervation and Increaſe thereof doth ſpeedily deſerve the ſerious and grave Conſideration of the higheſt Authority in *England*; for as the Caſe now ſtands, who will import any Bullion into *England* to coin, when they may have a better Price for it in another Country? and if any be imported, who will ſell it to the Mint, while it is lawful for the Goldſmiths, or any other, to give a better Price for it than the Mint can? and when the Goldſmiths have bought it, do they not ſell it again to Tranſporters or others, to work into Manufactures, as Gold and Silver Spangles, Wire, *&c.* which is no ſmall Conſumption yearly in ſuch Trades? ſo that little is minted to increaſe the Coins, but on the contrary, it is ſuſpected to be diminiſhed, by culling out the heavieſt Money to work into Plate and the like Manufactures above-mentioned.

By which it may appear, that the *Eaſt-India* Company have not waſted, but rather increaſed the *Engliſh* Coins; for they uſe none of it to tranſport in any Manufactures; and if they had ſent any ſo far off, it would not have been had again ſo plentifully in the ſame Kind in our Neighbour Countries, as now it is.

But it may be ſuſpected, that the common Tranſporters of Bullion out of *England*, do raiſe this Report to keep themſelves from Suſpicion, while they ſecretly make it their Trade to ſend it away, till it be ſo near conſumed thro' want of a fitting Courſe to cauſe the bringing of it in, and good Laws to

prevent carrying it out, and Care in executing them; for how eaſily may the Intent of many of our Laws of light Penalty be abuſed by any that is reſolved to break them, without they were made more ſevere, eſpecially in Matters of ſo great Concernment; it being accounted a great Scandal to any of Credit to inform againſt any that breaketh them, though it be never ſo much to the Prejudice of the whole Nation; and if a needy Perſon do it, a ſmall Bribe in hand, with a few fair Promiſes of Friendſhip will eaſily take him off the troubleſome and chargeable proſecuting for his Proportion due to him by the Law ſo broken.

And to avoid this Charge and Danger, how many do purpoſely employ their Confidents (who may, peradventure, be concerned in the ſame Breach) to make or enter an Information of the Matter only, and there ceaſe, reſolving not to proſecute any further, leſt he endanger his own or his Friend's Safety, and this may be done beforehand, only to prevent any that ſhall really attempt to inform of it afterwards: Beſides the Practice ſuſpected to be now uſed to employ *Dutch* Shipping as much as ever to bring home *Spaniſh* Goods, by colourably making Bills of Sale of them in Truſt to the Freighters, to ſecure them againſt the Act for Increaſe of Navigation.

But in a good Government of Trade theſe Inconveniencies may be prevented, according as Occaſion requireth, and reſtrain that too much Freedom in Trade by ſome deſired, which is the Way to deſtroy all Trade, and bring in Confuſion. For,

As Diſcipline in Arms, ſo Government in Trade preſerves good Orders, and prevents Confuſion, for which Purpoſe, Armies are divided into Regiments, Troops and Companies, Squadrons and Diviſions, and to keep them in better Order, they have By-laws diſtinct and apart from the ſtanding Laws of the Country, for which they ſerve; ſo in Trade, the Merchants of *London* trading in ſeveral Parts of the World, are divided into ſeveral Companies, who reſpectively have By-laws and Orders among themſelves for their better Government, in which Capacity they are beſt able to underſtand what Quantities of Commodities are ſent to the Place where they trade, and knowing how much will vent, may accordingly ſupply the Market at reaſonable Rates and modeſt Profit, with ſo much as is neceſſary, that neither by ſending too little of *Engliſh* Manufactures, as by their Scarcity to advance the Price at too dear a Rate, thereby cauſing the Buyers to learn and endeavour to make themſelves of the ſame Kind at a lower Price, or have them from another Country, which may, in the End, hinder making them in *England*, if not totally ruin the Trade to that Place, nor by ſending more than can be uttered to clog the Market, as in former Ages, till prevented, and ſo diſparage and undervalue the *Engliſh* Manufactures to the Merchants Loſs, by diſhonourably offering them to Sale in Shops at an under-rate, as hath lately happened in *Holland*, with other Inconveniencies, ſince ſome have taken too much Liberty to interlope in the Trade of the Merchant Adventurers Company; and as their ancient Continuance in a thriving Condition, commends their good Orders and Government, ſo the Ratifications and Confirmations of their Privileges by ſeveral Princes and Authorities, ſince their firſt Inſtitution, (not without much Oppoſition)

ſition) declares the Neceſſity of their Incorporation for their better Government and venting *Engliſh* Draperies.

But as for foreign Commodities tranſported, or ſuch native Commodities as are no where elſe to be had of the ſame Kind but from *England*; the more is gained by them, the more the Merchants are inriched in Recompence of their painful Labours and dangerous Adventures, and conſequently the whole Nation; for beſides the Danger of the Seas, they many Ways run great Adventures by bad Debts, Embargoes, *&c.* giving more Credit generally in Goods to other Nations than they do to us.

In this the *Dutch* are a good Example to us, who have ſerved almoſt all *Europe* with *Eaſt India* Commodities, to their great Profit and Advantage, having much of them chiefly in their own Hands, as Nuts, Cloves, Mace and Cinnamon, bringing ſuch Quantities home, as by their Experience they gueſs will yearly ſerve this Quarter of the World, and feed the Market therewith as their ruling Price: And by their late Practice at *Bantam*, in ſeizing three *Engliſh* Ships there, with their Loading, peaceably trading thither, it may be ſuſpected they intend to get all the Pepper alſo into their own Hands, if not the whole *Eaſt India* Trade, and then we may be weakened by ſo many Ships and Mariners as may be employed thither, they well knowing how advantageous that Trade may be to us, being ſo prudently managed as now it is, that thereby we may be able, not only to ſerve ourſelves with thoſe Commodities, but other Nations alſo, on as good Terms as themſelves.

Moreover, the orderly Management of Trade by Companies, will make an eaſier Diſcovery yearly, which exceeds the Import or Export; which in a confuſed Trade, not incorporated, is not ſo ſoon diſcerned, as in the Trade with *Spain* at this Time, by importing ſuch great Quantities of Fruits and Wines at a dear Rate, to the enriching of our Enemies, and exporting ſo few *Engliſh* Manufactures (and thoſe ſold at a low Rate, and which the *Spaniards* have prohibited ſince the Wars) that inſtead of bringing Bullion thence for Returns from *Cales* and *St. Lucar*, it is carried thither, as is ſuſpected, into his Dominions, to pay for Part of thoſe Commodities at *Malaga*, &c. to the Impoveriſhment of ourſelves.

For where the foreign Goods imported exceed the native exported, the Balance muſt be made up with Money tranſported, or by Exchange, which is a Loſs to the Nation, not only by the Money ſo tranſported, but by the Want of Vent of ſo much native Commodities, as ſhould be exported to anſwer the Value of thoſe imported, which may be compared to a Man having an Eſtate of 1000 *l. per annum*, and ſpends yearly above it.

As the Affairs of Princes do alter and change, according to Time and Advantage, ſo doth the Courſe of Trade; and the better to inſpect the Courſe of Trade, ſome Princes, in tender Care thereof, have an Officer reſiding in their Courts, to give an Account yearly thereof, as hath been done formerly in *England*, or ſo often as called thereunto, and as Occaſion requireth, and alſo to hear Complaints and move for Redreſs in the Merchants juſt Grievances, making it his Buſineſs to intercede for them at convenient Opportunities, without making Way by a Favourite with a chargeable Reward, for where many Men are intereſted in one Matter, it is oftentimes known to miſcarry through

Neglect, which makes good the Saying, *that every Man's Buſineſs is no Man's Buſineſs.*

Beſides which, if it be thought fitting that ſuch a Council for Trade, of Merchants exerciſed therein, with ſome Stateſmen or Civilians conjoined, as in my foregoing Propoſals is deſcribed, they may, with God's Bleſſing on their Endeavours regulate and reſtore Trade, by preparing and ſettling (if impowered thereunto) ſuch fitting Remedies for all Grievances therein, as may exceedingly enrich and advantage the whole Nation.

By ſettling and managing a Bank, not only for the Uſefulneſs, but rather Neceſſity thereof, as is before related, and alſo to countermine the *Dutch* in their governing the Price of Exchanges by the Power of their Banks, to the great Prejudice of the *Engliſh*, who with a Bank may rule it as well as they.

To hear and have Power to determine Controverſies ariſing among Merchants in Matters of Trade.

To report their Opinions whether it be needful to raiſe the Value of the *Engliſh* Coins, equal or above the Rate of what they are in our Neighbour Countries, or contrive other Ways to encourage the bringing of them in again, and ſet the Mint to work.

To conſult about ſtrengthening the Laws againſt tranſporting Bullion, *Engliſh* Wool and Fullers Earth, the Law for Increaſe of Navigation, and all other Laws concerning Trade, and put them in effectual Execution.

To ſtrengthen the Privileges of the reſpective Companies of Merchants already eſtabliſhed, and if it be thought fit, to incorporate the Merchants trading reſpectively into ſeveral Countries not yet incorporated.

To find out a Way for better Vent of raw Silk, and other Commodities imported, which much employs many People beſides Silk-weavers, whoſe Families are much impoveriſhed for want of Employment, by the Importation of much Ribboning out of *France* ſince the Peace.

And many other for Encouragement of Trade, beſides what is before-mentioned, which they may diſcover to be advantageous to the whole Nation, and do deſerve to be enlarged by a more ſkilful Hand.

Printed at the Author's Charge, for the Uſe and Benefit of the Engliſh *Nation, and to be conſidered of and put in Execution, as the High Court of Parliament, in their great Wiſdoms ſhall think meet.*

January 27. 1659.

The

The CASE of the old ſecured, ſecluded, and now excluded Members, briefly and truly ſtated; for their own Vindication, and their Electors and the Kingdom's Satisfaction.

By William Prynne *of* Lincoln's-Inn, *Eſq*; *one of thoſe Members.*

Printed in the Year 1660.

JULY 28, 1648, upon the earneſt Petitions of the Aldermen, Common Council, and City of *London*, and moſt Counties of *England*, miſerably oppreſſed, impoveriſhed, diſtracted, and well nigh ruined, by above ſix Years inteſtine Wars, between the late King and Parliament; the Houſe of Commons (when full and free) voted, *That a Treaty ſhould be had in the* Iſle of Wight, *with the King in Perſon, by a Committee appointed by both Houſes, upon the Propoſitions formerly agreed on, and preſented to him at* Hampton Court; which the Lords Houſe unanimouſly aſſented to: Whereupon Commiſſioners were nominated, and ſent accordingly, to treat upon theſe Propoſitions with the King; and a ſpecial Order made and publiſhed by the Commons Houſe, *Sept.* 5, for the reſpective Sheriff of each County of *England* and *Wales*, perſonally to ſummon *all abſent Members, to meet in the Houſe* September 26, *under the Penalty of* 20 l. *for not appearing, in regard of the great Importance of this Treaty, for quieting the Diſtempers and ſettling the diſtracted Minds of the People; and becauſe in the Multitude of Counſellors there is Safety* Hereupon all the Members repaired to diſcharge their Duty in the Houſe. After a long deliberate Treaty for ſundry Weeks (wherein the King aſſented to all the Propoſitions *in terminis*, except three, * *wherein he ſo far complied with the Deſires* of both Houſes, that the Difference therein ſeemed not very conſiderable.) The Treaty being fully concluded, was reported to the Houſe of Commons *December* 1. Upon which the Houſe preſently entered into the Debate of the *King's Conceſſions:* Thoſe who were againſt them, deſiring no Peace nor Healing of the Kingdom's Breaches, made this the Queſtion, *Whether the King's Anſwer to the Propoſitions were ſatisfactory or not ſatisfactory?* But thoſe who deſired Peace and Settlement, made this the only State of the Queſtion, *Whether the Anſwers of the King to the Propoſitions of both Houſes, were a Ground for the Houſe to proceed upon, for the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom?* After four Days and one whole Night's ſerious Debate, the Queſtion being put as laſt ſtated, *December* 5, it was carried in the Affirmative, without any *Diviſion of the Houſe*, when there were 244 Members in it, beſides 60 more declaring themſelves for it, who through Age, Cold, and Infirmity (being unable to ſit up all Night, de-

* See Mr. *Prynne*'s Speech *December* 4, 1648, and a Vindication of the ſecured and ſecluded Members.

parted

parted before the Queſtion put, the Diſſenters being not the Third Part of the Members then preſent. The Army, contrary to both Houſes Orders, were drawn up to *Weſtminſter*, and removed the ordinary Guards of the Houſe *out of their Quarters*, giving out Menaces, during this Debate, againſt all who ſhould vote for the *Conceſſions*, on purpoſe to interrupt and prevent this Vote, and that by Confederacy with ſome of the Diſſenting Members. Yet ſuch was the Courage, Conſtancy, and Sincerity of the faithful Members, that maugre all Oppoſitions and Difficulties, they put and carried the Vote upon ſuch Grounds of Reaſon, Truth, Juſtice, Honeſty and public Intereſt, as all their Oppoſites were unable to contradict or refute.

The Vote being paſſed, the Houſe appointed Mr. *Pierpoint*, and ſix other Members, *to repair that Afternoon to the Head-Quarters, to confer with the General and his Officers, to keep a right Underſtanding and good Correſpondency between the Houſe, and the General and Army*, and then adjourned till the next Morning. The Commiſſioners repairing to the Head-Quarters that Afternoon, were ſo rudely treated, *that one or two of them were ſecured by ſome Army-Officers, and the reſt put off and ſlighted without any Conference. December* 6. the Army-Officers ſent ſundry Regiments of Horſe and Foot early in the Morning to *Weſtminſter*, in a warlike Manner, who placed themſelves in the Palace-Yards, the Court of Requeſts, Hall, Court of Wards, Stairs, Lobby of the Houſe, and all Approaches to it, to ſecure and ſeclude thoſe Members who aſſented to this Vote, Colonel *Pride*, and other Officers who commanded the Guards, having a Liſt in their Hands of the Members Names to be ſecured and ſecluded, given them, as was reported by *Cornelius Holland*, and other diſſenting Members. That Morning they forcibly ſecluded above 100 Members, keeping them out of the Houſe per force as they came to the Lobby, and ſeized 41 Members in the Stairs and Lobby, pulling two more out of the Houſe itſelf into which they got before the Officers eſpied them: Theſe 43 Members they ſecured all Day in the Queen's Court, refuſing to obey the Orders of thoſe then ſitting in the Houſe, who being acquainted with their Seizure, ſent the Sergeant twice *to command their Attendance in the Houſe, without any Obedience or Succeſs:* At Night all the ſecured Members but four, inſtead of being carried to *Wallingford-Houſe* to treat with the General and Officers, as was promiſed, were unexpectedly thruſt into a Place called *Hell* in *Weſtminſter*, and there kept Priſoners on the bare Boards all the Night, though extreme cold. The next Morning three more Members were ſeized, and many others ſecluded, affronted coming to the Houſe. Thoſe in *Hell*, about nine of the Clock were carried faſting to *Whitehall*, to confer with the General and Army-Officers, who imperiouſly made them dance Attendance on them in a very cold Room without Fire (for ſundry Hours) or Meat or Drink (but ſome burnt Wine and Biſkets they ſent for thither) till ſeven o'Clock at Night, not vouchſafing ſo much as to ſee or confer with any of them, as they promiſed; and then ſent them Priſoners to the *King's Head* and *Swan*, through the Snow and Dirt, guarded with three Muſqueteers a-piece, and Guards of Horſe beſides, like the vileſt Rogues and Traytors; and there detained moſt of them Priſoners ſundry Weeks, ſending ſome of them cloſe Priſoners to *St. James's*, and afterwards to

Windſor

Windſor Caſtle divers Months Space, without the leaſt particular Accuſation, Impeachment, Hearing, or Trial. The only Cauſe of this their Impriſonment and Secluſion, as the Officers confeſs in their *Anſwer to the Houſe*, touching the Grounds of our ſecuring, *January* 3. was our Vote of *December* 5, which the General and General Council of Officers thus particularly expreſſed the very next Day, *December* 6, 1648 (the Day they ſecured and ſecluded us) in their Propoſals and Deſires to the Commons in Parliament; wherein they deſire, that ſome Members, by Name, *may be ſecured and brought to Juſtice.* And, that thoſe *Members that were guilty in the Votes for the Treaty* July 28, *and* December 5, *declaring the King's paſt Conceſſions to be a Ground for the Houſe to proceed upon, for the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, have deſerted, betrayed, and juſtly forfeited their Truſts for the Public:* And therefore moſt earneſtly deſired, *That all ſuch faithful Members who were innocent therein, would immediately (by Proteſtation and public Declaration) acquit themſelves from any Guilt or Concurrence in thoſe Votes, as corrupt and deſtructive; that ſo the Kingdom may know who they are that have kept their Truſt, and diſtinguiſh them from the reſt, that have falſified the ſame; and that all ſuch as cannot, or ſhall not acquit themſelves particularly, may be immediately excluded or ſuſpended the Houſe, and not re-admitted, until they have given clear Satisfaction therein to the Judgment of thoſe who now ſo acquit themſelves, and the Grounds of ſuch Satisfaction be publiſhed to the Kingdom.* In Obedience to theſe imperious Deſires of the General Army-Council (the Supreme Legiſlators, over-ruling both the Houſe and General Council of the Kingdom) about 45 or 50 Members (whereof ſome were Army-Officers, Authors of thoſe Propoſals) ſitting under the viſible over-awing Guards of the Army-Officers, from *December* 6. till after all Votes and Orders paſſed, that can be produced for our Suſpenſion or Secluſion, *December* 12 and 13, repealed the Votes of *July* 28 for the Treaty, and *December* 5, touching the *King's Conceſſions*, according to the Army-Officers Propoſals, as *highly diſhonourable to the Parliament, and deſtructive to the Peace of the Kingdom, and tending to the Breach of the public Faith of the Kingdoms*; publiſhing a *Declaration*, *January* 15, expreſſing their *Reaſons for annulling and repealing theſe Votes.* And, *December* 18 and 20, paſſed two Orders, *That none ſhould ſit or act as Members, till they had made and ſubſcribed their particular Proteſtation againſt this Vote.* In Purſuit whereof, *December* 20, thirty-four Members (whereof fifteen are now ſitting, the reſt dead or abſent) entered their *Diſſents and Proteſts againſt this Vote.* *December* 21, three more, now ſitting, entered theirs: *December* 25, ſix more (five now ſitting) entered their Diſſents, yet they ſate as an Houſe four Days, before forty of them had entered their Proteſts, and afterwards admitted others to ſit, without entering any Proteſtation, contrary to their Order. By Colour of which Orders alone, and of their Vote *January* 11, upon the Army Officers Anſwer, *That the Houſe doth approve of the Subſtance of the Anſwer of the General Council of the Officers of the Army to the Demands of this Houſe, touching the ſecuring and ſecluding of ſome Members thereof; and doth appoint a Committee* (of twenty-four) *to conſider what is further to be done upon the ſaid Anſwer*, &c. And of another Order in purſuit of theſe *February* 2. (three Days after the King's Beheading) they have,

without

without any particular Accuſation, Summons, or Hearing at all, by their * Vote of *Jan.* 5, 1659, adjudged add declared, *That the Members who ſtand diſcharged* (in manner aforeſaid) *from voting or ſitting as Members of this Houſe, in the Years* 1648 *and* 1649, *do ſtand duly diſcharged by Judgment of Parliament from ſitting as Members of this Parliament*; (without ſo much as naming any one of them particularly in this, or any of their former Votes or Orders, by which they exclude them:) And it is ordered, *That Writs do iſſue forth for electing new Members in their Places.*

This being the true State of the ſecured, ſecluded, and excluded Members Caſe in 1648 and 1649, to which the Vote of *Jan.* 5, and their forcible Seclusion by their Order, *Decemb.* 27, 1659, relates. The Queſtions in Law ariſing thereupon, are briefly theſe:

1. Whether three Parts of Four, and above two hundred Members of the Commons Houſe, only for paſſing the premiſed Vote, *Dec.* 5, 1648, in order to the public Peace and Settlement of the Kingdom, without any ſiniſter Reſpect, after four Days and a whole Night's Debate, according to their Judgments, Conſciences, Truſts, Duties, Oaths, Proteſtation, Vow, Covenant, the general Petitions, Deſires of their Electors, and our Three diſtracted Kingdoms, contrary to the Senſe of the minor Part of the Houſe, and General Council of Army Officers, (who were but their Servants, obliged to obey their juſt Votes and Commands, and no Members, Judges, to controul them) may be juſtly or legally ſecured, ſecluded, and thus unworthily treated by the Army Officers, by meer armed Power; and whilſt thus ſecured and ſecluded the Houſe, be ejected, diſmembred by the Votes of Forty or Fifty of their Fellow-Members, only upon the Army-Officers imperious Deſires, whilſt ſitting under their horrid viſible Force; which by their own and both Houſes Declaration, *Auguſt* 20, 1647, (in caſe of a contemptible Force in reſpect of this, when no Members at all were ſecluded) nulls all their Votes, Orders and Ordinances, at and from the very Time they are made and paſſed, and that without any Impeachment, Hearing or Trial whatſoever, contrary to all † Laws, Rules of Juſtice, Precedents and Proceedings in Parliaments, or other Courts in former Times.

2. Whether every Member of Parliament, by Cuſtom and Uſage of Parliaments, be not obliged, according to his Mind and Conſcience, freely to give his Aye and No to every Queſtion propounded in the Houſe whilſt he is preſent, and finable if he refuſe to do it, without the leaſt Blame, Cenſure, or Pretence of Breach of Truſt? And whether the Freedom of the Members Debates and Votes in the Houſe, in Matters there propounded, be not the very principal, eſſential, fundamental Privilege of Parliament, demanded by every Speaker, and granted by every King to the Members at the Beginning of every Parliament, and denominating Parliaments themſelves (derived from *parler le ment*) which if once denied, or made criminal (as now) and that to the major Part, will utterly ſubvert the very Name, Eſſence and Being of all future Parliaments?

* Without any Declaration at all to the Kingdom, Counties, Cities, Boroughs, for which we ſerved, or us, of the Reaſons, Juſtice, Grounds of this their new and former Votes, which was expected from them.

† *Magna Charta*, c. 29. 5 *E.* 3. c. 25. *E.* 3. c. 4. 28. *E.* 3. c. 3, 42. *E.* 3. c. 3. Petition of Right, 3 *Caroli.*

3. Whether

3. Whether the Army-Officers and Council, out of the Houſe, being Servants only, commiſſioned and paid to guard the Members Privileges, and obey the Orders of the Houſe, and neither Electors nor Impowerers of the Members ſecluded, be fit Judges of the Majority of the Members Votes and Debates in the Houſe, which they never heard of, nor were preſent at, but by Miſ-reports or Relations from others? And if ſo (as theſe Secluders then and now admit them) whether this will not ſubject thoſe now ſitting, and ſecluding us, with all Members of ſubſequent Parliaments, and all their Votes, to the Judicature of their Guards, or any other Number of factious People without Doors? yea, juſtify their own forcible Excluſions and Diſſolutions by *Cromwell*, *April* 20, 1653, and ſince by *Lambert* and *Hewſon*, *October* 13, 1659, for Votes and Proceedings more unjuſt and unreaſonable than ours of *Dec.* 5, 1648, is ſuppoſed to be, and ſubvert all the Rights, Privileges, Power, Authority, and Honour of *Engliſh* Parliaments for ever?

4. Whether it be not a far greater Breach of Privilege, Treaſon, and levying War againſt the Parliament, in the Army-Officers, and ſitting Members at their Requeſt, thus forcibly to ſecure, ſeclude and eject above two hundred Members three or four Times one after another, only for voting freely according to their Minds, Conſciences, and refuſing to retract and proteſt againſt their own and Majority's Votes, than for *Cromwell*, *Lambert*, and others, to exclude but Fifty, Sixty, or Seventy of them, ſitting as an Houſe of Parliament, being encouraged and uſtified by their own Votes, Precedents and Commands, to ſeclude and exclude the Majority of their Fellow-Members for voting contrary to the Army-Officers Deſires and Deſigns, who excluded them upon the ſame Account?

4. Whether it be parliamental, rational, juſt, equitable (admitting the Commons Houſe have Power in themſelves alone to vote out any Member for Miſdemeanors or Breach of Truſt, without the Lords, which ſome deny, upon very good * Precedents and Grounds) that the far leſſer Part of the Commons Houſe may forcibly ſeclude and vote out the greateſt Part of their Fellow-Members, only for over-voting and diſſenting from them in their Judgments? And not more juſt and reaſonable, that the major Part, being the Houſe itſelf in Law and Conſcience, ſhould judge and vote out this minor Part, for their Anti-parliamentary Proteſtation, and ſuch an unjuſt forcible Secluſion and Ejection as ours by the Premiſes now appears to be to themſelves and all the Kingdom, being the higheſt Breach both of their Truſt, the Privileges and Rights of Parliament and People's Liberties that ever any Members were guilty of ſince Parliaments began?

5. Whether their ſecluding and † voting out all the ſecluded Members, in the Groſs 1648, 1649, and *Jan.* 5, 1659, without Impeachment, Summoning, Hearing, or Nominating any one of them in particular in their Votes or

* See my Plea for the Lords, and Regiſters of parliamentary Writs.

† Theſe Secluders think their Votes omnipotent, who can blow up the Majority of their Fellow-Members and whole Houſe of Lords with the Breath of their Mouths, like Chaff, without any Reaſon expreſſed, when as the old Gunpowder Traytors could not blow them up, but with almoſt as many Barrels of Gunpowder as they were then and now Members.

Orders, be not a moſt unjuſt, unprecedented, unparliamentary Judgment and Proceeding, contrary to all Rules of Juſtice in all other Caſes and Judicatures whatſoever, and in this and former Parliaments? yea, meerly null and void to all Intents for its Generality and Uncertainty, it being the Privilege of every Member to be firſt accuſed. 2dly, ſummoned to anſwer his Accuſation if abſent. 3dly, Re-ſummoned upon Default of Appearance. 4thly, To hear his Charge, and make his Defence before he be ſecluded or ſuſpended. 5thly, To ſit and vote in the Houſe till ſuſpended or ſecluded, by ſpecial Order and Judgment of the Houſe, wherein he is to be * particularly named: All which Circumſtances were punctually obſerved by themſelves in Sir *Henry Vane*'s Caſe, *Jan.* 9, 1659, before they ejected him, ſince their Vote againſt the ſecluded Members, which deſerved as much Right and Juſtice as he, if not far more, who joined with thoſe mutinous Army-Officers who excluded them. 6thly, If many be jointly or ſeverally accuſed, by Name, they are to make their joint or ſeveral Anſwers and Defences, and to receive their particular, joint, or ſeveral Cenſures pronounced by the Speaker in their Hearing at the Bar, as in Sir *H. Vane*'s late Caſe; All which Particulars failing in this general Vote againſt them all; the meaneſt of their Electors, and of thoſe for whom they ſerve (more injured by this Vote than themſelves) and all Judges, Lawyers, now ſitting with them, will pronounce their Vote moſt abſurd and void to all Intents, unworthy the Wiſdom, Juſtice and Gravity of thoſe who ſtile themſelves, *The Parliament?*

6. Whether the Ordinance publiſhed *Dec.* 15, 1648, in the Name of the Lords and Commons, againſt a *Proteſtation*, *Dec.* 11. 1648. printed in the Name of all the *ſecluded and ſecured Members* (though not ſubſcribed nor owned publickly by them, nor proved to be publiſhed by their Order or Privity) *diſabling all the ſecured and ſecluded Members to ſit any more during this Parliament* (which ſome pretend the chief Ground of their Ejection now, though never mentioned nor inſiſted on before) without naming, hearing, or diſabling any of thoſe Members in particular, or adjudging them the Authors of that *Proteſtation*, be not merely void and null to all Intents, being ſo general and indefinite, made only by three or four Lords, and fifty Commoners at moſt, ſitting under that very Force which then ſecluded, impriſoned the major Part both of the Lords and Commons Houſe, and ſo declared null and void by the Speaker's Letter, *July* 29, and the Ordinance of both Houſes, *Auguſt* 20, 1647? Whether the major Part of the Commons and Lords Houſe, then forcibly ſecluded, might not by Virtue of this Ordinance, as well as their Speaker *Lenthal*, by his Letter, and both Houſes by that Ordinance, declare all Proceedings, Votes and Ordinances in the reſpective Houſes, whereof they were Members, void and null to all Intents, during their forcible Seclusion, and the Force then put upon the Houſes, without any Offence or Crime at all deſerving Seclusion; and were not bound by their *Proteſtation*, *League and Covenant*, to do it, to preſerve their own, and the Houſe's Privileges, being the far greater Number of Members, five times more than thoſe who voted

* *Cook*'s 3 Inſtit. c. 101. 4 Inſtit. p. 15. to 25, 38, 39.

them

them out? it differing much from the *Proteſtation of ſome of the Biſhops* committed to the Tower for their *Proteſtation, Dec.* 1641. 1. Becauſe they were not forcibly ſecluded, as we. 2*dly*, Not the Majority of the Biſhops, much leſs of the Lords Houſe, as we. 3*dly*, They proteſted againſt all Proceedings whatſoever in both Houſes of Parliament, during their Abſence (not Seclusion) from the Houſe, as void and null, till their Reſtitution, not in the Lords Houſe alone, which was the chief, if not only Exception againſt their Proteſtation, though there was then no Force upon the Lords or Commons; but the Proteſtation in the ſecluded Members Names proteſted only againſt the Proceedings in the Commons Houſe, during their forcible ſecuring and ſecluding, and the Force upon thoſe that ſate. 4*thly*, They were heard in the Lords Houſe concerning it, before they were committed; but none of the ſecluded Members were ever yet heard before their Secluſion or Securing. 5*thly*, They were only impriſoned for their *Proteſtation*, during the Lords Houſe Pleaſure, not excluded and voted out of the Houſe during the Parliament. Upon all which Conſiderations, the Proceedings of the major Part of the Lords Houſe againſt them do no way warrant the Declaration of the Minority of the Commons Houſe and Lords, againſt the Majority of the Commons Houſe, then under a Force and ſecluded, and the Majority of the Lords Houſe together with them. All which the ſecluded Members preſume will fully ſatisfy thoſe for whom they ſerve, and the whole *Engliſh* Nation, World, and their Secluders too, of the Injuſtice of their former and late forcible Secluſions and Ejections, by their premiſed Orders, Votes; and vindicate the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, till they can meet together in Safety, to draw up a larger Declaration of their Caſe and unjuſt Anti-parliamentary Excluſion, without the Danger of a new Securing, being all ordered to be ſeized on at Mr. *Anſley*'s Houſe in *Drury-lane*, the 9th of this *January*, by a Party of forty Muſqueteers, and Captain commanding them, accompanied with one of the Serjeant's Men, who beſet and ſearched the Houſe to apprehend them, but that they were all departed thence before they came thither, and ſo eſcaped their Hands; the Cauſe of this brief Publication.

The ſecluded Members repute it very hard, and complain that they ſhould be thus frequently, and long ſecluded by Force, and many of them * impriſoned divers Years, and publickly excluded and ſlandered by their Fellow-Members Votes behind their Backs, without hearing, or the leaſt Admiſſion to vindicate their Innocency and the Juſtice of the Vote for which they are ſecluded, in the Houſe; and yet be ſearched after, and re-impriſoned and ſecured by armed Guards by Order of their Secluders, for endeavouring to vindicate their own Innocency, Parliamentary Rights, Privileges, and the Liberties of thoſe many Counties, Cities and Boroughs for which they ſerve without Doors, when as they cannot be admitted to it in the Houſe itſelf, unleſs they will firſt eat and retract their former Votes againſt their Conſciences, Privileges, and

* Mr. *Prynne* cloſe impriſoned in *Dunſter*, *Taunton*, and *Pendennis* Caſtle near two Years and ten Months; Sir *William Waller*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Major-General *Brown*, Commiſſary *Copley*, and Mr. *Walker*, near two Years or more, without Hearing or Cauſe expreſſed.

abjure their former Oaths, Proteſtation, Covenant, Declaration, by taking a new inforced Engagement: Whereupon they deſire their few Secluders to conſider the 1 *Cor.* xii. 14, &c. *For the Body is not one Member but many*, &c. *But now God hath ſet the Members every one of them in the Body, as it hath pleaſed him. And if they were all one Member, where were the Body? But now are they many* (not few) *Members, yet but one Body. And the Eye cannot ſay to the Hand, I have no Need of thee; nor again the Head to the Feet, I have no Need of them; nay, much more thoſe Members that ſeem to be more feeble are neceſſary*, &c. *That there ſhould be no Diviſion in the Body, but that the Members ſhould have the ſame Care one for another. And whether one Member* (much more when moſt of them) *ſuffer, all the Members ſuffer with it; or one Member be honoured, all the Members rejoice with it.* Which Conſideration, with that of *Matt.* vii. 12. *Therefore, whatſoever ye would that Men ſhould do unto you, do you even ſo to them, for this is the Law and the Prophets.* 1 *Theſſ.* iv. 6. *Let no Man over-reach, oppreſs, or defraud his Brother* (much leſs ſo many Brethren of Eminency) *in any Matter*, (eſpecially in their public parliamentary Truſts, Rights, Privileges) *becauſe the Lord is the Avenger of all ſuch, as we have forewarned and teſtified* (and their own double forcible Secluſion hath fully exemplified) might now, at laſt, convince them of, and convert them from their former Injuſtice and Violence, and make them more juſt and tender towards us than hitherto they have been, either as Chriſtians or *Engliſhmen*, who are Members of one and the ſelf-ſame Church, Kingdom, Parliament-Houſe, formerly united together in the ſtricteſt Bonds of Unity and Amity, though now ſadly divided by their Force and Fury, to the Ruin both of the Church, Kingdom, Parliament, and the Houſe itſelf whereof they were Fellow-Members.

CONSIDERATIONS humbly tendered by *Simon Mayne*, to ſhew that he was no Contriver of that horrid Action of the Death of the late King, but merely ſeduced and drawn into it by the Perſuaſion of others.

I. HIS own Weakneſs and natural Infirmities render him uncapable of being a Contriver or Promoter of any great or conſiderable Action whatſoever, much leſs of that wicked one.

II. When he was firſt nominated one of that illegal Court, he was out of Town, and altogether ignorant thereof; and therefore, upon his firſt Entrance into the Houſe (though he was ſenſible of his own Diſability to ſpeak in Parliament) yet through his natural Oppoſition againſt that Action, he preſumed to riſe, and would have ſpoke to excuſe himſelf from being one of that Court, which Mr. *Thomas Challoner*, one of the then Houſe, perceiving, laid Hands upon him, and prevented him from ſpeaking; threatening, that if he ſhould attempt

attempt to free himſelf therefrom, he would be taken for a Delinquent, and in Danger of Sequeſtration. And hath (ſince) often boaſted to others, that he was the Man that made Mr. *Mayne* a Man of Courage and Reſolution.

III. When the Tryal was, he (to avoid acting therein) did withdraw himſelf into *London*, pretending that he was ſick, and lodged privately at the Sign of the *Golden Horſeſhoe* in the *Old-Baily*, for ſome certain Days, ſo that he might not be involved in that horrid Action, hoping that the Buſineſs would have been over before his Return, which was not; and then he was perſuaded by ſome zealous Friends to go into the Court again, the laſt Day when the King was ſentenced.

IV. When he was in the *Painted Chamber* to ſign the Warrant, he was ſo diſquieted in his Conſcience, that though he ſaw above fifty ſign before him, yet he would not eaſily frame his Spirit to ſign with them; which one of the chief of that Number perceiving, calling to him, ſaid, *Here ſtands one afraid: What do you fear? Do not you ſee others go before you?* Hereby he was drawn, amongſt the reſt, to ſign it, much againſt his own Mind and Inclination.

V. That ever ſince that foul Act, he hath been ſo ſenſible of his great Offence therein, that he durſt not purchaſe any of the King's, Queen's, or any other public Lands whatſoever, to ſhew he did not perſiſt in Allowance or Juſtification of that Action, nor hath he enriched himſelf by the Ruin of others, or the public Troubles of the Kingdom.

VI. That he hath been ſo ſenſible of his great and heinous Crime, that though ſome (not knowing him to be involved therein) have in his Preſence freely, and with the greateſt Aggravations imaginable, ſpoke againſt both Act and Actors; yet his Conſcience was ſo afflicted with the Senſe of the Vileneſs of that Act, that he never made any Diſcovery of them, although, as the Times then were, he might have much advantaged himſelf thereby, as ſome now living can teſtify.

VII. That when there was a Search for the King's Party in *London*, about three Years ſince, and many fled into the Country to ſecure themſelves, he did privately ſecure, and ſend ſome of them to their own Houſes; Mr. *Digby*, by Name, was one, to the Hazard of his Eſtate by Sequeſtration, had it been known to the Committee of *Aliſbury*.

VIII. That he never was of any private Junto or ſecret Cabal, nor never took the Oath of Abjuration, being much diſſatisfied about it; nor was one of them that voted Non-addreſſes to his late Majeſty.

That notwithſtanding theſe his Conſiderations to extenuate, in a moral Senſe, his Guilt, and truly to repreſent himſelf no principal Actor or Contriver of that wicked Action, yet with the moſt unfeigned Sorrow of a truly penitent Heart, he doth acknowledge his late Sentence to be legal, and moſt juſt, and deſervedly inflicted upon him the moſt penitent of Sinners.

Votes, Reſolves, and Orders of the Parliament in the Year 1660, concerning the Priſoners in the *Tower*.

Monday, May 14th, 1660.

THE Queſtion being propounded, that the Number of ſeven, thoſe who ſate in Judgment upon the late King's Majeſty, when Sentence was given, be the Number who ſhall be excepted for Life and Eſtate out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion.

And the Queſtion being put that this Queſtion be now put, it paſſed with the Affirmative. And the main Queſtion being put, it was

Reſolved, That the Number of ſeven of thoſe who ſate in Judgment when Sentence was given upon the late King's Majeſty, be the Number who ſhall be excepted for Life and Eſtate out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion. Fol. 147.

Thurſday, May 31ſt, 1660.

Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee who prepared the former Proclamation againſt Popiſh Recuſants, to draw up a Form of a Proclamation to be preſented to the King's Majeſty, requiring the Perſons who ſate in Judgment upon the late King, when Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt him, to render themſelves by a Day, or elſe that they be excepted out of the Act of Oblivion for Life and Eſtate. Fol. 263.

Saturday, June 2d, 1660.

Mr. *Prynne* reports a Proclamation, requiring the ſeveral Perſons who ſate upon the late King when Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt him, to render themſelves within fourteen Days next after the publiſhing of this Proclamation, or elſe to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon, Oblivion, and Indemnity, which was this Day read the firſt and ſecond Time, and agreed unto to be the Form of a Proclamation to be preſented to the King's Majeſty. Fol. 273.

Monday, June 4th, 1660.

Mr. *Prynne* reports, That according to the Commands of this Houſe, he carried to the Lords the Proclamation againſt the Perſons who ſate in Judgment againſt the late King when Sentence of Death was given againſt him, and brings Anſwer that the Lords do agree thereunto. Fol. 290.

Tueſday, June 5th, 1660.

Reſolved, That the ſeven Perſons who by former Order are to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon for Life and Eſtate, be named here in this Houſe. Fol. 295.

Reſolved, That *Thomas Harriſon* be one of the ſeven Perſons to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon for Life and Eſtate. Fol. 266.

Wedneſday, June 6th, 1660.

Reſolved, That *William Say* be one of the ſeven Perſons to be excepted out of the Act for general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Eſtate. Fol. 300.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, upon the Queſtion, That *John Jones* be one of the ſeven Perſons to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Eſtate. Fol. 300.

Reſolved, That *Thomas Scott* be one of the ſeven Perſons to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Eſtate. Fol. 301.

Reſolved, That *Cornelius Holland* be one of the ſeven Perſons to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Eſtate. Fol. 302.

Reſolved, That *John Liſle* be one of the ſeven Perſons to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Eſtate. Fol. 302.

Reſolved, That *John Barkſtead* be one of the ſeven Perſons to be excepted out of this Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Eſtate. Fol. 303.

Thurſday, June 7th, 1660.

Reſolved, That *John Cooke,* Eſq; be excepted out of this Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Eſtate. Fol. 305.

Reſolved, That *Edward Dendy* be excepted out of this Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Eſtate. Fol. 305.

Friday, June 8th, 1660.

Reſolved, That the Number of twenty, and no more (other than thoſe that are already excepted, or who ſate as Judges upon the late King's Majeſty) ſhall be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion, for and in reſpect only of ſuch Pains, Penalties and Forfeitures (not extending to Life) as ſhall be thought fit to be inflicted on them, by another Act intended to be paſſed hereafter for that Purpoſe. Fol. 317.

Saturday, June 9th, 1660.

Reſolved,
That Sir *Hardreſſe Waller,*
Valentine Walton,
Edward Whalley,
Iſaac Ewers,
Sir *John Danvers,*
Sir *Thomas Maliverer,*
Sir *John Bourchier,*
William Heveningham,
Iſaac Pennington,
Henry Martin,
William Purefoy,
John Blakiſton,
Gilbert Millington,
Sir *William Conſtable,* Baronet,
Edmund Ludlow,
Sir *Michael Liveſey,* Baronet,
Robert Tichborne,
Owen Row,
Robert Lilborn,
Richard Dean,
John Okey,
John Hughſon,
William Goffe,
John Carew,
Miles Corbett,
Francis Allen,
Peregrin Pelham,
John Moor,
John Aldred,
Henry Smith,
Humphrey Edwards,
Gregory Clement,
Thomas Wogan,
Sir *Gregory Norton,* Baronet,
Edmund Harvey,
John Venn,
Thomas Andrews, Alderman of *London,*
William Cawley,
Anthony Stapeley,
John Downs,
Thomas Horton,
Thomas Hammond,

Nicholas

Nicholas Love,
Vincent Potter,
Auguſtine Garland,
John Dixwell,
George Fleetwood,
Simon Mayne,
James Temple,
Peter Temple,
Daniel Blagrave,
Thomas Wait,

be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion, for and in reſpect only of ſuch Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures (not extending to Life) as ſhall be thought fit to be inflicted on them, by another Act intended to be hereafter paſſed for that Purpoſe. Fol. 325.

By the KING, a PROCLAMATION,

To ſummon the Perſons therein named, who ſate, gave Judgment, and aſſiſted in that horrid and deteſtable Murder of his Majeſty's Royal Father of bleſſed Memory, to appear and render themſelves within fourteen Days, under Pain of being excepted from Pardon.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all our loving Subjects of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, greeting. We taking Notice, by the Information of our Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, of the moſt horrid and execrable Treaſon and Murder committed upon the Perſon, and againſt the Life, Crown, and Dignity of our late Royal Father CHARLES the Firſt, of bleſſed Memory: And that *John Liſle*, *William Say*, Eſquires, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, *Valentine Walton*, *Edward Whalley*, Eſquires, Sir *John Bourchier*, Knight, *William Heveningham*, Eſquire, *Iſaac Pennington*, Alderman of *London*, *Henry Martin*, *John Barkſtead*, *Gilbert Millington*, *Edmund Ludlow*, *John Hutchinſon*, Eſquires, Sir *Michael Liveſay*, Baronet, *Robert Tichborn*, *Owen Roe*, *Robert Lilburn*, *Adrian Scroop*, *John Okey*, *John Hewſon*, *William Goff*, *Cornelius Holland*, *John Carew*, *Miles Corbet*, *Henry Smith*, *Thomas Wogan*, *Edmund Harvey*, *Thomas Scott*, *William Cawley*, *John Downs*, *Nicholas Love*, *Vincent Potter*, *Auguſtine Garland*, *John Dixwel*, *George Fleetwood*, *Simon Mayne*, *James Temple*, *Peter Temple*, *Daniel Blagrave*, and *Thomas Wait*, Eſquires, being deeply guilty of that moſt deteſtable and bloody Treaſon, in ſitting upon and giving Judgment againſt the Life of our Royal Father; and alſo *John Cooke*, who was employed therein as Sollicitor, *Andrew Broughton* and *John Phelps*, who were employed under the ſaid Perſons as Clerks, and *Edward Dendy* who attended them as Sergeant at Arms, have, out of the Senſe of their own Guilt, lately fled and obſcured themſelves, whereby they cannot be apprehended and brought to a perſonal and legal Trial for their ſaid Treaſons, according to Law: We do therefore, by the Advice of our ſaid Lords and Commons, command, publiſh and declare, by this our Proclamation, That all and every the Perſons before named, ſhall, within fourteen Days next after the publiſhing of this our Royal Proclamation, perſonally appear and render

render themſelves to the Speaker or Speakers of our Houſe of Peers or Commons, or unto the Lord Mayor of our City of *London*, or to the Sheriffs of our reſpective Counties of *England* and *Wales*, under Pain of being excepted from any Pardon or Indemnity, both for their reſpective Lives and Eſtates: And that no Perſon or Perſons ſhall preſume to harbour or conceal any the Perſons aforeſaid, under Pain of Miſpriſion of High Treaſon.

Given at our Court at *Whitehall*, the 6th Day of *June* 1660, in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.

Saturday, June 9th, 1660.

Mr. Speaker acquaints the Houſe, that Mr. *William Heveningham* had rendered himſelf to him.

Reſolved, That *William Heveningham*, Eſq; do remain in the Cuſtody of the Sergeant at Arms attending this Houſe, till this Houſe take further Order. Fol. 318.

June 13th, 1660.

Mr. Speaker acquaints the Houſe, that Colonel *Thomas Wayte*, Mr. *Simon Mayne*, and Mr. *Peter Temple* had rendered themſelves, *&c.*

Ordered, That the Commitment of the ſaid three Perſons be, and is, hereby approved. Fol. 338.

Saturday, June 16th, 1660.

Mr. Speaker acquainted the Houſe, That Alderman *Robert Tychborne*, Colonel *George Fleetwood*, and *James Temple* have rendered themſelves according to his Majeſty's Proclamation.

Ordered, That the Commitment of the ſaid Perſons accordingly to the Sergeant at Arms be, and hereby is, approved by this Houſe. Fol. 347.

June 18th, 1660.

Mr. Speaker acquainted the Houſe, That Sir *John Bourchier* Colonel, *Owen Roe*, and Colonel *Robert Lilborne*, had rendered themſelves according to the King's Proclamation.

Ordered, That this Houſe doth approve of the Commitment of Sir *John Bourchier* Colonel, *Owen Roe*, and Colonel *Robert Lilborne*, to the Sergeant at Arms attending this Houſe. Fol. 354.

Tueſday, June 19th, 1660.

Mr. Speaker acquaints the Houſe, That Colonel *Adrian Scroope*, Mr. *Auguſtine Garland*, Colonel *Edmund Harvey* and Mr. *Henry Smith*, four of thoſe that ſate as Judges upon the late King's Majeſty, rendered themſelves according to his Majeſty's Proclamation.

Ordered, That this Houſe doth approve of the Commitment of the ſaid Perſons, and that they ſo continue till further Order. Fol. 364.

June 19th, 1660.

The Houſe being informed, That Colonel *John Downes*, who ſate as one of the Judges of the late King, is ſeized and ſecured by the Lord General's Order.

Ordered, That the ſaid Colonel *Downes* be forthwith put into the Charge and Cuſtody of the Sergeant at Arms attending this Houſe, and ſo to continue till further Order. Fol. 365.

Wedneſday, June 20th, 1660.

Mr. Speaker acquaints the Houſe, that Colonel *Henry Martin* rendred himſelf according to his Majeſty's Proclamation.

Ordered, That this Houſe doth approve of the Commitment of Colonel *Henry Martin* to the Sergeant at Arms attending this Houſe, and that he ſo continue till this Houſe take further Order. Fol. 373.

Monday, Auguſt 6th, 1660.

Reſolved, That this Houſe doth approve of what the Sergeant at Arms, attending this Houſe hath done, in taking good Security of all the reſpective Perſons committed to his Cuſtody, who ſate in the late pretended High Court of Juſtice, when Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt the late King *Charles* of bleſſed Memory, according to a Liſt now given in, and remaining with the Clerk of this Houſe. Fol. 602.

An ABSTRACT of Part of *Smith*'s Articles and Charge (in his Majeſty's Behalf) againſt Serjeant *Northfolk*, Eſq;

THAT Mr. *Northfolk*, by taking Bail for Murder and Treaſon, againſt the Laws of this Kingdom, *Ludlow* made his Eſcape; and the ſaid *Ludlow* being unlawfully ſet at Liberty by the Means of the ſaid *Northfolk*, the ſaid *Northfolk* is guilty of Treaſon by the Common Law. 1 *H.* VI. *Fol.* 5.

That the ſaid *Northfolk* ſet at Liberty all or moſt of thoſe Traitors that rendred themſelves according to his Majeſty's Proclamation of the Sixth of *June*, 1660.

That *Northfolk* would not ſeize upon Colonel *Joyce* when he was ſhewed unto him in the Lobby. 22 *Edw.* III. *Fol.* 48.

That the ſaid *Northfolk* held Correſpondency with Traitors, during the Time he was Sergeant to the laſt Parliament, by ſending Word privately what paſſed in the Houſe againſt them before they rendred themſelves to be his Priſoners. 25 *Edw.* III. *cap.* 2.

That if Mr. *Northfolk* cannot prove the Revealing and Delivering of thoſe Goods (before the 29th of *September*, 1660.) which he is now charged withal, he hath diſobeyed his Majeſty's Proclamation of the 14th of *Auguſt*, 1660.

That the ſaid *Northfolk*, by concealing Traitors, after the Sixth of *June*, 1660. is guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon by his Majeſty's Proclamation of the Sixth of *June*, 1660.

That the ſaid *Northfolk*, after he had got vaſt Sums of Money, by taking Bail for Murder and Treaſon; the Sixth of *Auguſt*, being two Months after ſuch his taking Bail as aforeſaid, moved the Honourable Houſe of Commons to allow of what he had done in his taking Bail as aforeſaid, pretending to their

their Honours, that he had not Priſon-room enough to keep his Priſoners in: And the ſaid Honourable Houſe of Commons (not knowing of the treacherous Actions of the ſaid *Northfolk*) upon the ſaid *Northfolk*'s Pretence aforeſaid, reſolved to approve of what he had done, in taking good Security, *&c.* which good Security the ſaid *Northfolk* had not taken, and therefore is not protected under that Order: And the ſaid *Northfolk*, at the time when he moved the Houſe as aforeſaid upon his falſe Pretence aforeſaid, had *Lambeth-houſe* for his Priſon, which would have held three hundred Priſoners more than he had at that Time in his Cuſtody; whereby it plainly appears that the ſaid *Northfolk* having involved himſelf into Multiplicity of Treaſons, upon his falſe Pretence aforeſaid, moved the Houſe for ſuch an Order colourably to clear himſelf if he could.

That Mr. *Northfolk* taking Advantage of the preceding Time limited in the Act of Indemnity, committed moſt of the Treaſons charged againſt him: In the Interval of Time, between the Date of his Majeſty's Declaration of the $\frac{4}{14}$ *April* from *Breda*, and the Date of his Majeſty's gracious Act of Indemnity; and by his Majeſty's Proclamation of the Fifteenth of *June*, 1660. (wherein his Majeſty declared the granting of his full and general Pardon to all his Subjects of what Degree or Quality ſoever, who within forty Days after the publiſhing of his Majeſty's Declaration aforeſaid, ſhould lay hold upon that his Grace and Favour, and ſhould by any public Act declare their doing ſo; and that they returned to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects (excepting only ſuch Perſons as ſhould be excepted by Parliament) *&c.* That no Crime whatſoever, committed againſt his Majeſty that now is, or his late Father of bleſſed Memory, before the Publication thereof, ſhould ever riſe in Judgment, or be brought in queſtion againſt any of them, *&c.* The ſaid *Northfolk* (after the Honourable Houſe of Commons aſſembled in Parliament, in the Behalf of themſelves, and all the Commons of *England*, *&c.* laid hold upon his Majeſty's free and general Pardon according to his Majeſty's Declaration aforeſaid, and upon which Declaration the Act of Indemnity being grounded) committing moſt of thoſe Treaſons charged againſt him, long after the Time limited in the ſaid Declaration, ought not to be comprehended either in Declaration, Proclamation, or Act of Indemnity, but be anſwerable to the Laws of this Kingdom, as if the Declaration, Proclamation, and Act of Indemnity had never been granted and publiſhed.

JOHN SMITH.

And for further Manifeſtation of the precedent Articles, I humbly preſent theſe enſuing Acts and Statutes unto your grave Judgments.

TO ſet at large unlawfully any Priſoners that are committed to Priſon, Ward, or Cuſtody for Treaſon, is Treaſon by the Common Law. 1 *Hen.* VI. *Fol.* 5.

To be adhering to the King's Enemies, aiding them, or giving them Comfort in his Realm, or elſewhere, is High Treaſon. 25 *Edw.* III. *cap.* 2.

To ſuccour the King's Enemies is Treaſon. 22 *Edw.* III. *Fol.* 48.

To conceal and keep ſecret any High-Treaſon, is Miſpriſion of Treaſon.

Note, That the Counſellors, Procurers, Conſenters, Abetters, and Aiders to any of the aforenamed Treaſons, be all within the Compaſs and Danger of High-Treaſon; for in Treaſons all Offenders be Principal. *Stamf.* III. *p.* 2, 4, 5, 6. 19 *Hen.* VI. 27.

An APPEAL to the Parliament, concerning the Poor, that there may not be a *Beggar* in *ENGLAND.*

Printed in the Year 1660.

IN the midſt of many and great Undertakings, let not a Settlement for the Poor be forgotten, but revive, add, and execute all wholſome Laws, and encourage all good Means to ſupply poor People with Labour and Relief, and ſo prevent the ill Breeding, wicked Life and bad End that many Thouſands have fallen into through Idleneſs: To this End, give Order, that the enſuing *Plat-form* may be fully executed: Although this Thing be warrantable, yet if there be not an abſolute Neceſſity laid on them (whom it doth concern) to execute their Office, this Work may fail and come to little or nothing, notwithſtanding the Means may be ſufficient; but if carried on as it ought, the Cure is certain, no Beggar in *Iſrael.*

The PLAT-FORM, *or* Way *how poor People may be ſupplied with Labour and Relief.*

EVery Pariſh, according to the various Places and Employments, and as their Poor are increaſed, agree with ſome able Man or Men that rightly underſtandeth their Work, that may undertake, and by the Pariſh be aſſiſted.

I. To take Notice how many *old*, *impotent*, and *young Children* be in the Pariſh, and ſupply them by Collection; and alſo help ſuch whoſe Labour is not ſufficient to yield them Maintenance: But if any in the Pariſh want Employment, that are able to work, ſet them to work according to the wholſome Laws of the Nation.

II. To take the moſt orderly Way for the manner of doing, according to the Variety of Places and Kinds of Work: If there be twenty Perſons in a Country Village that want Employment, then the Pariſh agree with ſome Clothier, Stuff, or Stocking-maker, to furniſh them with ſo much Work as they can do; ſo in great Towns, and Places of Cloathing, one Clothier take Ten, another Twenty, being brought in by Authority; for though there may be Work enough, yet the Idle will not come for it; to have Work and want Government, is as if they wanted Work; ſome Pariſhes have Means enough, and yet the Poor want Work, Food, and Government.

So

So in great Cities, where is much Trading on Silk, Wool, Hair, Winding, Weaving, Button-making, *&c.* every Pariſh, or Diviſion, agree with ſome Tradeſman, or Men, to provide for Ten or Twenty as aforeſaid, and ſo may riſe to Hundreds or Thouſands by the ſame Rule; ſo in Pariſhes where the Poor are much encreaſed, and have no Trade, or where ſome great Trade is wholly decayed, there ſome other is to be ſought for with Diſcretion: In Pariſhes where are no Poor, their Account is ſoon given, and they fit to help others. Some near *London* ſaid, they had not a Beggar dwelling in their Pariſh, and yet have had thirty Travelling Beggars in one Week.

III. To ſettle a poor Man's Office. *Firſt*, where Handicraftſmen and Labourers that want Work, and ſuch as want Workmen, may enquire. *Secondly*, where Boys that would, or are fit to go Apprentice, may enquire of Maſters; and ſuch as want Servants in City or Country, or whom they have ſpoken to, may enquire. *Thirdly*, where Maids that would, or are fit to go Apprentices, or Covenant-Servants, or ſome that want ſuch, may enquire; but none to be put to Service until they be firſt taught to Spin, Knit, Sew, learn ſome Trade, or Way of Livelihood; who elſe are neither fit for Service, nor can in After-times do any thing for themſelves. *Fourthly*, where all poor People that are in Diſtreſs, or Danger of periſhing, may make their Condition known, that Means may be uſed to ſupply their Wants.

IV. That all Perſons whatſoever may have free Acceſs and Acceptance without Moleſtation, to give in true Information concerning any Neglect of the Poor, to any in Authority, Juſtice of the Peace, or any in Power, as there may be Cauſe: And that every one that neglecteth his Duty, reſtore to the Poor ſo much as they have done them Wrong; and that Diſtreſs be made, if they refuſe to pay preſently.

V. That all Judges of Aſſizes and Seſſions, lay open the ſad Condition of the Poor in their Charge, and what the Law provides, and take Accompt what is done, and receive all true Informations concerning any Neglect of the Poor, and ſee the Penalty juſtly executed. The Law is made for the Lawleſs and Diſobedient.

VI. That no poor People be denied their former Liberty, nor ſtrict Courſe taken againſt them, until ſome good Means be uſed to ſupply their Wants.

Much might be added concerning the Means how there may be Work enough; how to order Things to the beſt Advantage in Cities, Towns, and Villages; how to take a Liſt, or the juſt Numbers in great Cities, Out ſtreets, and Alleys, Tenants, In-tenants and In-mates, where may be many periſh, many idle hard to be found, and ſettled in order; how to encounter with the great Charge this may amount unto; but honeſt Labour and good Government may ſave the Rich from Charge, and the Poor from Hunger. And to ſpeak to Particulars may be more ſeaſonable when this Work is come into Practice, and more ſuitable to the divers Places, Perſons, and various Kinds of Trading. If any object the Trouble: To have ſuch Multitudes of Beggars in this fruitful Kingdom, Is not that Trouble? To hear them cry, and not give, Is not that Trouble? To hear their Cry, and give, is Trouble alſo; not knowing whether it doth Good or Harm: But if every Pariſh keep to their own, the Condition

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of the Poor may be known. I have conſidered of Cities, Towns and Villages, but no Place have I found where this *Plat-form* may not be ſuitable, with little or no Alteration; although it be ſhort, it concludes enough to effect the Work, and with little Trouble or Charge, in compariſon of ſome Propoſals concerning the Poor; and being faithfully executed, there may not be a Beggar in *England*, which is the Deſire and Hope of one that hath no Intention of Evil to any, but wiſheth the Good of all, who, having been many Years exerciſed among the Poor, and much deſired their Good, and through long Experience have ſeen the Ground of their Miſery, the Eaſineſs of the Remedy, and the Benefit. *T. L.*

POSTSCRIPT.

THIS Work of Charity doth not concern Parliament-men and Officers for the Poor only, but all other in Authority to exerciſe their Power in their reſpective Places, for the general Good: And all, not in Authority alſo, rich Men to encourage it every Way, being beſt able; and the middle Sort do their Endeavour, leſt they, like ſmall Iron Creepers in a Chimney, who bear the Burden and Heat of the Fire, until they be waſted to Cinders; and the Poor to avoid Idleneſs, which is oftentimes the Cauſe of begging, and hearken to the Counſel of the wiſe Man, Eccleſiaſticus xl. My Son, lead not a Beggar's Life, for better it is to die than to beg, *ver.* 28. The Life of him that dependeth on another Man's Table, is not to be accounted a Life, *ver.* 29. Begging is ſweet in the Mouth of the Shameleſs, but in their Belly there burns a Fire, *ver.* 30. *That this* Plat-form, *or ſome other, may be put in Practice when the Days lengthen is likely, becauſe of the Neceſſity, and cannot ſafely with good Conſcience be wholly omitted; but that all join in the Execution, there lieth the Streſs. Many good Things have been began, but Men being ſelfiſh, careleſs, aud unconſtant, the Work hath failed. I have in ſome meaſure unloaded my own Conſcience in this Thing, and laid it before others, that all might be clear from the Cry of the Poor; but he that ſtoppeth his Ears at the Cry of the Poor, he alſo ſhall cry and not be heard.* T. L.

The PETITION of *Henry Smyth.*

SIR,

THE deep Remorſe of my heinous Crime, with the gracious Tender of Mercy by his Majeſty and Parliament, tendered to all who ſhould render themſelves, according to his Majeſty's Proclamation, encourageth me, Sir, to implore your Chriſtian Charity to be found an Object fit for your Pity and Compaſſion; and that by your Favour with his gracious Majeſty and Parliament, I may receive his Royal Grace and Favour for a poor unhappy Life; which, through the Aſſiſtance of GOD, ſhall be improved in praying for the Happineſs of his Royal Majeſty, the Parliament, and your Self in particular, by, *SIR,*

Your poor Petitioner and humble Servant,

HENRY SMYTH.

The

The humble Tender of ſome Conſiderations by the ſaid Henry Smyth.

I. THE high Proceedings of the Army in the impriſoning and forcible keeping out of ſeveral Members of the Houſe, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the reſt.

II. That when any did but make their Deſire to be excuſed from the Commands of the Houſe, in relation to their attending the pretended High Court, they were ſharply reproved and menaced, of being ſent to the *Tower*, and Sequeſtration, by thoſe who then had the greateſt Influence upon the Army and Parliament; who alſo procured ſeveral ſtrict Orders of the Houſe, for all whom they had named therein to give their Attendance.

III. That the ſaid *Henry Smyth* neither adviſed, contrived, or deſigned the Death of his late Majeſty; nor had at any time any murderous or malicious Thoughts or Intentions towards his Royal Perſon; nor had at any time any Thing to do in thoſe ſecret Councils and Contrivances, acted either in Parliament or Army; but by his relying upon the Advice and Direction (for the Conduct of all his Affairs) of ſuch Perſons as he unhappily deemed no leſs honeſt than ſkilful, was miſguided and cozened into ſuch overt Acts, as in the Eye of the Law made him guilty of ſuch murderous and malicious Thoughts and Intentions, as he doth, and ever did, from his very Soul abhor.

IV. That he was at the ſame time very young, and ignorant of the Laws, and, in reſpect of the high Actings in the Army and Parliament, was forced, with others, to ſit in the ſaid pretended High Court, againſt their Freedom and Wills.

V. That he hath been always ready to ſhew what Civility was in his Power to his Majeſty's Friends; and that he never took the Oath of Abjuration.

The State of the CASE of *Edmund Harvy*, Priſoner in the *Tower* of *London*, condemned to die.

Printed in the Year 1660.

I. THAT he rendered himſelf upon the Faith and Confidence he had in his Majeſty's gracious Proclamation, publiſhed by Advice of the Lords and Commons, dated the 6th of *June*, 1660.

II. That he not being ſenſible of the Danger of appearing in ſuch an Aſſembly, did, for ſome time, attend the pretended High Court of Juſtice for the Trial of his late Majeſty, ſincerely intending to improve his utmoſt Power to divert their Proceedings againſt him; the which he heartily endeavoured: And when he (with ſuch as he had procured to join with him) could not diſſuade, he did declare his Abhorrency thereof, and deſerted the ſaid pretended High Court, refuſing any more to be preſent, to conſent, order, or ſign, or ſeal with

with them, though thereunto preſſed by Summons and earneſt Solicitations, as was witneſſed by Perſons of good Quality and Credit before his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, upon his late Trial at *Newgate*, as is hereafter ſet forth, and which they are again ready to atteſt.

UPON the Requeſt of *Edmund Harvy*, I *Thomas Langham* Citizen and Mercer of *London*, do hereby humbly certify, That I being called as a Witneſs before his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, upon the Trial of the ſaid *Edmund Harvy*, at the late Gaol-delivery of *Newgate*, did then and there, *viz.* the 16th Day of *October* 1660, before the ſaid Commiſſioners, and the Jury, teſtify as followeth, That I being *anno* 1648, an Apprentice unto *Edmund Sleigh*, late Alderman of the City of *London*, and Copartner unto the ſaid *Edmund Harvy*, he the ſaid *Edmund Harvy*, in the Evening of the Day, being *Friday* next before the Sentence againſt his late Majeſty paſſed, came (as uſually he did) unto the Houſe of my aforeſaid Maſter, being then in *Cheapſide*, *London*, and I being then preſent, heard my ſaid Maſter aſk him what News there was at the High Court of Juſtice for the Trial of the King? Unto which he anſwered, Very bad News, for (as far as he perceived) many of the Court would endeavour the next Day to paſs a Sentence againſt the King, which he ſaid he would endeavour to hinder, and would, to his utmoſt, labour to prevent. And the next Day, being *Saturday* in the Evening, he came again unto my ſaid Maſter's Houſe, I being then alſo preſent, heard him tell my ſaid Maſter, That his Majeſty had been that Day at the Court, and though he would not own them as a Court, yet would propound an Expedient unto them for the ſettling of the Peace of his Kingdoms, which was by his Majeſty propounded before the Sentence paſſed, and was, that they would be inſtrumental to get his two Houſes of Parliament to meet, that he might have a Conference with them for the Purpoſe aforeſaid. And the ſaid *Edmund Harvy* further ſaid, That he had endeavoured all that in him lay, that his Majeſty's Expedient might be embraced, and that no Sentence might have been paſſed, but could not prevail; and further declared his Diſſent to, and Abhorrency of, that Sentence, and the Court's Proceedings therein. And farther ſaid, That his Deteſtation thereof was ſuch, as that he would never give his Conſent, or ſign, or ſeal thereunto, or otherwiſe meet, conſult with, or come amongſt them.

THOMAS LANGHAM.

UPON the Requeſt of *Edmund Harvy*, nominated by the then Power, to be one of the pretended High Court of Juſtice for the Trial of his late Majeſty, I *Edward Corbet*, Miniſter of *Northreppes* in the County of *Norfolk* (being then one of the Aſſembly of Divines) do hereby humbly certify, That about two Days before the Death of his late Majeſty, the ſaid *Edmund Harvy* invited me to dine with him at a Victualling-houſe near *St. Margaret's*, *Weſtminſter*, when, and where, to my full and perfect Remembrance, he acquainted me with his Majeſty's Advice (before Sentence paſſed againſt him) That the Commiſſioners would get his two Houſes together, that he might have a Conference with them for the ſettling the Peace of his Kingdoms; and that he

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the ſaid *Edmund Harvy* was ſo convinced and rectified thereby, that he laboured to prevent the paſſing the ſaid Sentence (but could not) and ſeriouſly expreſſed great Reluctancy againſt the Court's Proceedings, and much Grief and Trouble that the King's Advice was not accepted, and the ſaid Sentence laid aſide, paſſionately abhorring any ſuch Act as the Murder of his Majeſty, under the Appearance of an High Court of Juſtice. And declaring that he had been, with much Earneſtneſs, preſſed to come unto the ſaid Court to join with the ſaid Commiſſioners, in ordering, ſigning, and ſealing a Warrant for the Execution of the ſaid Sentence (which, he ſaid, he would never do) and to avoid further Temptations and Solicitations thereunto, took me on Purpoſe to bear him Company, and kept himſelf in the aforeſaid Place privately, when and where he deſired my Advice and Opinion, as to himſelf and his Actings contrary to the Court's aforeſaid Proceedings, in which, according to my Abilities, I did not only comfort him in ſo acting, but laboured to confirm his Perſeverance in thoſe his loyal Reſolutions, adviſing him not to enter into the Secrets of thoſe Men. And I do further certify, That there was alſo then preſent, which heard the aforeſaid Diſcourſe, one Mr. *Adoniram Byfield*, then Miniſter of *Fulham*. And, laſtly, I do certify, That when I was called before a Committee of Parliament, for vindicating myſelf by Name in Print, from giving the leaſt Advice or Countenance unto the Production of an Impiety ſo monſtrous as the murdering of his Royal Majeſty (a Prince of incomparable Perfections) the ſaid *Edmund Harvy* afforded me all Favour and Aſſiſtance for my Releaſe and Quiet.

The which, for the whole Subſtance, and all the material Parts thereof, I teſtified before the Lords, the King's Juſtices, and the Jury, the 16*th of the ſaid* October, *at the Trial of the ſaid* Edmund Harvy.

EDWARD CORBET.
EDM. HARVY.

A DECLARATION of the Nobility, Knights and Gentry of the County of *Oxon*, which have adhered to the late King.

Printed in the Year 1660.

SINCE after a bloody War, followed by its worſt Effects, *Confuſion*, *Violence*, and *Fanatic Fury*, it hath pleaſed Almighty God, by unexpected *Methods*, to bring us not only within Hope, but even in View of *Settlement*: And that his Excellency the Lord General *Monck*, the glorious and immediate *Inſtrument* of Providence in this great Work, through his heroic *Courage*, *Conduct*, and *Moderation*, hath brought Affairs to that Paſs, that there is ſcarce any Thing left for other Hands, but to lay hold of, and receive

their *Happineſs*: Unleſs we had been miſrepreſented as Bars to this *Felicity*, by falſe Apprehenſions, we ſhould not, at this Inſtant, have appeared in public: So that the *Enemies* of this Nation's Peace, traducing *us* as Perſons *implacable* and ſtudious of *Revenge*, have at once laid an Obligation upon *us* to *vindicate* ourſelves by *renouncing* ſo unworthy a Suggeſtion, and an Opportunity of ſerving the Public, by removing thoſe Pretenſions for *Diffidence* and *Jealouſy*, which (as Things now ſtand) are the only *Hinderance* of that perfect *Union*, which cannot fail to bring the Nation to a *happy Settlement*.

Upon which *Ground*, we have thought it fitting to declare, that we do *diſclaim*, and with perfect Deteſtation *diſown* all Purpoſe of *Revenge*, or *partial Remembrance* of Things paſt.

Likewiſe, we deſire, that in whatſoever any of us have *diſobliged* either the *Public*, or any *private Perſon*, we may partake from them that *Oblivion* which we ſo readily *diſpenſe*.

Moreover, we promiſe and engage to *acquieſce* in the Determinations of enſuing Parliaments, reſolving, in our ſeveral Stations, to *compoſe* ourſelves thereunto with chearful vigorous *Obedience*.

Laſtly, We are reſolved perfectly to forget all *Names* of Difference, excepting thoſe, which the more active Endeavours of *Charity* and *Peace* ſhall give unto *us*, who have this Strife alone to manage, the being *outdone* by none in *Friendſhip*, *Love*, and *Condeſcenſion*.

Subſcribed by

Earl of *Lyndſey*,
Earl of *Downe*,
Lord *John Lovelace*,
Sir *Baniham Throgmorton*, Knight and Baronet,
Thomas Pope, Knight,
William Walter, Baronet,
Sir *Chicheſter Wrey*, Knight,
Sir *Timothy Tyrril*, Knight,
Samuel Sandys, Colonel,
Brome Whorwood, Eſquire,
Thomas Whorwood, Eſquire,
Captain *William Whorwood*,
Colonel *Francis Lovelace*,
Colonel *Henry Heylyn*,
William Sheappard, Eſquire,
Major *Francis Moore*,
Captain *John Peacocke*,
Captain *Peter Langſton*,
Francis Langſton, Eſquire,
Samuel Walbanck, Eſquire,
Captain *William Gannocke*,
Richard Baily, D. D.
Richard Gardner, D. D.
Thomas James, Gent.
H. H. Corney, Gent.
Richard Powel, Eſquire,
William Hopton, Gent.
Captain *James Aſton*,
Samuel Jackſon, M. D.
John Fell, M. A.
John Machin, Gent.
Thomas Lodge, Gent.
John Lamphire, M. D.
Captain *John Smith*,
William Wickham, Eſquire,
William Knowles, Eſquire,
John Dolben, Gent.
John Parſons, Gent.
Captain *Walter Jones*.

To the KING's Moſt Excellent MAJESTY,

AND THE

LORDS and COMMONS now aſſembled in PARLIAMENT,

The humble Petition of the Priſoners for Debt,

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners and their Sureties being diſabled by the late inteſtine War, and by the Caſualties thereof made incapable of Payment of their Debts; yet notwithſtanding, to the utter Ruin of your Petitioners, their Perſons have, and are arreſted by *Capias*, Bills of *Middleſex*, and *Latitates*, as well upon feigned Actions as real, and caſt into noiſome Gaols and Dungeons, to be tormented and enſlaved by the Keepers and Gaolers, by whoſe Cruelties all your Petitioners had, is by unlimited Fees extorted and wreſted from them, to the abſolute Beggary and Perdition of your Petitioners, their Wives and Children, contrary to the Laws of God, Nature, moſt Nations, the *Magna Charta*, *Petition of Right*, and other the known Laws of this Land.

Wherefore your Petitioners pray, That their ſad and languiſhing Condition may be conſidered and redreſſed, and your Petitioners, now in Durance for Debt, may be ſet at Liberty, and all Arreſts for the future taken away; that Impriſonment may not obſtruct their Endeavours, either at preſent or hereafter; but that they may have their Liberty, and Induſtries for Payment of their Debts, as God ſhall enable them; (eſpecially now in this Day of England's *great Jubilee and univerſal Grace extended to all Offenders and Offences) your Petitioners being chargeable with no other Crimes but Poverty (occaſioned by the Diſtractions aforeſaid) may not be the only Perſons caſt off, and ſet by, as incapable either of Memory or Mercy.*

And your Petitioners, *&c.*

REASONS *offered in order to the paſſing an Act of Parliament againſt Impriſonment by Arreſts upon the Writs of* Capias, *Bills of* Middleſex *and* Latitates.

ALL Pleas are either (*a*) *placita coronæ*, otherwiſe called *criminalia*, or *communia*, otherwiſe called *civilia*.

In all criminal Cauſes whereto the King was always a Party, the Bodies of Men at the Common Law, were ſubject to Arreſts and Impriſonments; ſo where the Action was *vi & armis*, a *Capias* lay in (*b*) Proceſs, and in ſuch

(*a*) *Mirror.* cap. 1. Sect. 4. *Stamf.* l. pl. cor. f. 1. *Cook* 2 Inſtit. f. 22. (*b*) Sir *William Herbert's*, c. 3. Rept. *Cook* 2 Inſtit. f. 394.

Caſe a *Capias* lay after Judgment, the King might have a *Capas pro fine*; and where a Man was a Debtor or Accomptant to the King, his Body, Goods and Land, were liable to the Execution of the King.

Mr. *Kitchin* ſaith, That (*c*) by the ancient Common Law of the Land, the Proceſs in Common Pleas, was Summons, Attachment, and Diſtreſs infinite, the *Diſtringas* being ſucceſſively diſtant fifteen Days one from another.

At the Common Law, where the Subject recovered a Judgment for Debt or Damages, he could not (except in ſome particular Caſes) take the (*d*) Body of the Defendant in Execution, or his Lands, but his Goods and Chattels, and the Profits of his Lands; for which Purpoſe the Law gave two ſeveral Writs, one a *Levari facias*, whereby the Sheriff was commanded, *quod te terris, & catallis, levari faciat, &c.* and the other a *fieri facias*, which was only *de bonis, & catallis.*

This being the ancient Common Law of the Land, That the Body ſhould not be taken in Execution for Debt or Damages, unleſs it were in ſpecial Caſes. The Lord *Cook* ſaith, that the Reaſon thereof was, That the Perſon ſhould be at Liberty not only to follow his Affairs and Buſineſs, but ſhould be ready to ſerve the King and the King and the Country, when Need ſhall require.

Magna Charta confirms the Law and Uſage in this Particular, *Chap.* 29. which was made in the 9th Year of *H.* III. and *Anno Domini*, 1224. which eſtabliſheth *quod nullus liber homo capietur aut impriſonetur*, &c. *niſi per judicium parium ſuorum vel per legem terræ.*

The firſt Act of Parliament that made the Perſon liable to an Arreſt in Common Pleas was *Marlebridge*, *cap.* 23. made 52 *Hen.* III. and *Anno Domini*, 1267. whereby a *Capias* was given in Accompt, if the Accomptant had not Lands whereby to be diſtrained.

The Miſchief before this Statute, ſaith the Lord *Cook*, was, that the Accomptants ſeeking *Subterfuges*, did withdraw themſelves, and became vagrant, flying to ſecret Places, ſometimes into foreign Countries, and had no Lands or Tenements whereby they might be diſtrained, ſo as the Lords were in a manner remedileſs.

By *Weſtminſter* 2. *cap.* 11. made the 13th *Ed.* I. *Exigent* is given againſt Accomptants, as Bailiffs and Receivers, but not againſt Guardians in Soccage, as the Lord *Cook* ſaith; ſo might ſuch Accomptants be committed to Priſon, by Auditors, being found in Arearages.

There was a Miſchief amongſt Merchants and Tradeſmen, for want of a more ſpeedy Recovery of their Debts than the Common Law gave, by reaſon Merchants and Tradeſmen could not trade without ready Money, and Merchant-Strangers were enforced to ſtay here longer than their Tradings required, for Recovery of their Debts. And therefore the Statute of *Acton Burnel* was made the 11th of *Edw.* I. whereby a Statute-Merchant was deviſed, and the Body of the Conizor made liable, if his Moveables were not ſufficient, whereupon to levy the Debt, and afterwards the Statute of *Mercatoribus* made 13th

(*c*) *Kitchin* retorn. bred. f. 4. tit. Com. Banc. *Cook* 2 Inſt. f. 394.

(*d*) Sir *William Herbert*'s c. 3 Rept.

Edw.

Edw. I. adds further Strength to this Law, and makes the Body, Goods, and Lands of the Conizor liable in a Statute-Merchant: Theſe two Laws were then made for the more ſpeedy Recovery of Debts between Merchants.

The next Statute was the 25th *Edw.* III. *cap.* 17. which gives the like Proceſs in Actions of Debt, as in Accompt, and in Detinue of Cattle, and taking of Beaſts.

By the 19th *H.* VII. *cap.* 9. like Proceſs was given in Actions upon the Caſe, as in Actions of Treſpaſs or Debt, in the *King's-Bench* or *Common-Pleas.*

By the 23d of *H.* VIII. *cap.* 14. like Proceſs in every Writ of Annuity and Covenant is given as in Debt.

Thus by Degrees Men's Perſons, by ſeveral Acts of Parliament made in the Reign of ſeveral Kings, became liable to Arreſts and Impriſonments in Common Pleas (*e*), namely Actions of Debt, Accompt, Detinue, Treſpaſs, Annuity, upon the Caſe Covenant.

It is ſaid in Sir *William Herbert*'s Caſe, 3d Report in the Argument upon this Subject, that the Common Law is founded upon the Perfection of Reaſon; and ſurely there be many great and important Reaſons, why the ancient Common Law ſhould be again reſtored in this Point.

Not to inſiſt upon that which the Lord *Cook* ſays was the Miſchief that introduced the *Capias* upon the ſaid Statute of *Marlebridge*, which was the firſt Statute made for ſuch Proceſs, which was becauſe Accomptants withdrew themſelves out of the Power of the Lords; and therefore the Lords obtained a *Capias* to take them where they could find them to bring them to an Accompt: Now, if the Accomptants withdrawing themſelves was a good Reaſon for obtaining a *Capias*, if this Proceſs make Debtors and Accomptants more to obſcure and withdraw themſelves, ſo as they dare not appear to follow their Buſineſs, or manage their Eſtates to the beſt Advantage, thereby to enable themſelves to pay their Debts, for fear of Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Serjeants, *&c.* who lie in wait for them, it may ſeem to be a good Reaſon for taking away that Proceſs; for when a Statute is made to remedy a Miſchief, and that Miſchief is encreaſed by it that may be a Ground to take away that Statute, as well as to make it.

The Grievances which the Act of the 25th of *Edw.* III. and other Acts (on which the Writs of *Capias*, *&c.* are grounded) have introduced upon the People and Subjects of this Nation are ſuch, that they languiſh to utter Ruin in the Execution thereof, as daily appears by theſe enſuing Evils committed upon Arreſts by *Capias*, Bills of *Middleſex* and *Latitates.*

Firſt, Men (*f*) are often-times for pretended great Debts, when in truth the Perſons arreſted may owe nothing; but this Violence offered is upon Spleen, Revenge, or Malice. The Perſons thus arreſted (whether the Action be real or feigned) if worth One Thouſand Pounds, more or leſs, when committed to Priſon, are ſuddenly reduced to nothing, by the unſatiable Rapacity of Gaol-

(*e*) The *Capias* being near two hundred Years before admitted againſt all Perſons.

(*f*) All Noblemen's younger Sons are liable to Arreſts, as well as others, upon a common Writ of *Capias*, Bills of *Middleſex*, or *Latitate.*

ers;

ers; by which Impriſonment the Priſoners ſuſtain the Loſs of Credit, expoſed to Cheats and Oppreſſion, by Friends, by Tenants, by Servants, *&c.* bereft of all Endeavours and Employments, beſides the Loſs of Health, ſeparated from their Wives, Children and Families, and what elſe is dear to any Man; left only to be buried alive, to be tormented with the Debaucheries of the Priſon, and their own Diſcontents; by which it appears this Weapon (at the Pleaſure of any Man to uſe) doth devour and rob the Kingdom of (*g*) as able and active Perſons to ſerve their Country, in Peace and War, in any Condition whatſoever, as any other living in it; by deſtroying Thouſands of them in Holes and Dungeons, to ſatisfy private Intereſt, to the great and unheard-of Oppreſſion and Ruin of the Subjects and People of this Nation.

Secondly, If the Arreſt be in a Corporation (if a Stranger) he muſt there lie in Priſon, if not bailed by Freemen of that Corporation; and if the Perſon ſo arreſted will not lie in Priſon, the Priſoner muſt remove himſelf by *Habeas Corpus*, by which Charge and Fees to Gaolers, Under-Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and Serjeants, *&c.* (increaſing in a large Proportion) the Debtor becomes greatly diſenabled for Payment of his Creditor.

Thirdly, If the Priſoner (*h*) arreſted be removed by *Habeas Corpus*, and brought up before the Judges, and be not there able to put in Bail, the Priſoner is then ſent a Priſoner to the *King's-Bench* or *Fleet*.

If to the *King's-Bench*, then muſt he lie there three Terms before the Party that arreſted them, by the Rules of that Court, is bound to declare upon what Cauſe of Action the Party ſo arreſted is impriſoned; which Time, before a Declaration is filed (as it may happen) will be three Quarters of a Year, to the Deſtruction of the Perſon thus cauſeleſly and maliciouſly arreſted.

If committed to the *Fleet*, there (*i*) can be no Declaration filed againſt the Priſoner, unleſs by *Habeas Corpus* brought up to the *Common Pleas* Bar firſt, there to be charged; and whether the Action be feigned, or real, the Priſoner hath no Remedy at all for ſuch Arreſts, Wrong, Oppreſſion, Impriſonment, Breach of Credit, and Damages ſuſtained in his Eſtate (it may be) to the utter Ruin and Undoing of his Wife, Children, and Family.

Fourthly, The Words of the Action for Debt, is but a Surmiſe, and it is a moſt deſparate Thing for a Man to be impriſoned upon a Surmiſe only (*k*).

Fifthly, Arreſts and Impriſonment take away all Induſtry and Endeavours from all Men; and by the Want of Men's Liberties, the Kingdom ſuſtains great Damage, the Parts and Abilities of Men's Minds and Bodies in their ſeveral Capacities, being ſtifled and buried alive in Dungeons and loathſome Priſons; whereas Men's Liberties and Induſtries hath enabled Thouſands of Men to pay their Debts and raiſe their Fortunes, which, by Reſtraint, is impoſſible; impriſoning and immuring Men, fitting them only to have all they

(*g*) The Number of Priſoners in the ſeveral Gaols of this Kingdom being conceived to be at leaſt Ten Thouſand. This ruins moſt Men, but Loſs of Credit to all, beſides, if it be remote from *London*, it may coſt 50 or 60 *l.* Charges.

(*h*) If the Arreſt be made after Trinity Term, the Party need not declare till *Eaſter* Term following.

(*i*) Contrary to the Common Law and *Magna Charta*. c. 29.

(*k*) The Words *Debt ut dicit*.

have

have torn from them, to ſatisfy the extorted Fees of cruel Gaols and their Adherents.

For, if a poor labouring Man, or mean Tradeſman, borrow, or become engaged for Ten or Twenty Pounds, more or leſs, upon his own Security, or otherwiſe, by his Liberty and Freedom to follow his Calling, or Labour, perhaps earns Thirty Pounds, or Forty Pounds a Year, and he thereby is enabled to diſengage and make Payment of his Debts, and provide for his Family while he is at Liberty; but when once arreſted, and caſt into Priſon, his Credit is loſt, his Endeavour in his Calling or Labour taken from him, and ſuddenly bereft of all he has, and himſelf, Wife and Children left to periſh by Beggary and Miſery, which, poor Man, before his Arreſt and Impriſonment, was able, by his Liberty, Labour, and Endeavours, to have maintained his Credit, paid his Debts, and provided for his Wife and Children.

Sixthly, Arreſts are dangerous in the Conſequence; for many times Murders and Manſlaughters do happen to the ableſt of Men, both of Parts, Eſtates and Qualities, thereby ſubjecting them to the Force, Rudeneſs, and vileſt Uſage of the worſt of Men, mercileſs and cruel; for Bailiffs, Serjeants and Marſhals-men, regard neither Age, Sex, nor Condition or Quality; for that the Arreſts and violent Attempts made to enſlave Men, ſerve only to enrich the Under-Sheriff, Bailiffs, Sergeants, Catch-poles, Gaolers, and ſuch like, and for the Maintenance of their Riot, Exceſs, Drunkenneſs and Debauchery, for which Cauſe they extort unreaſonable Fees, taking Bribes of all hands, buying and ſelling both Creditor and Debtor for their own Profits, apprizing and under-hand ſelling, to their own Uſes, for the tenth Part of the Worth of the poor Priſoners Goods and Chattels; ſo that the greateſt Part being devoured by thoſe Cannibals, the Priſoner and his Family is thereby utterly undone and deſtroyed, and the Creditors, in all Things but their Malice, left altogether unſatisfied.

Seventhly, Great Damages are frequently recovered againſt Sheriffs upon Reſcues made, and Eſcapes, as every Day's Experence brings forth.

All Writs, and Proceſs in Law, are truly intended for Remedy and Redreſs, not for Revenge, Oppreſſion and Wrong, as the Practice is now-a-days: And is it not monſtrous in Nature and Reaſon, that a Man ſhall be allowed a Replevin to ſave a Beaſt from ſtarving in the Pound, and that Man himſelf only ſhould be ſhut up in Priſon to periſh without Hope or Relief?

Queſt. How the Poor borrowed Money before the Act of 25 *E.* 3.?

Queſt. Whether any Perſon be enabled to pay their Debts by being arreſted and impriſoned?

Thus far the Evils of the Bills of *Middleſex*, *Latitates*, and *Capias*.

The Miſchiefs attending the Outlawries, *tranſcend that of the* Capias, *Bills of* Middleſex *and* Latitate.

Outlawed Perſons are ſaid to be (*l*) *Utlagati*; that is, *extra legem poſiti*, deprived of the Benefit of the Law; the Penalty whereof was great, and ſo

(*l*) *Mir.* cap. 2. Sect. 3. cap. 5. Sect. 1. *Cook* 1 Inſt. f. 1286. *Cook* 2 Inſt. f. 46. *Cook* 2 Inſt. 128. 6.

great,

great, that in the Reign of King *Alfred*, and a good while after the Conqueſt, no Man could be outlawed but for Felony, the Puniſhment whereof was Death.

In *Bracton*'s (*m*) Time, and ſomewhat before, Proceſs of Outlawry was ordained to lie in all Actions that were *quare vi & armis*, which *Bracton* calleth *delicta*, for there the King ſhould have a Fine.

By divers Statutes ſince made, as the Impriſonment of Men's Perſons by *Capias*, Bills of *Middleſex*, *Latitates*, and *Cap. ad ſatisfac.* After Judgments, hath by Degrees crept in, to the Alteration of the Common Law, in Actions of Account, Debts detinue, covenant Actions upon the Stat. of 5 *R.* II. and Actions upon the Caſe; and in divers other Common or Civil Actions, ſo Outlawries of Men's Perſons thereupon hath enſued; but the Miſchiefs that attend the Outlawry of Men's Perſons, do much tranſcend thoſe of Arreſts and Impriſonment of Men's Perſons. For,

Firſt, By (*n*) Outlawries before and after Judgment, the Debtor ſuffers more than in any other Thing yet known in *England*; yea, more than by Manſlaughter, or Petty-Larceny; for in all thoſe Things the Subjects are allowed a Defence, but for this none. In all Courts, and for all Actions, the Perſons concerned muſt have Cognizance of the Proceedings, ſomething muſt be committed: But an Outlawry, though ſuppoſititious and fictitious, is ſufficient done to ſerve the Turn for the Deſtruction of the Party outlawed. The Delinquents in criminal Acts, for ſome Cauſes, forfeit but Chattels, and perſonal Eſtate only, and for thoſe a Pardon of Courſe for ſuing out; but upon an Outlawry, the Debtors Chattels and perſonal Eſtates are wholly loſt, and the real Eſtate ſeized and extended for the King (who is not Six pence a Year benefited) nor the Creditors one Farthing. The mean Profits not being in any Part diſcounted for the Debt, and yet the outlawed Perſon deſtroyed, and all his Creditors defeated of their juſt Debts. If the Debt be ſmall (the Cure is worſe than the Diſeaſe); if a great one, the Debtor is never able to give in Security to reverſe the Outlawry, and free the Extent upon the Outlawry, but periſhes inevitably, and (*o*) not a Penny of the Debt leſſened to the Creditor, or abated to the Debtor, nor the King's Majeſty above 5 *s.* or 10 *s.* a Year enriched, and that conſumed in Fees alſo.

Secondly, The poor outlawed Debtor can neither ſue for, or recover any Debt, or Rent due to him, or try any Title for Recovery of any Eſtate, or let any Leaſe, or make his laſt Will (*p*) and Teſtament, or do any other Act to help himſelf or his Family, after his Death; neither can the Son reverſe the Father's Outlawry after his Death; ſo that once outlawed after Judgment, or otherwiſe, and the whole Family is ruined for ever; and none but Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Gaolers, and their Officers, one Farthing the better; neither can the outlawed Perſon ſue or implead his Oppreſſor; and all for Debt (which is no Crime) and yet criminous Perſons are not ſubject to, or oppreſſed with ſuch

(*m*) *Brac.* lib. 5. f. 521.

(*n*) All the Nobility and Peers of the Realm are liable to this as well as the Commonalty; and the Perſon of a Peer being outlawed, is liable to Arreſts and Reſtraint, as well as the Commoners.

(*o*) Cheq. Leaſes.

(*p*) 4 *H.* VII. 1-. *Brook.* outl. 41. *Litl.* Sect. 197. *Cook* 1 Inſt. 128, 6. 8 *E.* IV. 6.

mercileſs

mercileſs Extremities; neither is it poſſible for, or in the Power of, any Man how provident, or clear from Debt ſoever, to prevent, or free himſelf from this Snare and Pitfall of Deſtruction.

Thirdly, A Ward might call his Guardian to account, and was privileged from being ſued in other Courts, and had Protection both of his Perſon and Eſtate; but here is no Account for Profits, nor Right for Wrong; no Protection of Perſon, but Oppreſſion in all, and barred from all Relief and Remedy (yea, even ſo much as to complain) ſo as the Miſchief of the Outlawry incomparably tranſcends the *Capias*, in that the *Capias* attaches the Perſon only; the Outlawry, Body, Lands, and Goods (*q*).

Fourthly, If two or three join to lend 100 *l.* or 1000 *l.* more or leſs, to a third Perſon, and one of the Creditors outlawed (though perhaps unknown) the whole Debt is forfeited to the King, and the Debtor can pay neither of the three, or two, which lent the Money; ſo as thoſe that are not outlawed have loſt their Money, and forfeited their Debt, as well as he that is outlawed.

The like for Tenants in common; if any of them are outlawed, the whole Eſtate of the other Tenants becomes forfeited and ſeized for him that's outlawed, and the other Tenants not outlawed ſhall have no Remedy, nor can reverſe the other's Outlawry, being none of theirs: And any Man may be outlawed on Pretence of Debt, Detinue, or Treſpaſs, whether true or falſe, and never know of it; the Outlawry may be undiſcovered, and the Perſon die under that Danger, to the Deſtruction of his Poſterity (*r*).

Fifthly, Forfeitures by Outlawries go to the Crown, without Benefit to the Party whoſe Satisfaction the Law intends; and the Parties thus outlawed are without Remedy againſt the Party that doth the Wrong, and without Relief as to the King, for forfeited Goods and Chattels, if not (*ex gratia*) beſides the Injury done in fleecing thoſe Goods by Bailiffs, and their Under-Sheriffs, who ſhare with the King in the greateſt Proportion of ſuch Forfeitures; by which his Majeſty loſes a Million of Pounds yearly, and the People ruined.

Sixthly, Outlawries brings the Freehold under Seizures and Extents, and is exceeding chargeable to plead unto, and to reverſe; and the Uſe which is made of Seizures and Extents thereon, is known to be little available towards Satisfaction of Creditors their juſt Debts, but abſolute Deſtruction to the outlawed Perſon; the Parties outlawed may be ſued, but cannot ſue for his own, Outlawries being Diſablement in Law. It is hard to pay, where Men cannot receive (*s*).

Theſe Miſchiefs, by the Corruption of Practice, have crept in under this Act of 25 *Edw.* III. notwithſtanding upon Complaint of the People in the 44th Year of the ſame King *Edw.* III. it was repealed, and the Subject remitted in their Right, according to the common Law, and *Magna Charta*, ſave only to ſuch as were Accountants to the King.

(*q*) 18 *Edw.* IV. 4. *Nichols Vr. Nichols Plo.* 487.

(*r*) 9 *Hen.* VI. 20. 49 *Edw.* III. 5. 4 *Hen.* VII 17.

(*s*) 38 *Edw.* III. 22. 16 *Edw.* IV. 4. *Brook. utl.* 17. 20 *Hen.* 20, 21 *Hen.* VII. 13 *Aſſ. p.* 5. 5 *Hen.* VI. 20.

It is not unknown to all Judicious, That by the common Law of this Nation, no Man's Perſon could be arreſted in Det or Detinue, *&c.* the Lands, Goods, and Chattels of the Debtor were only liable to Execution, which the Law allows for Satisfaction of Creditors (*t*): And former Times, in Caſes of Debt between Party and Party, reſted thereupon, the Perſon of the Debtor being in ſtrict Impriſonment, pays not the Debt to the Creditor, but moſt Times ſatisfies the Malice of the Creditors only. And it cannot be denied, that the Lords now living, and as Peers freed from Arreſts, yet pay their Debts out of their Eſtates, as well, and better than ſuch as are Priſoners can do (which very Precedent, obvious to all) makes it appear that Impriſonment neither advantages nor prejudices the Creditor, but ſerves only to enrich the Gaoler, and by him the Priſoner is ruined. The foregoing Miſchiefs, Trouble, Loſs, Oppreſſion, and Damage conſidered, which doth daily happen by the villainous Crew of Bailiffs, Sergeants, Gaolers, *&c.* to the enſlaving and Oppreſſion of the Subjects; and all derived from that Act of 25 *Edw.* III. (*u*) and how repugnant the preſent Practice is to the known Laws of this Realm; it will plainly appear, that this one Nation is impoveriſhed yearly by Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Serjeants, Marſhal's Men, Proceſs-makers, *Habeas Corpus*, Day-writs, Rules, Waiters, Keepers, Gaolers, Wardens, with bribing Sheriffs, and their Deputies and Bailiffs for Intelligence, and for forbearing of Arreſts, and Proſecutions, beſides the perſonal Villanies and Injuries put upon Men of all Conditions by theſe Tormentors, more than one Million of Pounds yearly in ready Coin, for which the Creditor is not the better one Penny; which were better diſpoſed of, and paid for the Defence of the Nation, and Payment of Navies, *&c.*

In ſhort, that this Practice now on Foot upon the *Capias*, Bills of *Middleſex*, Latitates, and Outlawries, may be the more triumphant to the enſlaving of all, it ſpeaks thus:

Outlaw a Nobleman, and he is made incapable to ſit in the Houſe of Peers, till the Outlawry be reverſed; and may be arreſted as a common Perſon, being outlawed; and all his Goods and Chattels forfeited, and appraiſed by every Under-ſheriff, and ſold, and brings his real Eſtate under Extent.

Outlaw a Clergyman of what Degree or Qualification ſoever, and their Living and perſonal Eſtates are both forfeited together, and by any Under-ſheriff ſold as aforeſaid, if it be in his Bailiwick, and his Perſon impriſoned, if arreſted.

Outlaw any Gentleman, and it is the ſame; his Perſon and Eſtate, both real and perſonal, forfeited, and himſelf, if arreſted, a Priſoner.

Outlaw any Lawyer, and he is made uncapable to plead at Bar, his Perſon, if arreſted, impriſoned; and his Eſtate, both real and perſonal, the one extended, the other forfeited.

Outlaw any Citizen rich in Stock, as a Merchant, Jeweller, Goldſmith, or any other eminent Tradeſman, what he hath is forfeited, and himſelf a Priſoner, if arreſted.

(*t*) *Cook* 2. *Inſt.* f. 394. *Vid. Cook's* Part 2, 3, 12. 13 *Hen.* IV. 1.
(*u*) *Malebridg.* c. 23.

All

All Men may be arreſted and outlawed under feigned Actions, by created and ſuppoſititious Names, to their utter Undoing, and never find out either Plaintiff or Attorney, to recover their Damages.

Now the freeing, diſcharging, and ſetting at Liberty all Priſoners now in Priſon, and under Reſtraint for Debt, and the repealing of this Act and all others of 25 *Edw.* III. and the taking away of all Arreſts and Outlawries, and the ſad Conſequents and Effects thereof, ſo much contrary to the *Magna Charta*, Petition of Right, and the common Law, elder than both, is the Matter aimed at, and humbly prayed for, that ſo the Subject may be remitted and reſtored to their former Laws, *ab origine :* And it is no new Thing, when the continual Repealing in all Ages of divers Statutes, when found inconvenient, or againſt the common Law, makes it manifeſt.

As, Tenure in Villainage,
Mortmains on Abbeys,
Knights Templers and St. *John*'s,
Biſhops Courts for being burthenſome and chargeable to the People, 80000 *l. per annum*,
The High Commiſſion Court,
The Court of Star-Chamber, and divers others.

And that it may be enacted in the future, That no Perſon whatſoever ſhall be arreſted or outlawed for any Matter or Thing whatſoever (not criminous) in the Act of 25 *Edw.* III. and other Acts contained, for the avoiding the manifold Miſchiefs aforeſaid, and the Slavery, in general, introduced upon the whole Nation. The deep Senſe his late Majeſty (of bleſſed Memory, had of his People's Sufferings, occaſioned by the Writs and Proceſs as aforeſaid, made his Majeſty intend to have recommended the Enlargement of Priſoners for Debt, and the aboliſhing of all Arreſts and Outlawries for the future, to the then Parliament, could his Majeſty have received any Recompence for the remitting of Forfeitures, and other Profits ariſing to his Crown, which by an Act now tendered to the Honourable Houſe of Commons is provided for.

How much Terror and Sorrow of Heart the People and Nation in general lie under, who now hide themſelves, and languiſh to Death under the Fear of Impriſonment and Arreſts, conſuming all their Fortunes, not daring to ſhew themſelves to manage it to their beſt Advantage, toward the Payment of their Debts, or otherwiſe, for Fear of Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Sergeants, Marſhal's Men, Gaolers, *&c.* the Subject and their Poſterities by this Means being born Slaves, liable to all Arreſts, Impriſonment, and Outlawries, and on all Accidents to Beggary and Bondage, at every Man's Will and Pleaſure : On the contrary, upon the paſſing of this Act of Grace, depends the Good and Welfare of the People, the whole Nation being manumitted and enfranchized in their Perſons, reſtored in Laws, ſecured in Eſtates, and of a baſe and ſlaviſh Nation made noble and free, as they were before the Act of 25 *Edw.* III. other Acts was had.

To conclude, if Traitors and Felons of all Sorts, expect Remiſſion and Pardon of their Offences, upon the bleſſed Reſtoration of his Sacred Majeſty, how is it to be doubted, but that the good Subjects of this Land and Nation (not criminous) ſhall find Remedy and Redreſs, and be relieved from their ſad and lamentable Thraldom and Bondage; eſpecially when the known Law or Equity affords the Creditor Power for Recovery of his juſt Debts, upon the Debtor's real or perſonal Eſtate, which is at the Diſpoſe of the Creditor for his Satisfaction. And this one Act of Grace will be accounted by all good Men, and their Poſterities, a ſufficient Recompence for all the Subjects paſt Sufferings; being the greateſt Mercy that ever King of *England* extended to his Subjects ſince they were a Nation.

A FANATIC's ADDRESS, humbly preſented to the King and his Peers, and alſo to his People in their Repreſentative the Commons Houſe of Parliament, aſſembled and ſitting at *Weſtminſter:* Diſcovering to them the Innocency of his Actings in the Midſt of the late Revolutions of Governments in this Nation; with the Reſolves of them that walk with him, and the Qualifications of thoſe they intend to have Communion withall.

By *HENRY ADIS*, a baptized Believer, undergoing the Name of a Free-willer; and alſo moſt ignominiouſly, by the Tongue of Infamy, called *a Fanatic*, or *a Madman.*

Phil. iv. 5. *Let your Moderation be known to all Men, the Lord is at hand.*

Printed in the Year 1661.

FOR as much as ſeveral that lately took upon them the Places of Truſt, Government and Authority in theſe Nations, under a Pretence of making ſuch a Reformation in Church and State, as was agreeable both to the Law of God, and the beſt reformed Churches; and yet their Ends in all this, the Event did clearly evidence, was nothing either more or leſs, but to advance and ſet up Self and Self-Intereſts; the which, that they might the better, and with the more Self-ſecurity effect, they proclaimed *Liberty of Conſcience*, that ſo they might gain a Party to ſtand for and by them, if Neceſſity required; in which Time of Freedom, a ſmall Party (the Searcher of all Hearts right

right well knoweth) enjoyed our Liberties under them, with an utter Deteſtation both to their Acts of Violence, Oppreſſion and Self-ſervings, with our continual bearing our Teſtimony againſt them, in thoſe Actions, as it fell in our Way, both in Diſcourſes and Teachings; but more publickly in my Books, printed and publiſhed in the Year 1648, called, *The Symptoms of Ruin*, or, *The Sword and Famine, the Attendants of Oppreſſion*; as alſo in that Book, intitled, *A Cup for the City and her Adherents*; and in that Poem, called, *A Spy for Juſtice, ſent out of the Tower Chamber of the Fleet*; in all which it will evidently appear, that for mine own Part I could not own, nor in the leaſt allow of their Violence nor Oppreſſion: And the better to clear to the whole Nation our Innocency, and the Cleanneſs of our Hands, as to all manner of Acts of Violence and Oppreſſion, I cauſed 1500 *Declarations* to be printed and publiſhed the 12th Day of the 11th Month, vulgarly called *January*, in the Year 1659, which is alſo joined to the latter End of my *Fanatic's Mite caſt into the King's Treaſury*; in which I declared my Judgment, and the Judgment of that ſmall Company that were in Society with me, both concerning Fighting, Swearing, and Government, and our Obedience to Magiſtracy and Magiſtrates, and our preſent Diſreliſh to them then in being, as in the 23d and 24th Lines of the ſaid *Declaration* (if Recourſe thereunto had) is evident: And yet notwithſtanding, myſelf, with two more of the ſaid Declarers, in this late Impriſonment about the late Inſurrection, and alſo upon refuſing to engage to the King by an Oath, have been cruelly impriſoned in the *Gatehouſe* Dungeon, and two of us alſo moſt abuſively (with others) were printed as *Traitors*, although the Thought of thoſe, and ſuch like Acts of Violence and Bloodſhed, are even an abhorring to our Souls.

And ſeeing we have the Word of the King paſſed to us, for our Protection under him, in our Liberties in our Meetings, to diſcharge our Duty to our God, and each to other, in that Way that God hath manifeſted himſelf unto us in his revealed Will the Holy Scriptures of Truth, ſo long as we on our Parts, without Acts of Violence, Hoſtility, Plottings, Contrivings, or Underminings, ſhall behave ourſelves peaceably and quietly under him.

And ſeeing we, on our Parts, have never in the leaſt forfeited our Privileges, by any Thing that we have either acted, or in the leaſt intended, and yet our peaceable and quiet *Meetings* have been beſet with rude and debauched Soldiers, rending and ſwearing, attended with the rude Rabble; and that ſince our late Enlargement by the King's Coronation Favour; and all this for ſpeaking in the Name of *Jeſus of Nazareth, a Man approved of God*, Acts ii. 22. he that is pretendedly owned *of you* all, and yet contended for *by you* all; and yet ſuch is the Inveteracy of the Spirits of ſome, that they are eagerly fighting againſt thoſe that in the Singleneſs of their Souls ſerve this Jeſus in the *Footſteps of the Flock of God gone before*; of whom, becauſe the King, the Nobility, and the generality of the Commonalty of this Land of our Nativity, are miſinformed of ſome of us, and that we, with ſome, are of the Judgment, *that Killing is no Murder*, intend to lay a Puniſhment upon us, for the Guilt and Opinions of ſome, whom we as little own, as they that are ready to inflict the Puniſhment; I have therefore thought good once more to ſet Pen to Paper,

and

and in Plainneſs of Speech, to give the King and his People, and you their Repreſentatives, a freſh Diſcovery of the Intents of our Hearts, and the Bents of our Spirits, in the Singleneſs of our Souls, in the Sight and Preſence of him who is the Searcher of all Hearts, that Sin-revenging God who is of a more pure Eye than to approve of, or to behold, Iniquity with Approbation thereunto.

I ſhall therefore declare our Judgments as to the preſent Governor and Government, and our Opinion touching Government, ſimply ſo conſidered; and then I hope *Daniel* like, neither the King, his People, nor you their Repreſentative, ſhall find any juſt Cauſe againſt us, ſave in the *Matters of our God*; in which (the Lord aſſiſting us) we ſhall reſolve in God's Way to go on in, *and if therein we periſh, we periſh.*

And therefore firſt of all, I ſhall let you know, that we do own Government, and that we both do and ſhall reſolve to be obedient to Governors, becauſe they be *ordained of God*, according to *Rom.* xiii. 1, 2. And therefore, on our Parts, we dare not reſiſt them, but ſhall, according to Verſe 7. *Render unto them Tribute, Cuſtom, Fear and Honour*: And for as much as we have ſeen the Hand of him who changeth the Times and Seaſons, who removeth Kings and ſetteth up Kings, *Dan.* ii. 21, 37. *Dan.* v. 18, 19. 1 *Sam.* xv. 1, 23. 1 *Sam.* xvi. 12. to be great in this Change in ſetting up *Charles* the Second; we do therefore own him to be the lawful King of theſe three Nations of *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland,* and to whom we ſhall willingly ſubmit in all civil Things, that we do find to be agreeable to the Mind of God, revealed in that Directory, his Holy Scriptures of Truth; and if at any Time he ſhall require from us any Thing that we cannot in Conſcience actually obey him in, we ſhall not in the leaſt reſiſt him violently, nor by Force of Arms oppoſe him, but ſhall patiently ſuffer under him the Penalties for our not obeying him; and as we own him, ſo we ſhall receive, own and obey actively or paſſively, all others his civil Magiſtrates, ſet up and ſent by him, for the Puniſhment of *evil Doers*, and the *Praiſe of them that do well*, according to 1 *Pet.* ii. 13, 14. And this we ſhall do in the Singleneſs of our Souls, without Evaſions, Equivocations, or mental Reſervations.

Secondly, As we do own Magiſtracy to be of God; ſo we cannot look upon ourſelves to be concerned in the Affairs of this, or any other Nation, ſo as to have to do with Government, as to our own Particulars, although we were endowed with ſuch Qualifications and Eſtates, as might render us capable thereof; becauſe we look upon ourſelves to be a People *choſen out of the World*, and ſuch as ſhall be *hated of the World*, John xv. 19. and for the Sake and Name of Chriſt, ſhall be *haled before Kings, Rulers, Governors, Magiſtrates*, and *Councils* of this World, as he himſelf hath foretold us, *Matt.* x. 17, 18. *Mark* xiii. 9. *For all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus ſhall ſuffer Perſecution*, 2 Tim. iii. 12. And therefore we look upon it to be our Duties to behave ourſelves as Pilgrims and Strangers on Earth, as the Flock of God gone before us did, and were, *Heb.* xi. 13. 1 *Pet.* ii. 11. And to ſit looſe to the Things of this World, and to *uſe the World as if we uſed it not, and as not abuſing it*, 1 Cor. vii. 30, 31. but that our Moderation therein, and in all Things, *may*

be

be known to all Men, becauſe the Lord is at hand, Phil iv. 15. and not *Martha* like, to be too much *cumbered* with the *Things of this World,* but with *Mary,* to look after that *one Thing neceſſary,* and to chooſe that *good Part* which ſhall not be taken from us, *Luke* x. 41, 42. And as we are *riſen with Chriſt, ſo to ſeek thoſe Things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at the Right Hand of the Father,* Col. iii. 1. *And ſo to lay up for our ſelves Treaſures in Heaven, where neither Ruſt nor Moth do corrupt, and where Thieves cannot break through, nor ſteal,* Mat. vi. 20.

Thirdly, We ſhall and do own the Parliament of *England,* convened and gathered together by the King's Writs, to be the lawful and only lawful Aſſembly of the Nation, for the confirming, eſtabliſhing, making and repealing of Laws and Statutes, for the better well-being of the Nation in Civil Things; but we cannot find, from the Word of God, any Warrant for the greateſt of Men or Councils, either Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, to alter or abrogate any of the Laws of God made by that great Council of Heaven, or to preſcribe any other kind or manner of Worſhip than what the great *Jehovah* in his *Magna Charta,* the Holy Scriptures of Truth, hath eſtabliſhed, ratified and confirmed by *Miracles, Signs* and *Wonders,* and *divers Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, according to his own Will, Heb.* ii. 4. and in which the Flock of God, gone before us, acted, who continued *ſtedfaſtly in the Apoſtle's Doctrine and Fellowſhip, and in breaking of Bread and Prayer, Acts* ii. 42. to which Directory only we both do, muſt, and ſhall conform to and none other. And if by the Hands of the rude Multitude, by your continued Toleration, or otherwiſe by your Appointments, we ſhall therein or therefore periſh, we periſh: Yet I cannot but by the way let you know, that for ſome time paſt, I have obſerved and taken ſpecial Notice, that when Parliaments have gone about that Work of ſettling and ordering of Matters concerning the *Worſhip* and *Service* of God, their Deſigns have ſuddenly been blaſted, their Councils confounded, and their Enemies, foreign or domeſtic, encreaſed; by which Means they have been forced to leave that Work, or elſe by the Hands of thoſe that called them, or by the Army's Force they have been violently diſperſed.

And now I ſhall really inform you of our Reſolutions herein, and ſhall declare, That if this great Aſſembly ſhall go on to intermeddle with the Regulating of our *Conſciences,* as to the *Worſhip* and *Service* of our God, or give it into the Hands of the Churchmen of *England* ſo to do, we ſhall not by Force of Arms, nor the leaſt Violence oppoſe them, nor comply with any that ſhall oppoſe them; neither ſhall we reſolve to conform to them in the leaſt, in what is inconſiſtent with the Laws of our God, left us in Scripture Record: But under our Penalties for our Refuſals, we ſhall, with *Iſrael* of old, groan under ſuch *Egyptian* Bondage; and we queſtion not but that the Captain of our Salvation, in his own due Time, by a mighty Hand and ſtretched-out Arm, will releaſe and relieve us, to the Comfort of his poor oppreſſed ſuffering ones, and to the Confuſion of his and his People's Enemies; and with *Iſrael* of old, we ſhall reſolve to *ſtand ſtill and behold the Salvation of our God,* which he will work for us, let our Sufferings be under (you or them) what they will, for our not actually obeying Man's Traditions.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, We look upon it to be our bounden Duty, notwithſtanding tho' we ſuffer for it by the Hands of Men, yet to follow the Direction of *King Jeſus* the Captain of our Salvation, who himſelf was *made perfect through Sufferings*, *Heb.* ii. 10. who, that his own Flock might the better avoid that great Danger of *Forſwearing*, either by Ignorance, Forgetfulneſs, Miſtakings, or by reaſon of Fear, Favour or Affection, he perſwadeth them *not to ſwear at all*, *Mat.* v. 34. who alſo telleth us, *Mat.* v. 20. that *except our Righteouſneſs ſhall exceed the Righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, we ſhall in no wiſe enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*; and therefore in Verſe 37. he requireth that our *Yea* ſhould be *Yea*, and our *Nay*, *Nay*; and he addeth this as a Reaſon, for ſaith he, *Whatſoever is more than this cometh of Evil*, or of that Evil-one; as much as if he ſhould have ſaid, when you either aſſert or deny a Thing, you ſhall do it with ſuch Singleneſs of Heart, and with ſuch Sincerity of Soul, being in *me*, or in my Way, Order, or Worſhip, as that you ſhall not cauſe the Name of God, nor his Goſpel, to be blaſphemed or evil ſpoken of, by reaſon of your deceitful Denials or Affirmings, but that you ſpeak the Truth in me, who am made of my Father unto you, both *Wiſdom*, *Righteouſneſs*, *Sanctification*, and *Redemption*; and ſo am become to you the *Lord your Righteouſneſs*, *Jer.* xxiii. 6. who, as I judge, doth not tye us diſtinctly to the Circumſtance of the Terms, *Yea* and *Nay*, but to the Subſtance of the Verity or Truth of the Thing aſſerted, although the Terms may differ, as do his own, who ſaith, *Verily*, *verily*, *I ſay unto you*, *John* iii. 3. who alſo uſeth the ſame Expreſſion above twenty times in that Goſpel by St. *John*, the which *Verily*, *Verily*, had it been an Evil, or if it had come of that Evil-one, and he himſelf ſpeaking it had been his Evil, to have tied us from it as an Evil, and yet acted it himſelf; and ſo he would have laid himſelf under a Guilt, the which to ſay, I really believe is no leſs than Blaſphemy: So that he tieth us, as I judge, not to the Circumſtance of the Words, but to the Subſtance of the Matter, and that without *Swearing*, in ſaying, *Swear not at all*; ſo that though we cannot ſwear to King *Charles*, yet we can and ſhall be freely willing to promiſe to King *Charles*, what we can ſafely and upon a Scripture Account promiſe. And as we are not ourſelves free to plot, contrive, nor by Force of Arms to undermine him, nor his Government; ſo to prevent the ſhedding of Blood, and the Breach of the Peace of the three Nations, we ſhall and will be ready and willing to diſcover all Plots, Conſpiracies, or any thing that by Force of Arms we ſhall know of againſt him, to ſome Juſtices of the Peace, or other his Miniſters, within twenty-four Hours after the Knowledge of ſuch Plot or Force intended; and ſhall reſolve (the Lord aſſiſting us) to be as true and faithful in our *Yeas* and *Nays*, whether Promiſſary or Teſtimonial, to King *Charles* and his Subjects, of what Rank or Quality ſoever they be, as our Brethren of *Holland* are to the States, and to their Fellow-Citizens and Townſmen: And we hope our Performances therein will be found far more real than the Multitudes either are, or have been, who have been ready to ſwear *for* this To-day, and *againſt* it To-morrow; whoſe own Intereſts generally cauſe their Mouths to open in ſuch Swearings and Forſwearings more than Conſcience; the which we dare not do, leſt we be found tranſgreſſing the Law of

our

our Saviour, and his faithful Servant, who ſay, *Swear not, and ſwear not at all*, *Mat.* v. 34. *Jam.* v. 12.

Fifthly, We look upon it to be our Duties, to be a peaceable, a quiet, a harmleſs, and an innocent People, and to keep our ſelves from all manner of Acts of *War*, *Violence* and *Hoſtility*; becauſe to kill, inſlave, bring under, ruin, or deſtroy our Friends, were moſt inhumane; and to do ſo to our Enemies, we dare not, becauſe our Law-giver, by his faithful Servant, *Rom.* xii. 17, *&c.* requireth us to *recompenſe to no Man Evil for Evil*, but that we *provide Things honeſt in the Sight of all Men*; and that if poſſible, as much as in us lieth, we ſhould live peaceably with all Men; who requireth us not to *avenge our ſelves*, but rather to *give place unto Wrath*; becauſe it is written, *Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it, ſaith the Lord*; therefore, ſaith he, if *thine Enemy hunger, feed him*; *if he thirſt, give him Drink*; *for in ſo doing thou ſhalt heap Coals of Fire on his Head*; and *be not overcome with Evil, but overcome Evil with Good:* yea, and ſo ſaith our Saviour himſelf, *Mat.* v. 44. *But I ſay unto you, Love your Enemies, bleſs them that curſe you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that deſpitefully uſe you*; *that you may be* (or that you may evidence your ſelves to be) *the Children of your Father, which is in Heaven*; for he *maketh his Sun to riſe on the Evil, and on the Good*, and his *Rain to fall on the Juſt and on the Unjuſt: for if you love them which love you, what Reward have ye? Do not even the Publicans the ſame?* And if ye *ſalute your Brethren only*, what do ye *more* than *others? do* not even the *Publicans the ſame? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect.* And we look upon it to be our Duties to follow our Lord and Maſter, who left himſelf a Pattern for us to follow, who ſaith, *Mat.* xi. 29. *Learn of me, for I am lowly and meek, and ye ſhall find Reſt for your Souls*; who, ſaith the Apoſtle, 1 Pet. ii. 21, 23. *When he was reviled, reviled not again*; *when he ſuffered, he threatened not*; *but committed himſelf to him who judgeth righteouſly.* Much more might be ſaid to their particular, the which for Brevity's Sake I ſhall omit; and ſhall thus affirm, that for this Cauſe, and ſuch Requirements as theſe are, we dare not have to do with Weapons of War, nor that the Acts of Violence in any Caſe be found in our Hands, no not for the beſt Things, and to advance or promote either the Goſpel or Kingdom of Chriſt by any ſuch Way or Means, we dare not in the leaſt have ſo much as a Thought, but look upon it to be our Duties patiently to wait, and earneſtly, according to that other Requirement of Chriſt, to pray, *That his Kingdom may come*, that ſo his *Will may be done on Earth as is in Heaven*, Mat. vi. 10. And as we have declared in the ſaid *Declaration*, in 1659, that we could not hold Society with, nor own thoſe that were in the ſame Faith and Order with us, and from whom we then ſtood at a Diſtance, that acted with the carnal Weapons, Weapons of War, and Acts of Hoſtility then; ſo *ſtill*, we look upon it to be our bounden Duty ſo to do, becauſe it is ſo frequently forbidden in Scripture, and alſo becauſe it bringeth ſuch an *Odium* upon the Truth, and alſo upon the peaceable People of God that are in Goſpel Order, and walk cloſe to the Appointments of Chriſt in all his Ordinances, and in Church-fellowſhip, at it is at this Day: And therefore we cannot have to do with any ſuch as do ſo act, or that look

upon it to be their Liberties or Privileges ſo to act; and ſhall have as little to do with them now as then, or with any one that hath ſo acted, unleſs they ſhall freely relinquiſh the ſame, and ſhall acknowledge their Failing and Evil in their ſo acting, whether it be either *againſt* or *for* King *Charles* the Firſt, or King *Charles* the Second; it being ſo clearly made out to us, and alſo to ſeveral of them that formerly ſo acted from the Holy Scriptures, to be contrary to the Qualifications of a Goſpel Diſciple, to have to do with *Weapons of War*, or the *Sword* of *Slaughter*, whoſe Weapon only ought to be the *Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God*, to cut down, kill and ſlay, wound and bring under every *Imagination*, and every *high Thought, that exalteth itſelf againſt the Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt*; and to bring every Soul to the Obedience of Chriſt, in all his Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Appointments: In order whereunto,

Sixthly, We look upon it to be agreeable to the pure Will and Mind of God, that there be a free Toleration for Men and Women to *worſhip* God, without either Conſtraint or Reſtraint; and that no Acts of Violence be uſed againſt them therein, to force the *Conſcience* of any, no not the meaneſt of the Sons and Daughters of Men, of what Perſuaſion or Judgment ſoever they be of; becauſe Jeſus Chriſt, out of that exceeding Love of the Father, was ſent to lay down his Life for the *Sins of the World*, *John* i. 29. and to be a *Redemption for that firſt Tranſgreſſion*, *Heb.* ix. 15. under the Guilt of which all the whole Bulk of Mankind that ever were, are, or ever ſhall be, by Imputation, do lie under; and from the Puniſhment of which, by Jeſus Chriſt, they ſhall all be releaſed and reſtored, *Rom.* v. 18. And not only ſo, but they are alſo, by Jeſus Chriſt, that ſecond *Adam*, brought into a Capacity to have that Salvation that is in Jeſus Chriſt, with eternal Glory, 2 *Tim.* ii. 10. whoſe Work was to *come to ſeek and to ſave that which was loſt*, as he himſelf ſaith, *Luke* xix. 10. And therefore he gave out his univerſal Commiſſion, the Benefit whereof *extendeth to all*; and therefore to be *preached to all*, Mat. xxviii. 19. Mark xvi. 15.

And we having this univerſal Goſpel to preach, to wit, *That God was in Chriſt, reconciling the World unto himſelf by Jeſus Chriſt, not imputing their Treſpaſſes unto them*, and hath committed unto us *the Miniſtry of Reconciliation*; now then we are *Ambaſſadors for Chriſt, as though God did beſeech you by us; we pray you* (yea) (you great tall Cedars of *England*) [we pray] *you in Chriſt ſtead be ye reconciled unto God*, 2 Cor. v. 19. 20. And have a Care, I beſeech you, in the Fear of the Great *Jehovah*, that ye neither ſlight our Meſſage, as you tender the Good of your own Souls to Eternity; neither be ye, I pray you, as thoſe Phariſees and Hypocrites, againſt whom a Wo was pronounced by our Maſter *King Jeſus*, Mat. xxiii. 13. who ſhut up the Kingdom of Heaven againſt Men, who neither deſired to go in themſelves, nor ſuffered thoſe that were entering to go in: Oh, I beſeech you, have a Care of this, for Men are backward enough of themſelves; and ſhould you but ſeem to hinder them, happily their Diſobedience may be put upon your Score; and he that is found forwards now to hinder, will be found moſt guilty at that Day, when Chriſt ſhall diſpenſe to every Man, according as his Work ſhall be, 2 *Cor.* v. 10. Oh,

I beſeech

I beſeech you once again, yea and again I intreat you, have a Care every one of you, as you tender your own Good to Eternity, that you hinder none, tho' ever ſo rich, nor ever ſo poor; for God is *no Reſpecter of Perſons; but in every Nation, he that feareth him and worketh Righteouſneſs, is accepted of him*, Acts x. 34. Hinder none, be they ever ſo young, nor ever ſo old; for our Houſholder, the Maſter of our Family, Jeſus Chriſt who is a Son over his own Houſe, comes to ſome early in the Morning, *Mat.* xx. 1. *&c.* even whilſt they are tender and young, even ſo ſoon as they come to Reaſon and Underſtanding, God by the Incomings of his Holy Spirit, comes to hire them into his Vineyard: To ſome he comes at the third Hour in their Youth; to others, at the ſixth Hour in their Manhood; to others at the ninth Hour in their declining Age; and to ſome again at the eleventh Hour, even in their old Age. O then, I ſay again, I beſeech you have a Care, that none be hindered of their Entrance into the Vineyard of Chriſt, of no Age or Sex whatſoever; for he may be loitering in the Market-place of the World this Day, that may be hired into the Vineyard of Jeſus Chriſt To-morrow; for Chriſt of a *perſecuting Saul* may ſuddenly make a *preaching Paul*; one Voice from Heaven can do it; through Mercy I know it by good Experience, and therefore I am the bolder to aſſert it; and that provoketh me the more earneſtly to beg again and again, that no Violence be uſed, becauſe the Houſholder, *Mat.* xx. 1. is ſaid to hire, not to frighten, nor beat, force, or conſtrain, but to hire Labourers to go into his Vineyard, telling them what they ſhall have for their Pains, if they will labour when they are there: And as I told the King in my *Fanatic's Mite*, in Page the Ninth of the laſt Impreſſion, *That a Goſpel Miniſter was not as a General in an Army, to frighten, beat, or fight Men into Faith, but as an Ambaſſador, to perſuade and invite, and gently treat with, and to intreat into the Way of God, the one being Goſpel or Evangelical, but the Way of Force being diabolical and of the Devil*, and proceedeth from the Fruits of the Fleſh, a Part whereof I told the Mayor of *London*, in Chriſtian Love to his Soul, the Danger whereof, in my *Alarm given to him in his Quarters*, in Page 34, in which ſome of them are clearly laid down, and how they will exclude a Soul from Heaven's Glory.

Again, it is required, that *all Things be tried, and that which is Good be held faſt*; but how ſhall there be a Trying of all Things, if there be a Conſtraint only to one? for, how can there be a Choice where the trying any but one is reſtrained? the which Reſtraint confounds the Choice. Again, if thoſe of the *Epiſcopal Government* do look upon *Toleration* or *Liberty of Conſcience*, ſimply ſo conſidered, to be a Sin, then I query if it be not an Evil to *tolerate* any? and whether that Evil is not then more aggravated if they ſhall *tolerate* that *Opinion* or *Religion* that they would have us ſwear againſt, becauſe they ſay it is idolatrous and ſinful? And whether there is not a farther Aggravation, if the worſer be allowed, and the better be ſuppreſſed? And whether they will not evidence themſelves to be ſuch as judge not as God judgeth, if they ſhall *tolerate* the Great, the Rich and Mighty, and ſuppreſs the Mean, the Poor and the Low? when God *reſpecteth not Perſons*, but in *every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh Righteouſneſs, is accepted of him.*

And therefore I would earneſtly beg every one (the Bent of whoſe Spirit carrieth him that Way) according to the Requirement of the Apoſtle, to *try their Spirits whether they are of God or not*; 1 John iv. 1. and to examine their Wiſdom in this Caſe of *Perſecution*, whether it be that Wiſdom that is *from above*, which is *firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle and eaſy to be intreated, full of Mercy and good Fruits, without Partiality, without Hypocriſy*, Jam. iii. 17.

Whether it be without Partiality? whether they would be willing to be ſerved ſo themſelves? whether if they have at any Time undergone *Perſecution* for Conſcience Sake, and have not cried out againſt it as abominable, as the *Roman Catholics* and *Epiſcopals* have done in that grand Uſurper *Oliver Cromwell*'s Days, and the general *Baptiſts*, confident I am ſhould have done, had he longer continued; even as they with others now do, and as that People of the Preſbyterian Perſuaſion ſuddenly (unleſs my Judgment greatly fail me) will do, if this horrid *Rome-bred perſecuting Spirit* ſtill be predominant in *England*, which is contrary to the true Spirit of God, whoſe *Fruit is Love, Joy, Peace, long Suffering, Gentleneſs, Goodneſs, Meekneſs, and Temperance*; *againſt which there is no Law*; no Law of God, although there be now ſome Laws of Man intended to be made againſt them: Oh! that this were taking upon your Spirits, that now ſit at the Stern!

Was not your Loyalty to King *Charles* the Firſt, and King *Charles* the Second, a great Cauſe of your Hardſhips, moſt of you? How fared it with you, you that were continually in *England?* Were not thoſe that bore Sway in *England*, your continual Tormentors, your Fear and daily Dread? and thoſe that were away, Did they not feel the Smart of it? Did you not all, both abroad and at home, cry out of *Oppreſſion, Cruelty*, and *Tyranny?* Did you cry out of them, and think you that others will not cry out of you, if you be found ſuch Actors to others? Was it evil in them to uſe you ſo, for your Loyalty to King *Charles?* And can you be ſo cruel to thoſe that are loyal to *King Jeſus*, and never acted any thing againſt King *Charles* the Firſt, nor King *Charles* the Second, or againſt the meaneſt of you, nor ever took Part with them that did? Did the Hand of God follow them for their cruel and unjuſt Actings to you and the King, as moſt of you do ſay it did? And, can you be the ſame to others, for their Loyalty to Him who hath righted you of them, and brought you to your own again; and that againſt ſome of them too that never got the Worth of one Farthing by all their Pillagings, Plunderings, or Sales, neither of Goods nor Lands? Can you be contented to enjoy your own? And, are you not willing that thoſe that never harmed you, ſhould enjoy theirs? Are you glad that you are brought into the Land of your Nativity again? And, would you now moſt cruelly joſtle others out? Are you now ſetting up that Worſhip that you judge to be agreeable to the Mind of God? And, will you now force others to forſake what they are perſuaded to?

Oh! that you would but conſider, what your own Oppreſſions were, and who you are now about to oppreſs; let not your Fury, nor Revenge fall heavy upon the Innocent; Why ſhould Iniquity and Injuſtice be found in your Hands?

Oh!

Oh! conſider with yourſelves apart, and diſcourſe it each with other ſeriouſly, what ſuch a Judgment as I, in the Singleneſs of my Soul, have laid before you; can, or ever did do you Harm; who never did any Acts of Violence for, nor againſt, you or the King, nor ever ſhall reſolve to do; who have not gone with a defenſive Weapon ſo much as to defend myſelf with, above this fifteen Years; and am of the ſame Judgment with our Brethren of *Holland*, whoſe innocent and harmleſs Behaviour, confident I am, many of you, in that Time of your Abſence from this Land of your Nativity, are well acquainted with; the which I am confident the ſtricteſt of you have no juſt Exception againſt, either for endeavouring to undermine Government, or to pull down Governors, or by Fraud or Force to have to do with any Man's Poſſeſſion, Goods, or Eſtate; who am willing to *do by another, as I would have another do by me*, and am as willing another ſhould live as myſelf, whoſe Endeavour, in all my Teachings, have been to perſuade Perſons to forſake and avoid all Acts of Violence and Oppreſſion, and to cleave to God with Purpoſe of Heart, and to perſuade thoſe that have owned God in his own Way, to continue ſtedfaſt in the ſame, and to prove faithful to him, whoſe Laws teach the beſt Loyalty to our earthly Princes, and pureſt Love to all, yea to our very Enemies, who with Single-heartedneſs to all, and without either Fawning or Flattery, have and ſhall ſtill reſolve to tell every one, with whom I have to do, the worſt of their Condition, and ſhew them the Danger they are in, by Reaſon of their Miſactings; with an earneſt Deſire that in order to their eternal Well-being, they would refuſe the Evil and chooſe the Good.

And ſo I have at this Time done with you, the great Council of the Nation, and if for my Plainneſs of Speech either as to the Matter or Manner of it, you ſhall become mine Enemy, becauſe I deal ſo plainly with you, I ſhall let you know, that notwithſtanding, I ſhall, in the Singleneſs of my Soul pray for you, and for your Converſion, not in the leaſt endeavouring or plotting your Confuſion.

And now I ſhall earneſtly deſire both the King, his People, and you their Repreſentative, to judge with Equity our innocent Cauſe, that ſo, when you ſhall yourſelves be ſummoned at that great Seſſion, before that great Tribunal and righteous Judge, who ſhall give to every Man according as his Work ſhall be, that then you be found innocent and without Blame, as to your Actings againſt the peaceable ones of Chriſt's Flock, whoſe Sentence, of either, *Come, ye Bleſſed, inherit the Kingdom*, or, *Go ye Curſed into everlaſting Fire*, will be of an eternal Extent, and that upon the Account of Men's Actings to his People, either for doing them good, or for refuſing to do them that Good they might have done them; who looketh upon what is either neglected or done to them, to be done unto himſelf: And hence it is, that he uttered that from Heaven, ſaying, *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? I am Jeſus whom thou perſecuteſt*, Acts ix. 3, 4. And after the ſame Manner will be his Sentence at that great Day of Account, even, *Go ye Curſed into everlaſting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels; for when I was hungry ye fed me not, and naked ye clothed me not, ſick and in Priſon, and ye viſited me not; for in as much as ye did it not to one of theſe little Ones, ye did it not unto me.*

Oh then

Oh then I beſeech thee, whoever thou be, that art of a perſecuting Spirit, I ſay again, I would beg thee ſeriouſly to conſider, Oh perſecuting Spirit, that if the Lord Chriſt will thus ſeverely puniſh the neglecting the doing Good to his People, when hungry, naked, ſick, and impriſoned; what then will be the Portion of thoſe that cauſe them to come into ſuch Difficulties and Straits, as Impriſonments, Hungerings, Nakedneſs and Sickneſs; and cauſe them to be thrown, as it were, on Heaps, one upon another, as ſome of the Baptiſts lately have been 60 in one Room, ſome nine Foot broad, and fourteen Foot long, in *Newgate:* And much after the ſame Way in ſeveral other Gaols and Priſons in the Nation; enough to breed Infections and Diſeaſes, had not the God whom we ſerve appeared mightily on our Behalfs.

And ſeeing the eternal Sentence will be ſo ſevere againſt ſuch violent Actors, in love to their Souls I cannot chooſe but give them a timely Caution, and in their Behalfs with that Servant of the Lord, *Deut.* xxxii. 29. cry out and ſay, *O that they were wiſe, that they would underſtand this, that they would conſider their latter End.*

And now let not the King, his Peers, nor his People, be angry, and I will ſpeak but this once more in the Behalf of myſelf, and all that are of the Separation, of what Judgment ſoever, that ſo, if poſſible, I may be inſtrumental, that the Peace of the Nation be preſerved and kept; and this I ſhall humbly beg, that if you are not willing that we ſhould ſerve our God, in that Way which we have received, but that we ſhall be taken into Cuſtody for our ſo doing, that then you would commiſſionate ſome Peace-Officers for that Work to have to do with us, and that we be not left to the Mercy of the rude Multitude, nor the violent Laws of the mercenary Soldiers, whoſe Actings towards the Peaceable have been very rude and inhumane, in *London* and *Weſtminſter*; where, at one Meeting, they wounded one Man ſo dangerouſly on his Arm, that it is greatly feared he will loſe the Uſe of one of his Hands.

At another Meeting-place they rudely came and drank up the Wine that was provided by that Congregation to celebrate that holy Ordinance of communicating at the Table of the Lord.

At another Meeting-place, the Congregation being generally diſperſed before they came, in Revenge whereof the Soldiery ſet on the rude Multitude to break in Pieces the Table that they uſed to make Uſe of to celebrate the Lord's Supper upon.

At another Meeting-place they rudely behaved themſelves, violently caſting ſome of them head-long down the Stairs, but the Stairs being winding, and ſome People upon them, the Force of the Falls (through Mercy) being thereby broken, there was not much Harm done as to the People, the greateſt Harm that was done, was by one of the Soldiers to himſelf; for he ſet that up then upon his own Score, the which (unrepented of) will exclude him Heaven's Glory, if the Saying of our Apoſtle be true, in 1 *Cor.* vi. 9. who would *not have Men to be deceived*, for ſaith he, *neither Fornicators, nor Idolaters, nor Adulterers, nor effeminate, nor Abuſers of themſelves with Mankind, nor Thieves,* &c. *ſhall inherit the Kingdom of God:* And ſuch was one of them who ſtole a Bible, as I am informed by one, who ſaith, that at the very Interim of Time-

charged

charged him with it, in the Face of the Congregation; and if ſuch Acts of Deceit ſhould be winked at and allowed, we ſhould be in as bad a Condition, as when our Houſes were ſearched, upon the late Inſurrection, when who would, came and forced into Houſes, and took and bore away what they pleaſed, to the great Hindrance of ſome, as can be clearly evidenced; and when our Pockets were ſearched in the main Guard, and our Knives and other Things taken from us, and never reſtored to us again; and if ſuch Acts of Violence be not reſtrained, our peaceable and well-governed Land, in a ſhort Time may (it is to be feared) become *Acheldama.*

And therefore, in the Behalf of myſelf, and all others, whoſe Light it is to walk in a ſeparated Way, if by your Appointments, we ſhall be taken into Cuſtody for our peaceable Meeting together, in the Service of our God, I ſhall humbly beg, that we may have the Privileges of free-born *Engliſhmen*, and that which the worſt of Offenders enjoy; who, though the Laws both of God and Man, will condemn to the ſhamefulleſt Death, yet they are apprehended by Peace-officers, and peaceably preſerved from the Hands of Violence and Cruelty, till they be legally charged, adjudged and condemned; the which Security, if this great Aſſembly ſhall vouchſafe us, and that the Nation be forbidden to make any tumultuous Inſurrections contrary to the Peace of the Nation, and that they forbear to commit any Acts of Violence upon us, either in our peaceable Aſſemblings together, or apart at our Habitations, or elſewhere, till further Order from the Aſſembly; the which, if this national Aſſembly ſhall vouchſafe us the Privilege of, we ſhall, in all Humility and Thankfulneſs acknowledge it; but if not, yet it ſhall be our great Care in our Meetings, to perform our Duties in Obedience to our God, and to follow that Chriſtian Advice of his Servant, in 1 *Tim.* ii. 1. *To make Prayers, Supplications, Interceſſions, and giving of Thanks for all Men, for Kings, and all that are in Authority; that under them we may lead a peaceable and quiet Life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty*; becauſe it is *good and acceptable in the Sight of God our Saviour:* And this ſhall be the Reſolution of *him*, whoſe only End and Aim is the Glory of God, the good of the King, the Well-being of his People, and the eternal Benefit of all your Souls;

Who in the Singleneſs of Heart, in the Sight of the All-ſeeing God, ſhall ſubſcribe himſelf a Friend to your Souls, in order to your eternal Well-being, in the Behalf of himſelf, and thoſe he hath Communion withall.

HENRY ADIS.

To

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled,

The humble PETITION of *Oliver Flemming*, Knight,

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT your Petitioner, after fifteen Years Service to his late Majeſty, of ever bleſſed Memory, in foreign Negotiations, having contracted therein a great Debt, and being left abroad, deſtitute of all Supply for his Subſiſtance, he was forced to return home at ſuch a Time as his Majeſty's own Afflictions had made it unſeaſonable and impoſſible for him to expect any other Relief or Recompence than his Majeſty's Acceptance and Royal Compaſſion, of both which your Petitioner had a large and ample Teſtimony.

That ſtaying in Town by his Majeſty's Command, he was, by an Ordinance of Lords and Commons, put upon the Office of Maſter of the Ceremonies, which he ſeveral times performed to his Majeſty (who well knew and conſidered your Petitioner's ſad Condition) with his Favour and Approbation; yet after an innocent and faithful Diſcharge, for ſeveral Years, of his Truſt therein, he was again, upon that fatal Uſurpation and Change of Government, left in a State much worſe than when it was firſt put upon him, as by the humble Narrative annexed more fully appears.

That for the third Stroke of this Shipwreck of his Fortune, he was thrown upon executing the ſame Office to Perſons whom he could not reſiſt, and by his own invincible Neceſſities he was forced to act paſſively; in which, his leaſt Miſery was the utter Ruin of himſelf and Family, and his only Conſolation, his conſtant Refuſal to repair it, in that deteſtable Way, out of the Spoils of his gracious Maſter, the Ruins of the Church, or the Deſolation of private Families, although often preſſed and urged upon him.

Your Petitioner therefore, far ſtricken in Years, and out of all Employment, with the ſo near Concernment of a Wife and Children, yet unprovided for, in extreme Poverty, humbly begs, that your Honours would commiſerate his deplorable Condition, and take into Conſideration his Debts contracted in the public Service, and order ſuch Relief as his extreme preſſing Calamities require, and as ſhall ſeem fit to the Juſtice, Charity and Generoſity of the Parliament.

And your Petitioner ſhall pray, *&c.*

The

The Humble Narrative of *Oliver Flemming*, Knight; ſhewing the Manner how I came to execute the Office of Maſter of the Ceremonies, with my Comportment and Sufferings therein for the Space of near eighteen Years.

I Had the Honour to ſerve his late Majeſty (of bleſſed Memory) in the Quality of his Reſident, for the Time of fifteen Years, to the Cantons of *Switzerland*, *Grizons*, *Geneva*, ſeveral *German* Princes, and to ſome Imperial Cities; but by Reaſon of the then growing Troubles at home, I found myſelf totally abandoned, great Arrears due to me, no Money tranſmitted for my Subſiſtance, nor could I expect any for the future, and not able to ſuffer any longer my extreme Miſery, being incredibly afflicted to ſee his Majeſty's Honour and the public Reputation wounded through my Sides, I was forced to come home.

At my Arrival, I acquainted his Majeſty with my ſad Condition, who was graciouſly pleaſed to be very ſenſible of it, but not able at that Time to help me. I alſo acquainted his Majeſty with ſome ſecret Negotiations which I had had, with the Directors of the late Duke *Bernard* of *Weymar*'s Army, according to Inſtructions I had to that Purpoſe. Some Propoſitions were made unto me of great Importance, concerning *Briſac*, and the reſt of the ſaid Duke's Conqueſts in *Alſatia*, and other adjacent Parts, which I then delivered his Majeſty in Writing. It did much trouble his Majeſty, that the Poſture of his Affairs then was ſuch, as that he was altogether unable to lay hold on thoſe Overtures, ſo honourable and advantageous. I was commanded to return them Thanks for their good Will and Affection to his Majeſty; but they finding themſelves deſtitute of their Hopes, were forced to ſtick cloſe to their former Agreement with *France*.

His Majeſty was then at *Windſor*, when I waited on him; and at his Departure thence was pleaſed to command me to ſtay at *London*, and to make what Shift I could for my Subſiſtance, promiſing and aſſuring me, that when God ſhould reſtore him to his Authority again, he would take Care for the Payment of my Arrears, and ſome fitting Encouragement for my long Service. He was then alſo pleaſed to command me to be vigilant and induſtrious to keep Life in that Buſineſs of *Briſac* and *Alſatia*, hoping that in Time he ſhould be in a Condition to embrace it.

After his Majeſty's Departure, the Ambaſſadors and Reſidents continued their Reſidence in *London*; where having obſerved from time to time the Beginnings, and ſeen ſome ſad Events of our civil Wars, they did ſucceſſively make their Addreſſes to the Parliament.

It was then thought neceſſary to find out a Perſon fitly qualified, to execute the Place of *Maſter of the Ceremonies*. Some were pleaſed to name myſelf, and ſo I was commanded, by an Ordinance of Parliament, to diſcharge that Place.

This was done, not only without my ſeeking (not having ſpoken to any Friend either for this or any other Place whatſoever) but to the contrary; (from

a ſerious Deſire to be excuſed from that Employment, and in a private Station to attend the good Iſſue of his Majeſty's Concernments) I did urge ſome Friends of mine, that I might be diſpenſed with, which can be witneſſed by Perſons of eminent Quality yet alive. But the Ordinance being paſſed both the Houſes, I did, not without Reluctance, accept of it, and this is the Manner of my being engaged in that expenſive, and to me ruinous, Employment, which I have ever ſince executed with unwearied Diligence; and ſo far as the Calamities of the Times, ſo full of Diſtraction, Factions, Diſorders, and Confuſions, would permit, conſtantly managed the Things which came within the Sphere of my Activity, with all poſſible Prudence and Dexterity, to the Profit and Honour of the Nation.

This punctilious Place I was conſtrained to execute alone, without any Help, only when the Lords and Commons ſate, I made Uſe of ſome Gentlemen of Quality, that out of Affection to the public Reputation did voluntarily aſſiſt me, when there was Occaſion of any ſuch public Service, during which Time, and his Majeſty's Reſtraint, I was commanded, upon ſeveral Occaſions, and to ſeveral Places, to conduct Ambaſſadors to his Majeſty's Preſence, who was pleaſed to approve of thoſe Services, and graciouſly to reiterate his former Promiſes to me.

Shortly after, it pleaſed God for the Sins of theſe Nations, to permit wicked Men to perpetrate an Act of the greateſt Atrocity; the King was put to Death with no leſs barbarous Cruelty than unheard of inſolent Oſtentation, ſuch as no Hiſtory can parallel ſince the Creation. This fatal Blow given, and the Peers ignominiouſly laid aſide, and left a Skeleton only of their innate Dignity and Honours, and the moſt zealous, faithful, and prudent Patriots of the Houſe of Commons forcibly ſecluded, and the whole Foundation of the antient Government ſubverted, a democratical Commonwealth declared for; but, in effect, it proved to be a lawleſs and tyrannical Oligarchy, which was ingenuouſly confeſſed by ſome of the moſt judicious amongſt them, foretelling that all would come to Confuſion and Ruin.

Foreign Princes and States ſend their Ambaſſadors to acknowledge and congratulate this new Government, with great Obſequiouſneſs, conforming themſelves with great Difficulty and Averſion, to the Capriciouſneſs of thoſe that did manage the Affairs, who did unhinge all Decency and Order therein.

They did ſend their Emiſſaries abroad, with great Expence and Oſtentation, accompanied with extravagant Inſtructions, which was Matter of Laughter to ſome of our Neighbours. The great Concourſe of foreign Miniſters, made ſome of them think it fit to have a Committee to regulate Affairs of that Nature, and how to manage the public Negotiations with foreign Miniſters, and what Courſe and Form to be eſtabliſhed in the Diſtribution of national Civilities toward Strangers, according to their ſeveral Characters and Qualities; but no ſuch Committee was appointed. Some were of Opinion, that all Ceremonies were ſuperfluous, that Subſtantials were to be minded, as if there were no Subſtance in the Tranſactions betwixt Nation and Nation; that ſuch trivial Things might be taken into Conſideration, according to the emergent Occaſions. The Duty that I owed to the Honour of the Nation, begot in me an afflictive Re-

ſentment

ſentment of theſe Diſorders, yet from a plain-hearted and ſincere Deſire to be as inſtrumental as I could, to prevent further Violations thereof, and from a Neceſſity againſt which I had no Defence (my then Condition conſidered) I was forced to act in this Place, and (to the Intent I might better accompliſh thoſe public Ends, which I then deſigned) having more Work than I was able to wield, and no Gentleman perſuaded to aſſiſt me as formerly, they being weary of that Trouble and Thankleſs Office, I did remonſtrate the Neceſſity of having ſome Help, alledging the Example of the King's Court, and of all other Courts and Governments; and did inſtance in Sir *Lewis Lukenor*, who had for his Aſſiſtance Sir *William Button*, and Sir *John Finnet*, beſide a Marſhal of the Ceremonies, whoſe Office was to go before, and to make Way at Audiences, and to be ſent by the Maſter, upon ordinary Occaſions, to the public Miniſters. The Aſſiſtants did officiate, in caſe of Sickneſs, or other neceſſary Abſence of the Maſter, but all my Endeavours proved fruitleſs. I was told by ſome of them that they needed no Pedagogue to inſtruct them; that their Government was of that Power and Authority, that they could eſtabliſh Things of that Nature, without being minded of former Examples in *England*, or of what was practiſed in foreign Parts; that I ought to reſt ſatisfied with what Orders I ſhould receive from time to time, and for to help and aſſiſt me they would give Order to their Meſſengers to wait upon me to that Purpoſe. I deſired that it might be ſeriouſly conſidered how much it would reflect upon the Honour of the Nation, to employ Men of that Condition, Breeding, and odious Employment, no ways capable nor qualified to act in a Buſineſs of ſuch a punctilious and delicate Nature; that the public Miniſters could not chooſe but be ſenſible of ſuch Attempts and Affronts put upon them; but all I could ſay was in vain, and as I did foreſee, the public Miniſters did greatly ſtorm at this Indignity, and did make their Complaints, but no Redreſs was given, and they calmly at laſt did endure it with Patience, contenting themſelves to laugh at our extravagant Ways, and deſpotical Actings, making themſelves merry with the Gallantry of the Sergeants and Gaolers (as they called them) that were appointed to accompany them to their Audience. All which I was forced to hear and ſee, to my extreme Grief and Vexation; and ſometimes taking occaſion to ſpeak of theſe Things, hoping thereby to procure a Remedy, I was anſwered, they were ſent, and not ſent for, and that they might return whence they came, if not pleaſed with the Government of *England*.

When Ambaſſadors came, then on a ſudden all Things were huddled up with Confuſion and Diſorder, and acted according to the imperious Humour of ſome few, who with great Superciliouſneſs did arrogate to themſelves an infallible Knowledge of all State Negotiations and Affairs, which others taking for granted, did acquieſce in the Judgment of thoſe ſelf-creating State-Grandees, who created alſo theſe Innovations in Matter of Audience, that it muſt not be demanded of the Maſter of the Ceremony, according to the general Practice of all Nations, but muſt be demanded by Letter to the Speaker; when granted, then the Maſter of the Ceremonies did bring them to the Houſe, where being ſate, they delivered their Credentials to the ſaid Maſter, and he to the Speaker. In private Audience with the Council of State, it muſt likewiſe be

procured by Letters from the public Miniſter to the Preſident, and then an Order to the Maſter of the Ceremony to bring him: None were permitted to have Audience in the Houſe, but extraordinary and ordinary Ambaſſadors, other public Miniſters of leſſer Characters muſt not be admitted into the Houſe; but a Committee was choſen and ſent up to the Houſe of Peers, and the Chairmain received his Credentials from the Hand of the Maſter of the Ceremonies. The Houſe of Lords was not conſtantly made Uſe of, but ſometimes the inner Court of Wards was appointed, which ſometimes did beget Diſputes, becauſe they who had not their Audience in the Houſe of Peers, conceived it a Diſparagement to their Maſters: But that which did moſt juſtly offend thoſe public Miniſters of the leſſer Claſſes, and in them their Maſters, was, that contrary to the Practice of the whole World in all the Sorts of Government, they were not permitted to deliver their Credentials themſelves, to that which was looked upon as the ſupreme Authority; but when they ſaw their Complaints and Quarrellings did produce no Satisfaction, they were ordered by their Maſters to connive at ſuch Punctilios, to the End it might not be an Impediment to more material Buſineſſes. The public Miniſters in their reciprocal Viſits would comfort one another, that they muſt do in *England*, as thoſe that did reſide in *Turkey*, *Muſcovy*, and other barbarous Princes Courts; and as to their State Negotiations, that they had as little Satisfaction; for they did meet with ſo many Difficulties, Delays, unaccuſtomed and uncivil Ways of Treating, that they could not tell how to behave themſelves, their Commiſſioners being often changed, and ſo conſtrained to ravel into Buſineſs, that had been upon the Matter already agreed upon.

The Truth is, that the public Miniſters were generally ill uſed, unequally and uncivilly dealt withall, the Laws of Nations violated, affronted in their Perſons, arreſted in their Coaches, violent Hands laid upon them by Bailiffs.

An Extraordinary Ambaſſador from *Venice*, being upon his Way hither, had ſent ſome of his Goods by Sea, the Ship being of *Holland*, was taken and brought into *England*, and the Goods ſeized upon by the Prize Office; the Secretary of that State claims the Ambaſſador's Goods, but no Reſtitution endeavoured: A while after the Ambaſſador comes himſelf, and at an Audience prays, that his Goods might be reſtored unto him again, offering to diſcover ſome Perſons that had ſome Part of his Things, eſpecially ſome fair Looking-glaſſes, and had nothing but fair Promiſes, and went away without Satisfaction.

This is but a Touch, incidental to this Diſcourſe, it would require a Volume to enumerate the Injuries that have been put upon public Miniſters. When great Faults were committed, and of ſo groſs a Nature, that even thoſe who had uſurped the Authority, were aſhamed of them, then was I made Choice of, to excuſe and apologize for them, and deſired to take the Fault upon myſelf; ſome of the Ambaſſadors would ſmile, and ſay there was a little Civility in the Excuſe, but that they knew well enough from whom thoſe Affronts came. Theſe Things were ſwallowed and diſſembled, to the Admiration of all thoſe who had any Knowledge in foreign Affairs.

No Preſents were to be given to public Miniſters, contrary to the Cuſtom of all Nations and Governments; no, not the Warrants for Bucks and Does in

their

their Seaſons, as was conſtantly uſed to be in the regal Government; and to the End that this might not ſeem to be a ſordid Frugality it was tempered with an Act of Generoſity (ſo called by them) towards public Miniſters, which was to forbid me to accept of the Donations due to my Place, and an odious Command laid upon me, not to permit any others employed in the Service of public Miniſters, to receive any Gratuity from them; but ſome ſaid that this was a great Wrong and Injury to me, and that I and others ought to be reimburſed out of the public Purſe, which was promiſed, but not performed in the leaſt. With no ſmall Difficulty and ſhameful Sollicitation, the public Miniſters had their wonted Proportion of Wines allowed them, Cuſtom and Exciſe free; but towards the latter End, the Reſidents were abated a fourth Part of their accuſtomed Proportion, all which I was conſtrained to bear upon my Heart as Matter of much Sadneſs and Sorrow, having no other Comfort left me, but the Conſtancy and Integrity of my Endeavours, to prevent the proſtituting of the Nation's Honour by ſuch Miſcarriages.

I humbly conceive, that this rational Queſtion may be aſked me, why I did act all this Time, and that in all Changes whatſoever, whether my Reaſon could diſpenſe and approve of theſe frequent Revolutions? To which I anſwer in the Negative: For as I was unwilling, at firſt, to meddle with this Office, which hath been my Undoing, ſo did I from time to time expreſs my Diſlike of Proceedings, when and where I could do it with Prudence and Safety, in a Time when the Power of the Nation was wielded with ſo much Paſſion and Violence.

But my invincible Anſwer is, that lawleſs Neceſſity is an irreſiſtable Tyrant, which forced me to act paſſively, or to periſh; for, as I humbly ſhewed, in the Beginning of this Narrative, I was deeply engaged for his late Majeſty (of ever bleſſed Memory) which Debts are ſince doubled, the Creditors reckoning Intereſt upon Intereſt for twenty Years together, this made my Burden ſo heavy and ſad, nay almoſt inſupportable, that Men did admire how I was able to bear it.

And I ſeriouſly conſidered with myſelf, that my ſerving in that Place was very innocent, as conſiſting in holding forth to Strangers the Civilities of the Nation; and indeed, during the whole Courſe of my Service in this Office, my End was fixed upon the Service, Intereſt and Honour of the Nation, conſtantly hoping, that God, in his Providence, would, in his good Time, deliver us out of our Diſtractions, and reſettle the three Nations again, upon the ancient Baſis of our former Government, which we ſee now effected, in great Mercy, by the happy Return of his ſacred Majeſty to his Throne. That this is not a flattering Inſinuation, but a ſincere and real Truth, is ſufficiently known to ſuch, as I durſt open my Thoughts unto. Beſides, the Duty of my Loyalty, and my Confidence of the Public's Re-eſtabliſhment, and therein my own particular Concernments, were a ſtrong Motive thereunto; for I found that I could not expect any Juſtice, much leſs Favour, from Men that did look upon me as an old Courtier, and ſo not much to be truſted; and to this I may add, the Hatred that ſome leading Men did bear me ſecretly, for having with

Freedom

Freedom of Diſcourſe expreſſed my Averſion, againſt Enthuſiaſts, and their new heterodox Principles in Matters of Religion.

I acted all along by the aboveſaid Ordinance of Lords and Commons, who had declared for a King and Parliament; during which Time, I had the Honour to be commanded to conduct Ambaſſadors to his late Majeſty's Preſence, who was graciouſly pleaſed to accept of my Service, as is above-mentioned; and I have in all Changes, conſtantly ſhunned all other Patents, Commiſſions, and Powers of whomſoever, which was not without great Difficulty and Increaſe of Jealouſy and Diſtruſt, which, beſides the Operation it had, in obſtructing the juſt Payment of what was due to my Place, did even hinder the Re-imburſing of what I was out of Purſe for their public Service; nay, their Suſpicion went ſo far, that ſome that had the Management of State Affairs, did ſecretly requeſt the public Miniſters not to acquaint me with their Negotiations; but they frequently coming to viſit me, did impart to me what had been ſaid to my Prejudice, blaming greatly their Ingratitude, Jealouſy and Ignorance, profeſſing the greateſt Comfort they had here was my Converſation.

This can be witneſſed by many Ambaſſadors and others yet alive. The Neceſſity of ſpeaking of theſe Things, I hope, will apologize for this ſeeming Oſtentation. I did eaſily perceive, that their Drift in revealing theſe Things concerning myſelf was to have wrought a Diſcontent and Reſentment in me, and to have made ſome Uſe of me to the public Prejudice, which our raw Stateſmen (not having paſt their Noviciate) did not dive into; and the Truth is, that upon this Score of Revenge, and my known Poverty, ſome of them thought they had gotten ſuch Intimacy with me, that they might attempt to feel how the Pulſe of my Fidelity did beat; not doubting but their Injuries, added to my extreme Neceſſity and ill Uſage, would make me malleable enough for their Ends, and to become an Inſtrument for the furthering of their Maſter's Deſigns: To this Purpoſe, conſiderable Sums of Money were offered, but were by me refuſed with a generous Reſentment, juſtly abhorring any thing of that Nature that might any way tend to the Diſhonour or Diſadvantage of the Nation, or to my particular Infamy. I am ready, when required, to name the Parties. It may eaſily be conceived, that during the Space of ſo many Years, and the conſtant Concourſe of ſo many public Miniſters, and important Negotiations, if I had ſought myſelf, I had Opportunities, many and great, to have made my Fortune, eſpecially conſidering that I (almoſt alone) was permitted to converſe with them daily.

When his Majeſty (of bleſſed Memory) his Goods and Moveables were ſold, then was I earneſtly adviſed and preſſed to lay hold on that Opportunity for the Payment of what was due to me, and fitting Recompence for my Service. The ſame was offered me when the King's, Queen's, and Church Lands were to be ſold to pay thoſe to whom they were indebted, but I did loyally, conſtantly and conſcientiouſly decline and ſhun thoſe Ways of Payment and Compenſation; neither would I meddle with any confiſcated particular Man's Eſtate, rather chuſing extreme Poverty, than to be obnoxious to the Curſe of the true Owners; and this I did, in Times when there

was

was little or no Probability to be called to an Account by Man. I was alſo told, that I ſhould be employed on ſome conſiderable Embaſſy, but in a prudent Way did ſhun all Occaſions that might engage me in any ſuch odious Employment, although the Allowance was incomparably beyond all former Precedents, and better paid, being permitted to draw Bills of Exchange upon their Maſters, a Thing never heard of heretofore.

Many other great Promiſes were made to me by the ſucceſſive Powers, but none performed in the leaſt; nor could I ever obtain ſo much Juſtice as to have ſome appointed to ſign my Bills, according to Cuſtom, for the Money I had continually Occaſion to diſburſe for the public Service. By the Ordinance of Parliament, I was to enjoy the Office, with all the Allowances, Perquiſites, Rights and Privileges as hath at any Time, or doth belong to any Maſter of the Ceremonies; which I found did formerly ariſe by 200 *l.* annual Fees, an Allowance of twenty Shillings a Day for every Audience, twenty Shillings a Day for a Coach out of Town; if in Town, ten Shillings; and beſides other Incidents, one of the greateſt Benefits, the Right of receiving the accuſtomed Donations and Preſents from Ambaſſadors, and other public Miniſters: But I have not received any of theſe Perquiſites and Rights belonging to the Place, according to the Ordinance; only I received a great Part of the two hundred Pounds Salary *per Annum*, with great Pains, Sollicitation, and extraordinary Expence. What I received on that Account will appear on the public Receipts. I am out of Purſe above a thouſand Pounds for Coach-hire, and a thouſand Pounds for Audiences and Conferences; and beſides the ſeveral Journies to his Majeſty, for five and twenty Journies to *Graveſend*, and elſewhere, to fetch in, and to re-conduct Ambaſſadors back again; each Journey, computed one with another, did coſt me ten Pounds at the leaſt, conſidering the Expenſiveneſs of Diſtance of the Places, and the Number of ſuch as were ordered from time to time to attend that Service. The Donations and Preſents due to the Place, from Ambaſſadors and other public Miniſters, were courteouſly ſent by them to me, and by me civilly ſent back again. What thoſe Preſents did amount to in ſo long a Time, I cannot exactly ſet down; but according to my beſt and moſt conſcientious Eſtimate, I conceive that it might amount to ſomething above five thouſand Pounds.

I find myſelf, after near five and thirty Years public Service abroad and at home in this ſad and unparallelled Condition, that I am eight thouſand Pounds worſe than nothing, although far beneath what is juſtly owing me from the Public. I have been forced to pawn and ſell what I had of Worth, even to my wearing Cloaths. What I have ſet down in this Narrative (as to the Subſtance of it) I affirm to be a poſitive Truth, and ready to make Oath upon it, if required: Therefore I do humbly pray, that ſome preſent Relief may be afforded me (to prevent my otherwiſe inevitable Ruin) and that a Courſe may be taken for diſcharging a Debt contracted in his late Majeſty's Service abroad and at home, in Obedience to public Commands, upon an indeclinable Neceſſity.

I do

I do in all humble Manner crave Pardon for this prolix Diſcourſe; but I hope the Extremity of my Condition will apologize for me, and plead my Excuſe.

A LIST of the Members of both Houſes of Parliament that were forcibly ſecluded by the Army in the Year 1648, or ſince excluded by a few of their Fellow-Members, confirming that which they formerly diſowned.

The Houſe of Peers.

THE Earl of Northumberland
The Earl of Rutland
The Earl of Pembrook, *the Earl of* Saliſbury, *and ſitting as Commons.*
The Earl of Warwick
The Earl of Exeter
The Earl of Lincoln
The Earl of Nottingham
The Earl of Mancheſter
The Earl of Denbigh
The Earl of Oxford
The Earl of Bridgwater
The Earl of Elgin
The Earl of Winchelſey
The Earl of Dorſet
The Earl of Middleſex.

Viſcounts.

The Lord Viſcounts Say *and* Seale
The Lord Viſcount Conway.

Barons.

The Lord Gray *of* Warke
The Lord Dacres
The Lord North
The Lord Roberts
The Lord Montague
The Lord Wharton
The Lord Barckley
The Lord Brook
The Lord Rochford
The Lord Daincourt
The Lord Stanhoſe
The Lord Maynard
The Lord Craven.

Of the Houſe of Commons.

Bedfordſhire.

Sir Roger Burgoyne, *Knt.*
Sir Beauchamp Saint John } Burg.
Sir Samuel Luke

Berkſhire.

Richard Winwood, *Eſq;*
Robert Packer, *Eſq;* } Burg.

Buckinghamſhire.

Major General Brown
William Drak, *Eſq;*
Francis Drak, *Eſq;* } Burg.
Peregrin Hobby, *Eſq;*

Cornwall.

Hugh Buſkawen, *Knt.*
Thomas Gewen, *Eſq;*
George Kekewich, *Eſq;* } Burg.
Thomas Povey, *Eſq;*
Francis Hollis, *Eſq;*

Thomas

Thomas Waller, *Esq*;
John Thomas, *Esq*;
John Thynate, *Esq*;
Henry Willis, *Esq*
John Arundell, *Esq*;
Francis Buller, *Esq*;
Sir Thomas Trevor
John Carew, *Esq*; } Burg.
William Prynn, *Esq*;
Lionell Copley, *Esq*;
Mr. Tempell
Charles *L.* Car. *E. of* Ancram
Richard Erisey, *Esq*;
William Prieſtley, *Esq*;
Thomas Dacres, *Esq*;

Cumberland.

Richard Tolſon, *Esq*; Knight

Cambridgeſhire.

Sir Dudley North } Knights
Sir Francis Ruſſel
Henry Lucas, *Esq*; } Burg.
Nathaniel Bacon, *Esq*;

Cheſhire.

Sir George Booth, Knight

Cheſter City.

William Edwards, *Esq*; } Cit.
John Ratcliffe, *Recorder*

Derbyſhire.

Sir John Curſon, Knight

Devonſhire.

William Morrice, *Esq*; Knight
Simon Snow, *Esq*; Cit.
Sir John Young
John Mainard, *Serj. at Law*
Sir Edmund Powel
Edmund Powel, *Esq*; } Burg.
Eliez. Crimes, *Esq*;
Charles Pim, *Esq*;
Sir Francis Drake, *Bart.*
Robert Shapcot, *Esq*;

Sir Jo. Northcot, *Kt. and Bar.*
Charles Vauhan, *Esq*;
Edward Thomas, *Esq*; } Burg.
Samuel Brown, *Serj. at Law*
Chriſtopher Martin, *Esq*;

Dorſetſhire.

George Scutt, *Esq*;
Denzel Hollis, *Esq*;
Sir Walter Earle, *Knt.* } Burg.
John Bond, *Doctor of Law*
Thomas Ceelie, *Esq*;

Eſſex.

Sir Harbottle Grimſton
Sir John Clotworthy } Burg.
Capel Lukin, *Esq*;

Glouceſterſhire.

Sir John Seymour, *Esq*; Knight
Nathaniel Stephens, *Esq*;
Edward Stephens, *Esq*; } Burg.
John Stephens, *Esq*;

Huntingtonſhire.

Edward Montague, Knight
George Montague, *Esq*; Burg.

Hertfordſhire.

Sir William Litton } Knights
Sir Thomas Dacres
Richard Jennings, *Esq*; } Burg.
Edward Wingate, *Esq*;

Herefordſhire.

Edward Harly, *Esq*; Knight

Hereford City.

Benet Hoſkins, *Esq*; Cit.
Robert Andrews, *Esq*; } Burg.
John Birch, *Esq*;

Kent.

John Boyes, *Esq*; Knight
Thomas Twiſdin, *Serj. at Law*, Burg.

Lincolnſhire.

Sir Anthony Irby
William Wray, *Eſq*;
Col. Edward Roſſiter
Thomas Hatcher, *Eſq*; } Burg.

Lancaſhire.

Sir Ralph Aſhton
Sir Richard Haughton } Knights
Sir Robert Benloes
Col. Robert Shuttleworth
Peter Brock, *Eſq*;
Richard Shuttleworth, *Eſq*; } Burg.

Middleſex.

Sir Gilbert Gerard, *Bart.* Knight

Weſtminſter.

John Glynne, *Serjeant at Law*
William Bell } Cit.

London.

Sir Thomas Soume
Samuel Vaſſall } Cit.

Monmouthſhire.

Northamptonſhire.

William *Lord* Fitzwilliams
Sir Richard Nappier
Richard Knightley, *Eſq*;
John Crew, *Eſq*;
Sir Martin Lifter } Burg.

Norfolk.

Sir John Pottes
Sir John Palgrave } Knights
Sir John Holland
John Spilman, *Eſq*; } Burg.

Northumberland.

Sir John Fennick
William Fennick, *Eſq*; } Knights
Robert Elliſon, *Eſq*;
Robert Scowen, *Eſq*;
John Fiennis, *Eſq*; } Burg.

Oxfordſhire.

Thomas *Viſcount* Wenman
John Fiennis, *Eſq*; } Knights

Oxford City.

John Dayly, *Eſq*;
John Nixon, *Alderman*, } Cit.
Sir Robert Pye
Nathaniel Fiennis, *Eſq*; } Burg.

Surrey.

Sir Richard Onſlow
Sir Ambroſe Browne } Knights
John Eveling, *Eſq*;
Edward Biſh, *Eſq*;
George Eveling, *Eſq*;
William Owfeild, *Eſq*; } Burg.

Staffordſhire.

John Bower, *Eſq*; Knight
John Swinſen, *Eſq*;
Col. Edward Leigh
Samuel Terrick } Burg.

Shropſhire.

Sir John Corbet Knight
Thomas Hunt, *Eſq*;
Robert Clives, *Eſq*;
William Pierpont, *Eſq*;
Eſay Thomas, *Eſq*; } Burg.

Southampton.

Col. Richard Whitehead, *Eſq*;
Col. Richard Norton, *Eſq*; } Knights
Sir John Leigh
Sir John Barrington
Sir William Waller
John Button, *Eſq*;
Sir William Lewis
Sir Henry Worſley
John Bunckley, *Eſq*; } Burg.

Suffolk.

Sir Philip Parker, *Knt.*
Alexander Bence } Burg.

Maurice

Maurice Barrow, *Esq*;
Sir Thomas Barnardiston } Burg.
Brancis Bacon

Somersetshire.

George Horner, *Esq*; Knight

Bristol City. oo

Alexander Popham, *Esq*;
Col. William Strode, *Esq*;
Thomas Hodges, *Esq*; } Burg.
Thomas Grove, *Esq*;
William Carrent, *Esq*;

Sussex. oo

Chichester City.

Sir John Temple
Henry Peek, *Esq*; } Cit.
Harbert Springet, *Esq*;
Arthur Onslow, *Esq*; } Burg.
Paul Ravenscroft, *Esq*;

Westmorland.

Henry Laurence, *Esq*; Knight

Wiltshire.

James Harbert, *Esq*; Knight
William Wheeler, *Esq*;
Edward Baynton, *Esq*;
Thomas Moore, *Esq*;
Sir Nevil Poole
Henry Hungerford, *Esq*; } Burg.
Sir John Eveling
Walter Long, *Esq*;
Edward Poole, *Esq*;
Major Gen. Edw. Massy, *Esq*;

Worcestershire. oo

John Nash, *Esq*; } Burg.
Samuel Gardner

Warwickshire. oo

Coventry.

John Baker, *Alderman* Cit.

Yorkshire. oo

Sir Charles Egerton
Henry Stapleton, *Esq*;
William Ayscough, *Esq*; } Burg.
John Nelthrope
Henry Arthington
Sir Henry Cholmley

Cinque Ports.

Sir John Pelham
Henry Oxenden, *Esq*;
Samuel Gott, *Esq*;
Sir Norton Knatchboul
Sir Edward Bambridge
Sir Thomas Parker
Francis Gerard, *Esq*;

WALES.

Anglesey. o

William Jones, Burg.

Brecknockshire.

Lodwick Lewis, Burg.

Cardiganshire.

Sir Richard Price Knight

Caermarthenshire.

Col. John Lloyd Knight

Carnarvanshire.

Richard Wynne, *Esq*; Knight
William Foxwist Burg.

Denbighshire.

Sir Thomas Middleton Knight

Flintshire.

Thomas Trevor, *Esq*; Knight
Thomas Middleton Burg.

Pembrokeshire.

Arthur Owen, *Esq*; Knight
Sir Robert Needham Burg.

Montgomeryſhire.

Edward Vaughan, *Eſq*; Knight

Radnorſhire.

Arthur Anneſly, *Eſq*; Knight
Robert Herley, *Eſq*; Burg.

The Remainder of the Houſe of Commons, *which have excluded both Houſes and ſit themſelves.*

Buckinghamſhire.

EDmund Weſt, *Eſq*; } Knights
George Fleetwood, *Eſq*; }
John Dormer, *Eſq*;
Thomas Scot } Burg.
Simon Mayne }
Richard Ingoldſby, *Eſq*; }
Bulſtroke Whitlock }

Berkſhire.

Henry Martin, *Eſq*; Knight
Cornelius Holland }
Daniel Blagrave } Burg.
Edward Dunch, *Eſq*; }

Cornwall.

William Say }
Sir John Trevor } Burg.
John Fielder, *Eſq*; }
Nicholas Gold }

Cambridge Univerſity.

John Lowrey Burg.

Cheſhire.

Sir William Brereton Knight

Derby Town.

Nathaniel Hollowes, *Alderman* Burg.

Devonſhire.

Oliver Saint John, *Eſq*; } Burg.
Philip Skippon, *Eſq*; }

Dorſetſhire.

John Pyne, *Eſq*; }
Roger Hill, *Eſq*; }
John Bingham, *Eſq*; } Burg.
John Tranchard, *Eſq*; }

Eſſex.

Sir Henry Mildmay Burg.

Glouceſter.

Thomas Pury } Cit.
John Lenthal, *Eſq*; }

Huntingtonſhire.

Valentine Walton, *Eſq*; Knight

Kent.

Auguſtin Skinner Knight
Sir Thomas Walſingham }
Sir Michael Lieveſey } Burg.
Auguſtin Garland }

Lincolnſhire.

Thomas Liſter, *Eſq*; } Burg.
William Ellis, *Eſq*; }

Leiceſterſhire.

Sir Arthur Haſelrig Knight
Peter Temple, *Eſq*; Burg.

London.

Iſaac Pennington Cit.

Northamptonſhire.

Sir Gilbert Pickering Knight

Nottinghamſhire.

John Hutchinſon, *Eſq*; } Knights
Jerviſe Piggot, *Eſq*; }
Gilbert Millington Burg.

Norfolk.

Eraſmus Earl, *Eſq*; Cit.
Miles Corbet Burg.

Northum-

Northumberland.

Sir Thomas Widdrington — Burg.

Oxfordshire.

William Lenthal, *Esq*; — Burg.

Rutlandshire.

Sir James Harrington, Thomas Waite, *Esq*; — Knights

Surry.

George Thompson, *Lord* Mounson, John Goodwin, *Esq*; — Burg.

Staffordshire.

Thomas Crompton, *Esq*; — Knight

Sir Peter Wentworth, John Corbet, *Esq*; — Burg.

Southampton.

John Lisle, *Esq*; Nicholas Love, *Esq*; *Lord* Lisley, William Hevingham, Robert Wallop, *Esq*; — Burg.

Suffolk.

John Gurdon, Brampton Gurdon — Burg.

Somersetshire.

James Ash, *Esq*; *Sir* Thomas Worth, Walter Stricklan, *Dr.* Palmer — Burg.

Sussex.

William Cawley, *Esq*; Harbert Morley, *Esq*; — Burg.

Robert Goodwin, *Esq*; John Baker, *Esq*; John Downes, Harbert Hayes — Burg.

Wiltshire.

Edmund Ludlow — Knight

Michael Oldworth, John Dove — Cit.

Robert Reynolds, Robert Cicell, *Esq*; — Burg.

Worcestershire.

John Wild, *Serjeant at Law*

Yorkshire.

Luke Robinson, *Esq*; *Sir* John Bouchier, Thomas Chaloner, Francis Thrope, James Nelthrop, William White, Henry Darley, Richard Darly — Burg.

Cinque Ports.

John Fagg, *Esq*; Benjamin Wilson, *Esq*;

WALES.

Cardigan.

Thomas Wogan — Burg.

Glamorganshire.

Algernon Sidney — Burg.

Merionethshire.

John Jones — Knight

By

By this Liſt of the Members of both Houſes, it appears that the Members then ſitting, or having Liberty to ſit, which call themſelves *The Parliament*, are in Number Eighty-nine, *viz.* Sixteen Knights of the Shires, Six Citizens, Sixty-ſeven Burgs.

Whereof for	Kn.	Cit.	Bur.
Buckinghamſhire	2	0	5
Berkſhire	1	0	3
Cornwall	0	0	4
Cambridge	0	0	1
Cheſhire	1	0	0
Derby	0	0	1
Devonſhire	0	0	2
Dorſetſhire	0	0	4
Eſſex Sir Henry Mildmay *alone*	0	0	1
Glouceſter	0	2	0
Huntingtonſhire	1	0	0
Kent	1	0	3
Lincolnſhire	0	0	2
Leiceſterſhire	1	0	1
London	0	1	0
Northamptonſhire	0	1	0
Nottinghamſhire	2	2	0
Norfolk, Norwich	0	0	1
Northumberland	0	0	1
Oxfordſhire	0	0	1
Rutlandſhire	2	2	0
Surrey	0	0	3
Staffordſhire	1	1	2
Southampton	0	0	5
Suffolk	0	0	2
Somerſetſhire	0	0	4
Suſſex	0	0	6
Wiltſhire, Saliſbury	1	2	2
Worceſterſhire	1	0	0
Yorkſhire	0	0	8
Cinque Ports	0	0	2
Wales, Merioneth	1	0	0
Cardigan	0	0	1
Glamorgan	0	0	1

Whereof	Knights
Bedfordſhire	2
Berkſhire	1
Cornwall	2
Cambridgeſhire	2
Cheſhire	1
Derbyſhire	2
Devonſhire	2
Dorſetſhire	2
Eſſex	2
Glouceſter	2
Huntingtonſhire	2
Hertfordſhire	2
Herefordſhire	2
Kent	1
Lincolnſhire	2
Leiceſterſhire	2
Lancaſhire	2
Middleſex	2
Monmouthſhire	2
Northamptonſhire	1
Norfolk	2
Northumberland	2
Oxfordſhire	2
Surrey	2
Staffordſhire	1
Shropſhire	2
Southampton	2
Suffolk	2
Somerſetſhire	2
Suſſex	2
Weſtmorland	2
Wiltſhire	1
Worceſterſhire	1
Warwickſhire	2
Yorkſhire	2
Wales, Angleſey	1
Breaknock	1
Cardiganſhire	1
Caermarthenſhire	1
Carnarvanſhire	1
Denbighſhire	1

Flintſhire

	Knights.		Knights.
Flintſhire - -	1	*Montgomeryſhire* - -	1
Glamorganſhire - -	1	*Radnorſhire* - -	1
Pembrokeſhire - -	1		

Citizens excluded out of theſe Cities, and out of *London.*

York - -	2	*Chicheſter* - - -	2
Briſtol - - -	2	*Carliſle* - - -	2
Norwich - - -	1	*Canterbury* - - -	2
Cheſter - - -	2	*Rocheſter* - - -	2
Exeter - -	2	*Bath*, &c. - - -	1
Oxford - - -	2	*Wincheſter* - -	2
Lincoln - - -	2	*Coventry*, &c. - -	2
Worceſter - -	2	*Weſtminſter* - - -	2

The Acts and Monuments of the late RUMP, from the Time of their laſt Seſſions, until the coming in of the Secluded Members.

Printed in the Year 1660.

To the READER.

Courteous Reader,

I *Have beſtowed ſome Pains in collecting the Occurrences and Proceedings of the late Rump; but I perceive I am partly prevented, by a Thing called the* Proceedings, Votes, Reſolves, of the late Half-Quarter Parliament: *Yet, notwithſtanding, I am reſolved to proceed, in regard I had compacted within the Compaſs of one Sheet of Paper, all (and it may be more than all) the Matter which the Author of the aforeſaid Pamphlet hath comprized in three Sheets.*

The Acts and Monuments of the RUMP.

Ordered, That one Month's Pay be provided for the private Soldiery, both Horſe and Foot, and the reſt of their Arrears when they can get them.

Ordered, That the Exciſe and Cuſtoms ſhall be continued, and that they be improved to the beſt Advantage of the Commonwealth, ſince we are in great Need of Moneys.

Reſolved, That on the 5th of *January* the Houſe will take into Conſideration the Caſes of abſent Members, and how to ſupply the Places of thoſe that are

are wanting; provided that none of the Members ſecluded in 1648 be admitted to ſit in Parliament.

Ordered, That no Forces ſhall be raiſed but by Authority of this preſent Parliament, provided that this Vote extend not to the Forces raiſed by General *Monk*, becauſe we cannot help it.

Reſolved, That a Committee be appointed to look into the Act making it Treaſon to levy Money of the People without their Conſent in Parliament, and to extenuate the Force thereof in regard the Parliament knew not well what they did when they paſſed that Act.

Reſolved, That the Sum of 20000 Pounds be forthwith borrowed of the City for the Uſe of the Commonwealth, provided that they take the public Faith for their Security.

Reſolved, That the Commiſſioners of the Army take Care for the recruiting of *Dunkirk*, before the Duke of *York* lays Siege againſt it.

Reſolved, That a Day be ſet apart for hypocritical Humiliation for God's Bleſſings to the Parliament, and that Mr. *Burgeſſe*, *Venning* and *Jenkins* do aſſiſt in carrying on the Work of cheating God and the World.

Reſolved, That there be a Declaration put forth in the Name of the Parliament, wherein they do declare, that they will perfect the Work by them begun, in ſettling the Government by Way of a Commonwealth and Free-State, without a ſingle Perſon or Houſe of Peers; and the Nation ſhall have their annual Repreſentatives, provided that this preſent Parliament doth continue in being as long as any of them have a Day to live.

Likewiſe, they do declare, that they will countenance a pious and learned Goſpel-miniſtry, and uphold the Maintenance of the ſame by Tithes; until ſuch Time as they ſhall be able, by the Help of the Fanatic and Sectarian Party, to overthrow the Church of God both in its ſpiritual and temporal Subſiſtance.

They do further declare, that they will uphold the Univerſities and Schools of Learning, until they can fitly and conveniently ingroſs all their Lands and Incomes to their own proper Uſe, and bring a Cloud of Ignorance over the whole Nation.

They do alſo conſider the low Ebb of Trading in this Nation; and in regard we are at Enmity with all the World for their Sakes, and do deſire us to be patient a while, for that they are in Hopes to ſurprize thoſe golden Mountains of the King of *Spain*'s in the *Indies*, for all *Oliver* miſſed them, and then they will abundantly ſatisfy all the rich Men in *London*, who cannot live upon their Trades, but are forced to ſpend upon their Stocks.

Ordered, That all Clerks and others, in whoſe Hands were any of the Letters, Books, Journals, and Papers of the Committee of Safety, do bring them to the Clerk of the Parliament, that they may be called to an Account for all Money received during the Time of the ſaid Committee of Safety, for that we will have none to cheat the People but ourſelves.

Reſolved, That Sir *Robert Pye* and Major *Fincher* be ſent to the *Tower* for petitioning the Parliament for the public Good.

Ordered,

Ordered, That the Council of State do take the Office of Poſtmaſter into their Hands, it having been formerly very beneficial to us, and all others that have from time to time oppreſſed the People.

Ordered, That the Lands of Sir *George Booth*, and all other Delinquents and Traitors, be forthwith ſold, and divided amongſt us the Members of this preſent Parliament, as a Part of the Recompence due unto us for our Pains for the Good of the three Nations.

Ordered, That *Thomas Scott* do receive all Informations of private and public Intelligence, in regard he is ſo well verſed in the Cunning, Trapannings, and Slights of Whores and Bawds.

Reſolved, That the Parliament doth juſtify and approve of the Actions of General *Monck*, becauſe they dare do no otherwiſe.

Reſolved, That there be a thouſand Pounds a Year ſettled on General *Monck* and his Heirs for ever, and that this Act be repealed as ſoon as we can ſend him to the other World.

Reſolved, That General *Monck* do forthwith deſtroy the Gates and Portcullices of the City, to render himſelf odious in the Sight of the People, that ſo we may the better deſtroy him.

Reſolved, That a Petition be preferred to the Parliament, tending neither to the Glory of God, nor Good of the People, by *Praiſe-God Barebones*, in the Behalf of many Thouſands of the City of *London* and *Weſtminſter*.

Ordered, That Qualifications be brought for the Members that are to fill up the Houſe, which were theſe following: 1. That no Cavaliers, or Son of a Cavalier, do ſit in this Houſe. 2. That no Preſbyterian, who is for a Settlement in Church or State, be admitted to ſit in Parliament. 3. That no Man whatſoever that makes any Conſcience of violating Oaths and Proteſtations, ſhall ſit in this Houſe. 4. That all ſuch as have purchaſed neither King's, Biſhops, Deans, nor Chapters Lands, ſhall not be capable of ſitting in Parliament. 5. Whoever hath not had a Hand in murdering the late King, ſhall not be received as a Member of Parliament. 6. He that makes not Religion a Pretence to drive on his own particular Deſigns of Ambition and Self-Intereſt, ſhall not ſit here. *Laſtly*, All thoſe that are not as arrant Rogues as ourſelves ſhall have nothing to do in this Parliament.

Ordered, That four Aldermen, eight Common-council-men, and twelve Apprentices, be forthwith hanged to terrify the City, and keep them in Obedience to the Parliament.

Ordered, That Dr. *Trigge*, or ſome other moſt excellent Quack-ſalver, do provide an *Italian* Fig for General *Monck*, and that he be ſent away in Time (as was *Eſſex* before him) leſt he obſtruct and hinder our Deſigns.

Ordered, That Colonel *John Lambert* be proclaimed Traitor, and his Goods and Lands to be confiſcated, in caſe he doth not with all Speed raiſe an Army of Sectaries for the Defence of the Parliament.

Ordered, That *Charles Needham* do ſtill continue the State's News-monger, notwithſtanding his Defection in the Time of the Committee of Safety, ſince never a Knave in *London* can manage the Place ſo well.

Reſolved, That all Heretics whatſoever, *viz.* Quakers, Anabaptiſts, *&c.* do provide themſelves of Muſket and Pike, with Swords, Daggers, and Cut-throat Knives, to murder all honeſt Men who endeavour after Order in Church and State; and in caſe the ſecluded Members be brought into the Houſe by General *Monck* (as 'tis to be feared they will) it is reſolved that *Thomas Scott* do ſecretly furniſh himſelf with Horſes, Saddles, Swords, Piſtols, Holſters, Colours, and all other Neceſſaries, for the raiſing of certain Regiments of Horſe, for and in Behalf of the Parliament, againſt *Monck*, the City, and ſecluded Members: And that the ſaid *Thomas Scott* do carry on his Deſign warily, for Fear of being diſcovered and carried to the *Tower*.

Reſolved, That all theſe Reſolves be forthwith printed and publiſhed.

THO. ST. NICOLAS, *Clerk of the Parliament.*

A Seaſonable SPEECH, made by Alderman *Atkins* in the Rump-Parliament.

Printed in the Year 1660.

Mr. SPEAKER,

AFTER ſo many Diſpenſations and Outgoings of Providence, we are now the third Time returned to ſit in this Honourable Houſe again; but how long we ſhall do ſo, I believe the wiſeſt of us all cannot tell: For the Soldiers have, of late, ſet up Governments as Boys do Ninepins, to throw them down again: But how oft ſoever they turn us out hereafter, I ſhall never doubt to get in again; for I perceive thoſe Changes and Revolutions (as they call them) are juſt like caſting of Knaves at Cards, where ſome play, and ſome ſit out until the Set be up, or the Gameſters fall out and throw up their Cards, and then they ſtand fair to get in again. But notwithſtanding ſo many Interruptions and Diſturbances, many mighty and great Works have been carried on by us Worms and no Men. You, Sir, have a new Wainſcot Chair, and our Seats, that were but covered with Mats, when we came firſt to ſit here, are now lined with good Broad-cloth of 16 *s.* a Yard, and the whole Houſe is hanged in a better Manner than any Man expected. But this is not all that we have done; for we have reformed Religion, and brought the Church as nigh to what it was in the Primitive Times among *Jews* and *Pagans* as may be; for the Chriſtians have ſold all they had long ſince, and laid it at our Feet, and we begin once more to have all Things in common. Beſide, Sir, we have done ſtrange Juſtice on the late Tyrant, and transformed the Kingdom into a Commonwealth, as *Nebuchadnezzar* was into a Beaſt. But there is one Thing that we have omitted, no leſs neceſſary than any Thing that we have done, and which indeed the People have much

more

more Reaſon to expect from us; for Reformation, as well as Charity, ſhould begin at home: To hold forth my Meaning in brief to you, Sir, it is the cleanſing of our own *Houſe of Office*; and if that Name be not mannerly enough for this Place, it is in your Power to help it: For there is a ſpare Name that hath been lately conferred on this Honourable Houſe by the People, which was once called the Houſe of *Parliament*, as it is now the *Rump*. This Name, in my Opinion, we cannot better diſpoſe of, than in conferring it on the Houſe I ſpoke of, that not only that, but all other Houſes of the ſame Quality (of which ours is the Repreſentative) may in the Right thereof hereafter be called a *Rump*, as being a Name more proper and ſignificant, in regard of the Relation it hath to that Part. And truly, Sir, I believe, the Wiſdom and Juſtice of this Houſe can do no leſs, if you pleaſe but to conſider the near and intimate Correſpondence that Houſe has ever held with this, as having ever been entruſted with the moſt urgent and weighty Matters that we ever carried on, and ſo neceſſary, that I may boldly ſay, without that Recourſe which we have had to it in our greateſt Extremities, this Houſe might have ſuffered for it many a Time and oft. It is now, Sir, as full, as this Honourable Houſe was once of Members, and as unuſeful, until we take ſome Courſe to empty it, as we did this, which, I humbly conceive, we can by no Means avoid: For, under Favour, I do not think we can uſe this Houſe as we did the Houſe of Lords, I mean, vote it down, when it will ſerve our Turn no longer; no, this is a Matter of a higher Nature, and more weighty Concernment; and as the Difference is very great in Reaſon of State, ſo is it alſo in Point of Conſcience. For though it is true, we engaged and ſwore to mantain the Houſe of Lords, yet we did it not after a right Manner: For we read, it was a Cuſtom among the *Jews*, when they made any ſolemn Vow, to put their Hands under one another's Hams; and if we had done ſo when we ſwore that, and kiſſed the Book, I grant, we had been bound in Conſcience to have upheld it longer than we did, I mean, longer than we had Need of it: But we, quite contrary, held up our Hands, and ſo are not bound to keep it otherwiſe than we took it, that is, Hand over Head; for unleſs we differed from the *Jews* in other Matters more than we do, I know no Reaſon why we ſhould in this.—But now I ſpeak of the *Jews*, give me leave, by obſerving one Paſſage in their Hiſtory, to hold forth unto you the Danger of ſuppreſſing the aforeſaid Houſe. *Saul*, for want of ſuch a Convenience, going into a Cave where *David* had hid himſelf, had like to have loſt his Life; for if *David* had been one of us, I know what had become of *Saul*, he would rather have cut off his Head than a Piece of his Coat, as I wonder he did not, ſince, being a Prophet, he might have made Scripture of Purpoſe to have proved him a Tyrant and a Traitor, as we did Law to condemn the late King after he was put to Death. But though *David* were wiſer than his Teachers, he was not ſo wiſe as we were; 'tis true, for his own Advantage, he knew how to make the ſilly *Philiſtines* believe he was mad; but I am miſtaken if we have not outdone him that Way too, and made the wiſeſt think us ſo. But to return to the Purpoſe. Suppoſe, Sir, the Army ſhould have Occaſion to give this Honourable Houſe a Purge again, you would be loth it ſhould work here; and

truly I do not know what other Way you have to avoid it, unleſs we ſhould make Uſe of that Place where the Aſſembly of Divines lately ſate, which, for my Part, I like very well, if it were nearer; and certainly they have no Reaſon to take it ill, for it is according to the Example of the beſt reformed Churches. And I know no Reaſon why we may not as well ſit there, and make four Faces at our own Charges, as they did at the Charge of the Commonwealth. For mine own Part (did not the common Good provoke me to it) I have as little Reaſon to ſpeak as another, and perhaps leſs; for my Breeches are made cloſe at the Knees, and ſo better fitted againſt a Miſchance. Beſide, I know the worſt of it; for I believe you have often heard what I have ſuffered in the Service of my Country. But let that paſs, though it were the worſe for my Reputation and my Breeches, it was the better for my Body and my Soul too, for I have edified much by it. 'Tis true, the Boys hold their Noſes, and cry *Fogh*, when they ſee me in the Streets; but, what of that? A wiſe Man knows how to make an Advantage of the greateſt Diſaſters, and ſo have I done. For there was a Time (Mr. Speaker) when this Honourable Houſe had like to have been a foul Houſe; and when was that? Truly it was when the 'Prentices came hither to ſhew us one Trick more than ever we taught them: Then did I take this worſhipful Chain off my Neck, and very politically put it in my Cod-piece; for I know well enough, that no body in this Town, where I am ſo well known, would venture to look for it there; and I was not miſtaken, for here you ſee I have it ſtill. The ſame Thing I did at another Time, and that was, when (as you may well remember) a Piece of Plaiſter falling from the Roof, ſome of the Members cried *Treaſon*, and many made Haſte to get out of the Houſe as faſt as they could; ſo did not I, no, Sir, I reſolved to ſtay by it; and therefore, having put my Chain in my Cod-piece, I crept under the Bench in this very Place where I now ſit, and there I lay cloſe, until I heard ſome that were near me ſay, they ſmelled Gun-powder; but then I knew it was a Miſtake, and ſo it proved indeed: But if it had been otherwiſe, no Danger ſhould have made me forſake my Duty. No, Sir, I have been ſo faithful to this Houſe, and ſo conſtant to my Principles, that I have not changed ſo much as my Seat ſince the happy Beginning of this Parliament. In this very Place did I then ſit; on both Sides of me ſate two Members, that afterwards proved Malignants; for they took Snuff at ſomething that fell from me in my Zeal to the Cauſe, and ran to *Oxford* to the King; their Eſtates are long ſince ſold, for which the Commonwealth may thank me: For verily, Sir, I have not been altogether an unprofitable Member, according to my Talent, and the Diſpenſation of what was in me; for my Bowels have been often poured out for the Proſperity of this Houſe; and, I hope, my Converſation hath held forth ſo much of the inward Man, as may be ſufficient to ſatisfy the well-affected, by whom I am intruſted. And as for my Back-biters, I forgive them freely; alas, they hurt themſelves and not me; for if they get any Thing by dealing with me that Way, they muſt have good Luck.

Sir, I have uſed the more Freedom with you, becauſe I have ſome Pretence to your Pardon; for I believe you have often obſerved, that when any Thing has

has fallen from any of my Fellow-Members that the Houſe has reſented, it has preſently been laid to my Charge, and I have always taken it upon me freely; for I ſhall never refuſe to ſerve this Houſe in any Senſe whatever. I ſhall therefore humbly move, that you would be pleaſed to order this Honourable Houſe to adjourn for a convenient Time, until the Houſe be emptied and made ſweet again; for if we ſhould ſit here before, it will not be in the Power of any one Man to own ſo much Stink as will be laid to my Charge.

An Account of the GAINS of the late Speaker *William Lenthall.*

In Anſwer to a Letter.

Printed in the Year 1660.

SIR,

THere is now again the Report of the great Gains of your Friend the late Speaker, ſo freſh in every one's Mouth, and ſo much related to his Prejudice and Danger, that 'tis moſt neceſſary that the Truth of it ſhould come to public View. And becauſe I have heard you ſo rationally diſcourſe the contrary, and aſſuring me that never any one in any great Employments made ſo little, nay nothing of Advantage by them; I therefore earneſtly deſire you to relate to me under your Hand what you then aſſured me; for I am very unwilling that that which is not, ſhould be a Cauſe of his Ruin. Let me deſire you to haſten this to me; for if I can judge, it concerns your Friend very much to be vindicated in this Particular; ſo expecting your Anſwer, I remain

Your aſſured Friend and Servant

From the
14 *June*, 1660. *G. G.*

SIR,

I AM very glad you have given me the Opportunity to vindicate my old Friend, the late Speaker, in thoſe Reports of his great Gains, in the hazardous and troubleſome Employments he hath undergone. 'Tis not eaſy to rectify a great Miſtake, when it is ſpread in almoſt every one's Opinion, which is commonly believed, without examining the Probability of it. I have been very ſtrict in the informing myſelf of the Particulars, and would not have put my Hand to them, if I had not been an Eye-witneſs of the Truth of what I affirm, from the firſt Time he entered the Houſe as Speaker, to the laſt that he ſate there. You cannot be unacquainted with the Greatneſs of his Practice before he was called to that Employment; for I having ſeen his Accounts, 'twas more than two thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* which now for twenty Years

Years he hath loſt. In the firſt two Years of his Speakerſhip he kept a public Table, and every Day entertained ſeveral eminent Perſons, as well belonging to the Court, as the Members of Parliament. The King taking this Expence of his into his Conſideration, gave him ſix thouſand Pounds, of which there is not to this Day the one Half of it paid. Immediately after the unhappy War broke out, and it was his Chance to have his Fortunes lie in the activeſt Part of it, ſo that his Eſtate, for five Years, yielded him nothing. The Office of Maſter of the Rolls falling, by the Death of Sir *Charles Cæſar*, it was conferred on him; but for ſome Years he did not clear his Charges, there being but little Proceedings in the Courts of Juſtice, and there being great Diminutions of the Profits of that Place which his Predeceſſors enjoyed; but he did not, by reaſon that Wardſhips were taken away, the Profit accruing by them to eight hundred Pounds *per Ann.* at the leaſt, and alſo the Biſhops, who on every Creation, or Tranſlation, paid a conſiderable Fee to him, which was always eſteemed worth five hundred Pounds *per Ann.* and the Fines on original Writs, which were the moſt advantageous Fees that belonged to it; ſo that Wardſhips, Biſhops, and the Fines on Originals, being taken away, there was a Loſs to the Office in its Profits, two thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* at the leaſt; yet notwithſtanding he performed a greater Duty to the Diſpatch of Buſineſs, than has been done by any in that Employment before him, and this I think his greateſt Detractors will acknowledge: But that which occaſions moſt the Report of his Gains, proceeds from the Fee of five Pounds, which was given him by both Houſes upon Compoſitions; and conſidering how much that is in Opinion, and how inconſiderable in the Reality of it, makes me as much wonder at the confident Report, as the Readineſs it has in finding a Belief. What he received by them is ſo certainly to be known that if any will but examine the Journal Books of the Houſe, there they will find every Fee for Pardons that he received; and beſides there is the Clerks, and the Sergeant that attend the Houſe, have their Fees, as well on the Pardons as the private Bills, and is a Check to him; ſo that he cannot deceive any one that will but enquire; and with the ſtricteſt Enquiry that I can make, both by the Books, and the Attendance on the Houſe, I cannot find that ever there could be more coming to him than two thouſand two hundred and twenty Pounds, and this is the utmoſt that ever he made on Pardons and private Bills. There was due to him, as there is to every Speaker, a Fee of five Pounds *per diem*, which from his firſt Sitting to the laſt he never received one Farthing of; nor did he ever take any Sum of Money, any Gift of Land, or any other Recompence or Reward. What other Employment he has had, the Labour was ſo great, and the Requital ſo ſmall, that whoſoever ſucceeded him had a Salary for his Pains; yet he performed his Duty to the Place with great Expedition to all, without any. You have now the Reality of what he has or could gain, there being no other Way whereby one Penny could be ſuppoſed to come to him; and I hope it will give you, and all ſuch as you ſhall think fit to communicate it to, full Satisfaction, as it doth me, that I can affirm this for a Truth; and alſo that I am

Your moſt humble Servant,

J. N.

London, this 19 *June*, 1660.

The

The Way to the PEACE and SETTLEMENT of theſe NATIONS fully diſcovered, in Two Letters, delivered to his late Highneſs the *Lord Protector*, and one to the preſent Parliament; wherein the Liberty of ſpeaking (which every one deſires for himſelf) is oppoſed againſt Anti-chriſt, for the procuring of his Downfall, who will not grant the ſame to others: And now publiſhed to awaken the public Spirits in *England*, and to raiſe up an univerſal Magiſtrate in Chriſtendom, that can ſuffer all ſorts of People (of what Religion ſoever they are) in any one Country, as God (the Great Magiſtrate) ſuffers the ſame in all Countries of the World.

Matth. v. 15. *Men do not light a Candle and put it under a Buſhel, but on a Candleſtick, and it giveth Light unto all that are in the Houſe.*

By *Peter Cornelius, Van Zurick-Zee*, a Lover of Truth and Peace.

Printed in the Year 1659.

To the High and Honourable Aſſembly of PARLIAMENT, repreſenting the whole Body of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, Ireland*, &c.

Lords and Gentlemen,

HAving ſeen that Policy and Religion (which ought to be univerſal) was divided and ſevered into many Sects, my Spirit was much troubled; and looking round about me, where to make a Beginning to rectify thoſe Evils, I found no better Object in Chriſtendom than his late Highneſs the *Lord Protector*; whereupon I reſolved for a while to leave my Family and native Country, fearing, if I ſhould not manifeſt to the Magiſtrates in *England* what was upon my Spirit, that they (having much to do with other Affairs) might (through the Subtilty of the Clergy, as in other Nations) eaſily be deceived: Therefore making firſt my Addreſs to ſome of the Counſel, and ſo (by the Favour of them) to his Highneſs (delivering the Two following Letters and Addreſſes to him) I was ſeveral times heard by him with Patience, doing my Endeavour to preſerve *England* from that great Diſhonour which hath befallen other Nations, by ſetting up inſtead of the Form and Doctrine of Chriſt, the Forms and Factions of Men: But being obſtructed in my Proceeding, through the unexpected Death of his Highneſs, I was put to ſome Stop, waiting for a better Opportunity; and hearing that your

your Honours were to aſſemble together upon the 27th of *January*, my Spirit was revived, hoping that my Deſign (for the Peace and Welfare of theſe Nations by that Means (better than heretofore) might be accompliſhed: Whereupon I reſolved to bring the Buſineſs (formerly propounded to his Highneſs) to your Honours Conſideration, being perſuaded in my Heart, if you (who are now entruſted with the weighty Affairs of theſe Nations) have fixed your Eyes upon God, as the Eyes of the good People in theſe and other Nations are fixed upon you, that the Propoſals laid down in the Two following Letters and Addreſſes will have a great Influence upon your Hearts; eſpecially if you conſider and remember the notable Words of *Solomon*, where he ſpeaks to the Kings and Rulers of the Earth, that a ſharp Judgment ſhall come upon them that are in high Places; for Mercy will ſoon pardon the Meaneſt, but mighty Men (not ſtanding in the Council of God) ſhall be mightily tormented: Therefore give ear to him, you that rule the People, and glory in the Multitude of Nations; for he ſhall try your Works and ſearch out your Counſels: Set your ſelves as true Servants of the Commonwealth (in Oppoſition to Anti-chriſt) againſt all Oppreſſors, that ſo they that ſeek with *Haman* to deſtroy and trample upon the Innocent (contrary to their Expectation) may be diſappointed. Let ſome Courſe be taken, that all Perſons may buy their Eſtates free from Tithes, that thereby henceforth now in all your Dominions may be forced to pay Tithes to the Miniſters or others; for that hath been, and is ſtill the chief Cauſe of Perſecution and Diſcontent in theſe and other Nations. Suffer by no Means (you having Reſpect to the Honour of Chriſt) that any Confeſſion of Faith be ſet upon the Throne, as equal with the Holy Scripture; for Confeſſions are only to diſtinguiſh one Sect from another. Aſſiſt not with the Sword, or Money of the Commonwealth, any Sect or Perſon in Particular, that you may not hinder the Truth (which hath been long kept under) from manifeſting itſelf by its own Power; for Magiſtrates (as Magiſtrates) have no Permiſſion to favour any Sect or Perſon in Particular: If any of them (being conſidered as a private Perſon) will be a Member of a particular Congregation, he hath his Liberty as well as others, and may honour the ſame with his Preſence, with his Tongue, with his Pen, and with his own Money; but not with the Sword or Money of the Commonwealth; for the Magiſtrates (being choſen by the Generality of the People) are to ſtand immoveable in the Centre (as Moderators) between all Sects: They are, in regard of their Office, as Treaſurers, who are intruſted with a Sum of Money to employ the ſame, not for their own, or any one's private Advantage in Particular, but for the Benefit of all thoſe that have intruſted them, if it were the Magiſtrates Work to ſet up a National Miniſtry according to their own Will, then we ſhould be in Danger to have as many Religions as there be ſeveral Ways of Government in the World, and the Magiſtrates changing their Opinion, the whole National Miniſtry muſt alſo as often be changed. What is that then but to do his own Will, inſtead of the Will of God, and to have his Pleaſure upon the Souls of Men? It were better, and belongs eſpecially to your Office, not to follow the Traditions of Men, but to examine and reform the Laws now in force, and to diſannul ſuch as are deſtructive and without

out Mercy, contrary to the Law of Nature, and the revealed Will of God; which ought to be in all Ages, and in all Countries, only our Rule. It is alſo your Honours Work and Buſineſs, diligently to conſider what properly belongs to the Office of a Magiſtrate, before you put the Sword, and Power of theſe Nations into their Hands; for through want of Care in ſo weighty a Matter, the whole Commonwealth is in Danger (as in Times paſt) to fall under the Dominion of one particular Sect, whoſe Miniſters (to bring the Common People, and ſo the Magiſtrates, under their Juriſdiction) are commonly infecting with their Forms, not only the public Meeting-places, and the Houſes of the Poor, or Hoſpitals, but alſo the Schools (called Univerſities) which have by the Subtilty of them in all Countries, almoſt loſt the Name *Univerſal*, by being miſapplied to Self-ends and Intereſts. Now to reform theſe Corruptions, it is neceſſary that the Magiſtrates (whoſe Work it is to have an Eye to the Good of all) do expel out of thoſe public Houſes or Colleges (being builded with the Money of the Commonwealth) all meer human Forms of Religion, that they may not longer make a Trade and Merchandize of the Things of God, granting an equal Liberty to all peaceable People (as being but Reaſon) that ſuch as have ventured their Lives and Eſtates in the Time of War, ſhould in the Time of Peace enjoy a like Liberty with others; which may ſoon be, if you ſeriouſly conſider the Things all along propounded: Not that I am come unto *England* to be your Inſtructor, but to bring to your Honours Remembrance thoſe very Things which have been upon your own Hearts, in order to the eſtabliſhing of ſuch a general Liberty as hath been for many Years of late pretended unto; being the only Way wherein you may expect the Bleſſing of God upon you and your Poſterity, againſt all Oppreſſors, to the taking away of that ſhameful Reproach that the Magiſtrates and Miniſters in *England* have brought down the King and Biſhops, rather to ſucceed in their Places, than to bring the People to Peace and Happineſs. If the Power (to defend the Good againſt the Evil) in all Countries be ordained of God, *Romans* xiii. then Reaſon requires that all ſorts of People, of what Nations ſoever, being in one Country together, ſhould be protected, as well as if any of them ſeverally was in his own; which cannot be, except there be a good public-minded and godly Magiſtrate, that will ſuffer all ſorts of People (of what Religion ſoever they are) in one Country, as God (the Great Magiſtrate) ſuffers the ſame in all Countries of the World; which I expect firſt in *England*, and ſo from thence to break forth (as a Light) to all other Countries and Nations, as having long enough walked (as in the Night) by the Glimpſe of particular Lights. It is Time that the univerſal Work of God (as the Sun) do out-ſhine all that is Particular; to which End I implore the Preſence of the Moſt High God to be in your Aſſembly, to guide and direct your Hearts in all thoſe Things that may be acceptable to him, and moſt agreeable to his good Will and Pleaſure.

Your Honours, and all Men's humble Servant,

London, the 24th of *Jan.* 1659. *Holland's Stile.*

Peter Cornelius, Van Zurick-Zee.

Give Ear to the Poor, for the Cry of them is exceeding great in theſe Nations.

Peter Cornelius, V. Z. *(together with ſome others, Lovers of the common Good) to the mighty, potent, far-renowned (yet mortal) Lord,* Oliver Cromwell, *Protector of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *&c. for the promoting of good Government, wiſheth long Life, Wiſdom, and foreſeeing Counſellors of State, to the End, that his Actions may tend, not only to the convincing of all that envy him, but that alſo he may be a Light, and an Example to all Dominions and Governments in the World.*

WOrthy, and (as I hope) favourable Lord, being come into *England* during the Time of your free Government, I have, with much Chearfulneſs beheld the great Freedom which this Nation (ſince the putting down the Authority of Biſhops) doth enjoy, which I hope, by Degrees, will more and more prevail in the World, to the taking away of all Force upon Conſciences, that Men may be led and governed by Reaſon, as Men, and not as Beaſts, by compulſive Power. And that thoſe who are (once delivered from the antichriſtian Captivity, may not be taken Captive again by others; who, together with the great Antichriſt, ſeek their own Greatneſs; it is moſt highly neceſſary that the Example of Chriſt (to reconcile all into one) ſhould be followed; for thoſe that force the Conſcience, being not able to bring all under them by worldly Power, do commonly manifeſt their own Inclination to be void of Chriſtian Love and Forbearance, by gathering into Sects and Schiſms, ſo that beſides the great Antichriſt, there are many little Antichriſts that endeavour to riſe up. None of which, being able to endure any Oppoſition or Gainſaying, do ſeek to gain, and draw a Part of Chriſtendom under their Juriſdiction. On the contrary, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath taken Captivity Captive; that is, put thoſe to Shame that held others Captive, by his Aſcenſion into Heaven, and gave Gifts unto Men, that they ſhould not be led aſtray again, *viz.* he gave, as Means to Salvation, Apoſtles, Prophets, Evangeliſts, Paſtors, and Teachers; whoſe Doctrine alone, while it is yet through God's Mercy, as a Meaſuring Line or Clue of Thread in the World, we ſhould ſet that on the Throne, treading under Foot all meer human Traditions, as Idolatry: That ſo all Chriſtendom, being divided into divers Sects (as formerly the *Jews* were) a general Way of Church-meeting may be inſtituted, for the hearing of God's Word read, unaltered and unſophiſticated, leaving a Freedom for all Sects, as well the one as the other, to aſſert their own Apprehenſions and Underſtandings upon the Leſſons of their Maſter Chriſt, without being tied to one another's Opinions.

For it belongs only to God and Chriſt to have Dominion over Conſciences, and to Magiſtrates to prevent any from exerciſing Lordſhip over the Conſciences of others; in ſo doing they would be true Maintainers and Defenders of Liberty, when they uſe not their Power againſt thoſe that aſſert their own Meanings, but againſt thoſe that would compel others to be of their Opinions. For this, *viz.* to deal equally in Matters of Religion towards Subjects, is not only good and pious, but is alſo the Foundation of a good Government. Whereas otherwiſe, when one Sect ſhall be encouraged and commended to the

Church,

Church, and the other excluded, then Jealouſy and Envy will ſpoil all; ſo that the Magiſtrate, inſtead of being beloved, may often fear that their State will be undermined, and at length totally deſtroyed; eſpecially, when that one Party is become numerous, or do join with a foreign or home-bred Enemy. Wherefore, though they ſhould want the Fear of God, yet for their own Peace-ſake, they ſhould give Freedom to all; and the rather, ſeeing thereby the nobleſt and beſt of Underſtandings, are from all Places invited and convened in: For whoſe Wiſdom-ſake (as of *Joſeph*'s in *Egypt*) without reſpect of Perſons, they ought to be ſuffered to come in by the Magiſtrate for the common Good and Welfare. So that there may not only be a refining in civil, or politic, but chiefly in ſpiritual Matters. For, as formerly amongſt the *Jews* (when Men began to believe that the Prieſts under the Law could not err, as to their Inſtitutions and Traditions) God's Commands were made void or of no Effect: After the ſame Manner alſo hath it been ſince the Time of the Apoſtles, in Chriſtendom, that inſtead of the holy Scriptures only (having been confirmed by Miracles) which ſhould be held a Rule of Faith; yet ſome (being Lovers of themſelves) have taken upon them a Dominion, jointly with Chriſt, giving out, that Men muſt believe and hold for Truth, whatever the Church (*viz.* the Biſhops, or other Superintendants thereof) do declare as Truth; the common People not perceiving (by reaſon of the great Reſpect which they bear to thoſe that are ſet over them) that ſome of them ſeek to make themſelves great, they have ſoon attempted to hold forth the Authority of the Scriptures, according to their own Senſe; upon which, when they have introduced Matters contrary to Reaſon, and People have refuſed to receive them for authentic, they have, by their acquired Authority, hindered the People from ſo much as to ſpeak or whiſper againſt it; conſtraining them to believe what they ſay, and alſo to rely upon them and their Abſolution: And to take away all Scruple from the People, have given out that they will anſwer for them at the Day of Judgment; yea, moreover (which is far more terrible) will undertake to pawn their Souls for theirs. By which Perſuaſions, the People, being in Anxiety, fall into their Boſoms, as in former Times, in their groſs Darkneſs, oppugning the holy Scriptures and the Conſciences of ſome, with greater Earneſtneſs, are reſiſted and rejected. Yet theſe being driven out by Tyranny, and ſeparated from Popery, have commonly ſomething of that ſour Leaven remaining in them, to bind others to their Opinions, making, as a Foundation of their Fellowſhip, new Forms, over and beſides the holy Scriptures: Whereby they have not exalted Chriſt but themſelves; they have not held cloſe to that only Name, which was given for Men to be ſaved by, but many Names, as Heads of Parties, according to the different Forms they have brought into the World; whence great Strangeneſs, making of Parties, yea, ſometimes War and horrible Blood-ſheddings have enſued; which have been managed, not for the Sake of the Holy Scriptures (which they all held for Truth) but to keep up their own Opinions: Till again, ſome more underſtanding Men, perceiving the various Differences of the Forms and Ways, and the Miſchief and wicked Diſturbance which this Strife and Variance, in Writings of Diſputations and Controverſy hath produced; have juſtly

rejected all Names and Rules, beſides the Name and Rule of Jeſus Chriſt, living among them as Men full of Love and Forbearance, whoſe Underſtandings and Life claſh not againſt the holy Scriptures and ſound Reaſon, although they differ among themſelves in Apprehenſions upon ſome Places of the Scripture, but do continue in brotherly Love and Unity; by which Forbearance, they do not only ſet others in the right Way (ſo far as they are in the Truth) but are alſo by others brought out of the Way, wherein they themſelves did err; a Thing which ought to bear Sway with all Men, according to the Words of Chriſt (*as you would that Men ſhould do unto you, ſo do you unto them alſo*) that they ſhould bear with one another's Opinions and Conceptions, as they would themſelves be born withal in theirs. For it hath more the Reſemblance and Appearance of compelling the Conſciences, and of Tyranny, than of Reaſon, to preſs any one to come up to another's Apprehenſion, as neceſſary, before he can apprehend it with his own Underſtanding to be good and neceſſary.

This hath been, in former Ages, the Policy of Perſecutors, and Makers of Sects and Schiſms, who not only have caſt out by their Power, ſuch whoſe Underſtanding they could not bring to agree with theirs; but being unable to do it, have made great Broils, Rents, and Diviſions in the World; whereas every one (ſince God is ſo long-ſuffering) ought with conſtant perſevering Love (without deſpairing in the Work) to labour according to their Power to enlighten others, that are in Darkneſs. For if thoſe that have the Light reject others, or depart from them; then the Blind having no good Leaders, muſt needs go aſtray, and being led by the Blind fall into a deep Abyſs of Ignorance. On the contrary, all true Lovers of the common Good, do labour not only to take out of the World Factions, but alſo all human Inventions (as much as in them lieth) that ſo the Lord Jeſus may alone remain Lord and Maſter; whoſe Saying they bear great Honour and Reſpect unto, although they poſſibly cannot underſtand the Meaning of ſome Particulars; yet being confirmed by Signs and Wonders, do hold the ſame for good and true: In which Thing, as to the Salvation of Man, they will put no Truſt or Affiance in any beſides Jeſus Chriſt; nor yet receive any Thing as Truth, but that which they themſelves can apprehend to be good and agreeable to his Doctrine; therefore do they themſelves not ſet up or own any Authority, whereby Men ſhould rely upon it, nor yet ſhould give any others Authority whereby to draw Men into their Party, but ſhould bind all Men unto Jeſus Chriſt, whom they acknowledge only for Head and Saviour.

We deſire, from the Bottom of our Hearts, that all Men might be gathered together under that one Name, and that your Highneſs (from whom almoſt every one expects ſome ſpecial Work) will help to cleanſe the Chriſtian Religion, and Worſhip of God, from all prevailing Exorbitancies; and to that End would inſtitute (as an eternal Memorial and Example to all Dominions and Governments in the World) in every City and in every County throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, one general Chriſtian aſſembling or meeting Place, in ſuch a Form, that all People may ſee one another round about, by the Help of Seats, riſing by Steps, having before them convenient Leaning-

places

places to read and write upon; alſo one Deſk aloft on one Side or End, to hear the Holy Scriptures read at a ſet time, giving Freedom, after that Reading, to all People, orderly to confer together, concerning the Doctrine and Inſtruction of their Lord and Maſter Chriſt: That all lording over Conſciences being prevented, all People might come together, without receiving any Obſtruction by any human Forms or Contrivances, even as the *Jews*, being divided into ſeveral Sects (as *Phariſees*, *Sadducees*, *Eſſenes*, and *Herodians*, &c.) met together in one Temple, ſo we would not deny any particular Congregations of their Freedom, of peaceable Meeting among themſelves about the Ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt (as the Orders or Synagogues of the *Jews* were not at all infringed) nor bereaved the Miniſters or Teachers of their Benefit, which they do receive of their own People for their Maintenance; for they having a fit Opportunity, may the better bring in their Senſe with others, into this general Church-meeting; that ſo the Truth getting Enlargement, the honeſt Party may be reſolved into Unity, and the bad (that cannot endure the Light) may be diſcovered and made known; who only ſeeking Dominion and Rule, ſhould not by any Means be employed in high Places, in Matters civil or ſpiritual; that ſo the Seat of Government may not be uſurped by their Adherents, when Things go contrary to their Minds (being cruel Wolves) who in ſeeking of their Advantage will not ſpare the Flock, over which the Rulers who ſhould be placed to keep the People in Order) ought eſpecially to take Care, that they do not hinder them from the Liberty of ſpeaking freely, as it happeneth commonly in particular Aſſemblies or Congregations, contrary the laudable Practice of the *Jews*, Acts xiii. 15. who themſelves, after the reading of the Scriptures, did invite and ſtir up *Paul* and *Barnabas* (being Strangers) to ſpeak. Hence (when Underſtandings might be ſo free and uninterrupted) there would not only ariſe a clearing of the Underſtanding, and reforming of the Lives of People; but alſo a yielding, ſubmiſſive, condeſcending Love: For the wiſeſt and experteſt Men daily coming thus together, to teach and to be taught, it would incline the Hearts of thoſe that ſhould behold them, one towards another, which we may diſcern in worldly Matters (as in making of Treaties or Peace with Nations) whereas otherwiſe they being drawn up, and ſtretched beyond their preſent Apprehenſions, by the ſupreme Authority, they ſtand upon their Guard in oppoſition to one another, as well in ſpiritual as civil Affairs. This now being ſo, it will eſpecially concern your Highneſs, whilſt the Eyes of all are fixed upon you, to ſet a complete Example, that all People *(that do ſlander you as to have no Religion)* may evidently perceive, that you do only maintain the Chriſtian Religion, and not countenance any other particular Name or Head whatſoever. For Jeſus, the only heavenly Teacher (who hath been long enough trod under Foot by Sectarians) ought to be ſet up above all; and that all Men, as Brethren be joined together, is the only Way to aboliſh all lording over Conſciences; which hath already driven him out of his Seat, and many hundred Years ſince poſſeſſed his Place, that at length the ſpiritual Uſurpation, with its antichriſtian Dominion, may be laid down at his Feet.

Thus

Thus doing, you will be accounted a Follower of the Example of the good King *Joſiah*, 2 *Kings* xxiii. who to reform the *Jews* Worſhip of God, threw down all *Chimerims* and Idolatry, and brought forth the Book of the old Covenant, to the Ears of the People; and all the People ſtood in that Covenant. So will all Chriſtendom (unleſs any would ſet up Man, to rule together with Chriſt) commend your diligent and wiſe Forecaſt and Circumſpection, and pray for the Proſperity of your Eſtate, to the Ruin of the *Romiſh* Seat, which (together with all that would force Conſciences) hearing the Report of this noble Freedom, will begin to tremble, yea, even their ſilenced Children, whoſe Mouths have been muzzled by compulſive Reſtraint, will begin to ſpeak; and ſo in time of need, ſeeing your free Government, may come to ſhrowd themſelves under your Wings. *To which God the Father, who beholdeth you and all Mens Actions, afford his Grace through Jeſus Chriſt.* Amen.

To his Highneſs, Oliver *Lord Protector of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *&c.*

MIghty, and (as I hope) prudent Lord, being by the Loadſtone of your free Government drawn to come into *England*, I have not only beheld the Multiplicity of Opinions, and various Differences of Sects (who have been long held together in a falſe Peace) but alſo have laid before you an Expedient (in my Letter of the 24th of *June*) to bring them together to a true real Unity.

I hope (ſeeing the Bonds of Antichriſt are in a great Meaſure broken in *England*, by the Effuſion of much Blood) that you, as a ſkilful Pilot, will keep your Hand at the Helm, and your Eye upon the Sail, that ſo the little Antichriſts, who ſeek to rule over Conſciences, may not bring your Work to Shame and Reproach, by exciting you to Tyranny, and thereby obſtruct you in perfecting the ſame. For ſeveral Princes and Magiſtrates have formerly laboured to bring down Antichriſt; but not rightly knowing the Nature thereof, have (unawares) not obſerved the little ones, while they oppoſe the great ones only, as Biſhops and others; and the little, ſelf-ſeeking ones to become great, have to their Power helped the Magiſtracy (as if themſelves were Enemies of the ſpiritual Domination) only that they might ſucceed in the others Places, which evidently appeared as ſoon as ever they began to take Breath, in that they have inſtituted new Forms (the Cauſe of Sects and Parties) by framing new Articles of Faith, over and beſides the Holy Scripture, thereby to ſhut Men up within the Park or Incloſure of their own Opinions; by which Means they ſet not up Chriſt in the Hearts of Men, but their own Kingdom and Dominion, which is Idolatry. And the Rulers being brought on their Side, Oppreſſion hath been exerciſed upon ſuch as have not worſhipped their Images (I mean their contrived Forms) without Life.

Now, to oppoſe theſe deceitful Spirits, who in an angelical Humility and Lowlineſs, come with great and lamentable Complaints and Petitions, the good Magiſtrates, to the End they be not deceived, ſhould, for the protecting of the Innocent, be armed with a divine Foreſightfulneſs and Circumſpection; for they by all Means (as if the Magiſtrates could make their dead Forms live)

live) do inceſſantly implore the interpoſing their Authority, well knowing that there is no better Way to bring the Common People (wherein the Strength of a Nation conſiſts) under their Juriſdiction, and do ſometimes ſet the Magiſtracy (which to govern well cannot be too high) by Degrees higher and higher; yea, upon Hopes thereby to have their Forms ſubſcribed unto) reſolve to make any body their King or Emperor; being well aſſured, that when he hath thus given up his Power to them, and ſet them on the Throne, they may afterwards do with him what they will.

For the moſt Part, all Kings have loſt their Power, by giving too much Authority to the Miniſtry or Teachers, and have become (inſtead of Lords) Servants; yea, (fearing the Oppoſition of them and their Followers) have for their Sakes become Tyrants.

Conſidering theſe Things, the Magiſtrates to whom (and not to the Teachers) the Sword is given, for the Protection of the Good, ſhould hold it faſt, to prevent and fruſtrate all cunning and ſubtle Practices, and inſtead of giving Miniſters or Teachers Power and Authority, ſhould (by their general Aſſemblies ſet up in all Cities and Countries) draw the Common People out of their Boſoms and Dominion, that they may looſe their uſurped Power, that ſo the Sword may return into its right Place, for which God hath ordained it, without the Magiſtrates needing in their Government, to have Dependance on the Miniſters or Teachers, who are wont to incenſe the People againſt them. This (beſides that the whole Power will come into the Hands of the Magiſtrates) will bring many Thouſands a Year to the Commonwealth; for the People having Opportunity to come into the general Aſſemblies, out of Love to hear many wiſe underſtanding Men, will not need to give Maintenance to the Hirelings, who lord it in particular Congregations, whereby the Magiſtrates (who now begin to lighten or eaſe the Burden of Maintenance) will be loved more than formerly. Then ſhall we firſt be able rightly to diſcern, when the Power is come into its right Place, what the Magiſtrates are, who now many times are accounted Oppreſſors and evil Governors; though it may be that Oppreſſion and evil Government doth proceed more from the Nature of the Teachers than of the Magiſtrates, who (now the Way to make the Teachers powerleſs is opened) will begin to appear more evidently than formerly, and the more, becauſe the common Aſſembling-place may be inſtituted for drawing off the People from the Miniſters in all Places, without Compulſion of any Man, bringing all Sects (without giving Wages to any) as Brethren to equal Privileges: But if thoſe that are of one and the ſame Opinion, will have particular Congregations and ſet Mniſters, let themſelves pay them as a Maſter doth his Servant; for it's no Reaſon that a Man ſhould help to maintain another's Servants; eſpecially if they be ſuch as (in his Judgment) are Soul-deſtroyers, who (being in his Senſes) would aſſiſt ſuch Enemies as do countermine him. Is it not to be wondered at, that the Miniſters (who would be eſteemed more than the Magiſtrates) ſhould (to the Shame of their Church or Congregations) deſire Wages of them, for whom they have not laboured? Neither is it the Mark of a true Church, where the Members thereof are ſo covetous and unmerciful, that they will not maintain or provide for

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their own Miniſters, and the Teachers (loving the Wages of Unrighteouſneſs) do (contrary to the Tenth Commandment) covet the Goods of others, whereof the Apoſtles and their Congregations would have been aſhamed to think, much leſs would do it: Yet I hope that once the Conſcience-burdening Law of conſtraining to pay Tithes to the Miniſters (who ſeek rather after Lucre than the Truth) for the reſt of theſe Nations will be made null and void; ſome Courſe being taken to ſupply the Neceſſities of the Miniſters, who by ſuch Act (that none ſhall be forced to pay Tithes to them) may be brought to a want of Subſiſtence; and yet that this may be ſo done, only for thoſe that are now made deſtitute, but no Encouragement for any others in time to come; and by this the Magiſtrates (while every Sect maintain their own Miniſters) will be freed from laying ſuch intolerable Burthens on their Subjects, having to provide for none elſe but thoſe who are appointed in the general Aſſemblies or Meeting-places, to read the holy Scriptures, and keep the People in Order; to ſhew that they are no Maintainers of Sects, but of the Chriſtian Religion, being as Fathers and Mediators, to bring the Good together, out of all Sects, to unite under the Name of Jeſus, to the End that his Kingdom and Government may be enlarged for an Example to *Holland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *France*, and other Kingdoms, who ſeeing there is no Force nor Conſtraint uſed, will eaſily be brought to a firm Bond of Unity. This being the only Means by forſaking all Men and human Forms, to be bleſſed by Chriſt (whoſe Honour only is ſought) againſt the Antichriſt, contrary to the Way of other Kings and Princes, who being ſeparated from Popery, have made themſelves unworthy of the Bleſſing of Chriſt, by giving Honour to the bare Name of *Luther*, *Calvin*, and others, inſtead of giving it to Chriſt, having been deceived by the little Antichriſts their Followers, who as well as the great one, ſeek their own Glory, Eaſe, and Idleneſs; and as if they had no Fellowſhip with the great Antichriſt, have put the holy Scriptures into the common People's Hands, which before was prohibited to be read, only ſeeking that we ſhould agree with them in their Forms, applying and fitting themſelves (ſuch is their Subtlety) to the Temper of the Times, as a Fowler gives Scope to a Bird he hath already in a String, that ſo at length it may be content to live in a Cage. Now againſt theſe little Antichriſts (who under the Name of giving Liberty, would bind People to their Opinions) the Magiſtrates (being taught by Experience) ſhould as well counter-work, as againſt the Great, that they may come to the very Root, bringing the Holy Scripture (which was formerly prohibited to be read) with great Triumph into the general Aſſembly or Meeting-place, and ſet it on high, to the End that the Sound or Report of this, to wit, that Chriſt alone muſt rule (by his Word) in the Hearts of Men, among all Nations (according to the great Work done in *England*) may be heard, giving Liberty to every one, after the Reading of the Scripture (contrary to the little Antichriſt who will have it underſtood only according to their own Forms and Expoſitions) to ſet forth his own Apprehenſion, without being bound to any one's Opinion: That ſpiritual Matters being applied to ſpiritual, Antichriſt may be ſtormed with two Armies, *viz.* the Truth againſt Error, and the material Sword againſt Oppreſſors, who by their arrogating Diſpoſition and Excluſion

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of others, do ſeek to reſtrain the Liberty of ſpeaking, which diſcovers the Errors of the Underſtanding for the Cure thereof; whereas, by ſtopping the Mouths of the People (as heretofore) they make Men incurable.

Now to further this, that the Weakneſs or Ignorance of ſome may be remedied by the Knowledge of others, without Diſturbance or Confuſion, it will be neceſſary that the Authority of the Magiſtrate interpoſe in this general Aſſembly or Meeting-place, that every one may ſpeak in their Order, ſtaying their Time; and thoſe that break Order may (after due Warning) be ejected till they are better diſpoſed, without oppreſſing them by Impriſonment or otherwiſe.

This would be glad Tiding, yea, a true Year of Jubilee, for thoſe that lie in Priſon, only for aſſerting their Opinions in Matters of Religion; that now they may (together with others) bring in their Underſtandings into this general Aſſembly, to receive or give Light: And to the End that Antichriſt (or he that exalts himſelf above others) may be continually ſhut out, it is exactly to be obſerved, that no Preheminence or ſole Privilege be granted to any (of offering any thing, or of ſpeaking firſt) that ſo every one being at Liberty and unhindered, may bring forth that which is moſt conducing to the common Welfare, according to the Words of *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 26. All of them ſitting ſtill ſo long after the Reading of the Scriptures (as being ſwift to hear and ſlow to ſpeak) till any one think it fit (in his judicious and humble Mind) to propoſe ſomewhat for mutual Edification, endeavouring withal to make his Diſcourſe ſhort, that another may have his Turn likewiſe, contrary to the Cuſtom of the common Teachers, who only, or ſolely ſpeaking, do lengthen out their Diſcourſe to the Wearineſs of their Auditory; for which End the Moderators (who ought to be meek and underſtanding Men) are to obſerve that there be due Order kept.

This (ſeeing no Forms or Articles are made in it beſide the holy Scripture) will be a Council and Synod, ſtanding always open, to all rational People, without impoſing any Man's Concluſions, contrary to the former Aſſemblies, who have excluded all Nations and Poſterity (by their Self-conceitedneſs) dividing People, as by a Wall of Separation, one from another, by their Forms; whereupon great Eſtrangement hath enſued, as if they were different Nations; and the better to ſet up their Antichriſtian Kingdom and Dominion, have ſo contrived their Catechiſms, that they have bound up, and ſo ſpoiled the Underſtanding of their Children, before they come to have the Uſe of Reaſon, holding their Dependants, or Members, captive under them in their Net, as Beaſts, contrary to the Order of their Creation, well knowing, that if they gave them the Liberty of Speaking, they would not be long worſhipped as Idols, or ſacrificed to, as *Bell* at *Babel*.

Contrariwiſe, People, in the general Aſſemblies, when all Underſtandings and Tongues are free, will be ſtirred up to the Exerciſe thereof, and by conferring together, will come to Knowledge, Love, and Familiarity. The Truth (which hath been long kept under, or with-held in Unrighteouſneſs) will ſcatter the Lies, as Light doth Darkneſs; and the great Credit which we

have given to ſome Teachers in Particular, will by Oppoſition be diminiſhed, and the Power of all Sects (the one diſpelling the Errors of the other) will be broken.

This will be the Place where we ſhall diſcern and learn to know the moſt wiſe as *Solomon*, and meek as *Moſes*; which out of all Sects (only ſuch as ſeek to domineer over others excluded) may be appointed as Counſellors, to keep ſteady the Balance of Government, without reſpect of Perſons, to the End that the Spirit of God be not confined; which will be a ſure Mark that Wiſdom (for the Sake of which Kings, in Times paſt, were bleſſed) is (under this Government) eſteemed above Gold and Silver, being the Principal to diſtinguiſh all Things, chiefly Policy from Religion, for the common Good; for Magiſtrates (if they would remain without uſurping the Office of Chriſt) may not make Laws in Matters of Religion, but againſt evil Deeds, to protect the Good; to the End, that their Subjects (from whom they receive Taxes and Impoſitions) may be protected in Peace, of what Religion ſoever they are; for the Power to puniſh evil Doers is ordained of God in all Lands, without reſpect of Religion; and whoſoever oppoſeth that Power, oppoſeth the Ordinance of God; not that all Officers (though they rule ill) are of God, or are his Miniſters, but thoſe only who adminiſter their Office rightly, according to God's Will; otherwiſe, thoſe who heretofore have riſen up againſt Tyrants, oppoſing their Perſons, ſhould have been indeed Oppoſers of God's Ordinance, contrary to that of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* xiii. who hath ſaid, that ſuch as are the Miniſters of God, are continually employed in the Defence of the Good, until they have, by falſe Teachers, been drawn beſides their Office, to domineer over Conſciences, and ſo brought into the Service or Miniſtry of Satan, to the Grief of their Subjects.

But I hope that once the Sword (which hath been with-held from Lyars and Oppreſſors) ſhall cut them off together with the Cable of their Hope (the Tithes) that ſo the Ground of almoſt all Oppreſſion, being taken away, not only the Subjects, but alſo the Magiſtrates, may live in Peace, who are now continually liable to hear the Complaints of the head Sectaries, who ſeek to domineer over others, it being the Nature of ſuch, who finding their own Weakneſs, do make Power and Force their Refuge, contrary to the Example of Chriſt and the Primitive Saints, whoſe Strength was only the Evidence of Truth: Wherefore all People, and chiefly Magiſtrates, are to take Heed that they aſſiſt not Lies, uſing their Power (according to God's Ordinance) only againſt thoſe that are to the Prejudice of good Government, or the Hurt of Mankind in general, without mingling Policy and Religion, which were ordained for ſeveral Ends; the one to defend the good Men againſt the Evil, and the other to make the Evil good: There remains only, that the Magiſtrates (for an Example to their Subjects) do null all human commanding and conſtraining Laws in ſpiritual Matters, that ſo all Plants which the heavenly Father hath not planted, may (according to the Saying of Chriſt) be rooted up, which will beſt take Effect, when the Dominion of the Teachers is through the Power of the Governors, come to an End, and their Hope of domineering over others cut off; for Magiſtrates, inſtead of lording it over Con-

Conſciences, ought, on the contrary, to hinder all Lordſhip over Conſciences, that complaining and murmuring may come to an End, and that the Righteous may rejoice.

For which End, that we may tranſmit the World unto our Poſterity, in a better Condition than we firſt found it, I have contributed this little to my Power.

I beſeech your Highneſs, let not any Pre-engagement oblige you, to what you may afterwards ſee inconſiſtent with the Magiſtrates true Intereſt, with the due Liberty of God's People, and the free Propagation of the Goſpel. It were better for you, and more for your Honour, with *Ahaſhuerus*, to contradict your own Hand and Seal, than with *Herod*, to perform a raſh Engagement.

But while it is yet in your Highneſs's Choice, let not the Right-hand of brave Atchievements for the Vindication of Liberty, be ever ſtained with authorizing (to the Honour of Men, and Diſhonour of Chriſt) any Confeſſion of Faith, Ordinance, or Decree, which will in the leaſt intrench thereon, or indulge the Enemies thereof. Be not deceived, by ſuch Perſons as pretend to advance your Honour, as in the Time of *Daniel* was done to King *Darius*, that the good People in thoſe and other Nations may not be diſappointed of their Hope and Expectations in you.

I do wiſh for Concluſion, that your Highneſs, and all your Counſellors of State, to the bringing down of Antichriſt, and all his Adherents, may have a great Heart, and humble under God and Chriſt; that the great Work done in *England*, come not to the Honour of a mortal Man, but to the Honour of him, who hath received the Power over the Kingdoms of the Earth. *Be wiſe as Serpents and innocent as Doves*, Matth. x. 16.

O Lord of all Lords and Magiſtrates, teach them that rule as Gods in the World, to conſider, that they are but Men in thy Eyes; that they may handle their Subjects, after ſuch a Manner as they wiſh to be handled by thee in thy Judgment.

For the King and both Houſes of Parliament; being a brief, plain, and true Relation of ſome of the late ſad Sufferings of the People of God called QUAKERS, for worſhipping God, and exerciſing a good Conſcience towards God and Man; by reaſon whereof eighty-nine have ſuffered till Death, thirty-two of which died before the King came into *England*, and fifty-ſeven ſince; of which fifty-ſeven, by hard Impriſonment and cruel Uſage, forty-three have died in this City of *London* and *Southwark*, ſince the Act made againſt Meetings.

IT is not unknown, that we have been a perſecuted and ſuffering People for many Years, even by all the Powers that have ruled in theſe Kingdoms; and many hard Impriſonments, Scourgings and falſe Judgments we have undergone, and much evil Dealing hath been exerciſed towards us, and all this for, and becauſe only of, our Religion and good Conſcience to Godwards, and not for any Rebellion, Sedition, or wrong doing towards them or our Neighbour: For it hath been our only Care how to walk juſtly and innocently in the Sight of God, towards Rulers and People, and have been peaceable towards all; and herein we have deſired to approve our Hearts in much Integrity and Sincerity, that we might be found blameleſs before the Lord, as himſelf doth bear us witneſs.

Yorkſhire.

Robert Barwick for refuſing to ſwear, was ſent to *York* Caſtle the 24th Day of the 11th Month, 1660, and on the 28th Day of the firſt Month he died a Priſoner.

Peter Caiph of *Wyton* was taken out of a peaceable Meeting by Conſtables, without any Warrant; and he and ſeveral others for refuſing to ſwear, were ſent to *York* Caſtle the 13th of the 12th Month 1660, and the ſecond Day of the ſecond Month 1661, *Peter* died a Priſoner.

Robert Storr of *Hilſton*, for the ſame Cauſe was impriſoned in *York* Caſtle, and on the 25th of the firſt Month 1661, he died a Priſoner.

Benjamin Nicholſon of *Tickell*, and *Abraham Decow* of *Fiſhlock*, being committed upon the ſame Account to *York* Caſtle, died in Priſon.

And there hath died nine more in *York* lately, whoſe Names are not as yet ſent up.

Surrey.

Thomas Patchen being ſick of a Fever, was taken out of his Bed, and drove twenty-five Miles on Foot, and in their Cruelty, they over drove him, in ſo much that it was beyond his natural Strength, ſo that in a few Days after he was in the *White-Lyon* Priſon, he died.

Hampſhire.

Hampſhire.

William Rutter on the 17th of the 12th Month, 1661, was taken out of a Meeting, and had to the main Guard in *Portſmouth*, and from thence to the Mayor, who tendered him the Oath of Allegiance, and for refuſing to ſwear, he was committed to the common Gaol, and falling ſick on the 14th Day of the firſt Month, he died a Priſoner.

Bedfordſhire.

John Ruſh of *Kempſton Hardwick*, was kept in Priſon about a Year for not paying Tithes to Prieſt *Wells* of *Wilkhaniſtead*, who kept him in Priſon until he died, which was the firſt of the 11th Month, 1661.

Huntingdonſhire.

Simon Sandford and *Francis Lamſteaa*, being both committed to the Gaol in *Huntington* for refuſing to ſwear, died in Priſon, *Francis* the 7th Day of the firſt Month, and *Simon* the 18th of the 12th Month, 1661.

Worceſterſhire.

Richard Walker, a ſickly weakly Man, and hath been ſo long, was (with many more) on the firſt Day of the 11th Month, 1662, taken out of a Meeting in *Eviſham*, by one Major *Wild*, who, with the reſt of his Party on Horſeback, forced the poor ſick Man with Haſte and Rigor, to travel on Foot Part of the Way to *Worceſter*, and his ſick Body being wearied, not being able to travel ſo faſt as their Horſes, one of the hard-hearted Soldiers took him by the Arm, and drew him violently along; the Mayor alſo rode with his Horſe againſt him, and ſtruck him down with his Horſe Briſket, and plucked out his Piſtol, and threatened to piſtol him; and when they ſaw he could not travel ſo faſt as they in Haſte rode their Horſes, then they ſet him on a Horſe, and one of them whipped the Horſe forward up Hill and down Hill, without Pity to his weak Condition; and the ſaid *Wild* committed him to the County Gaol in *Worceſter*, where being far from his tender Friends who nouriſhed him in his weak Condition, his Sickneſs increaſed, and he ſoon died.

London and *Southwark.*

Daniel Abraham being impriſoned in *Newgate*, with about three hundred more Friends, for refuſing to ſwear, in the 12th Month, 1660, fell ſick and died.

Walter Bellamy being at the ſame time impriſoned in *Newgate*, and there being one hundred, or thereabouts, impriſoned in that Room where he was, it is judged that ſo many being together, for want of convenient Air and Lodging, he fell ſick, and in the third Month, 1661, he died a Priſoner.

John Stanton, having a Wife and ſeveral Children, was taken out of a Meeting by rude Soldiers, and committed to *Newgate*, and falling ſick, died a Priſoner the 21ſt Day of the 4th Month, 1662.

Thomas Kirby a young Man, a Haberdaſher by Trade, being newly out of his Time, was taken out of a Meeting of the People of God, and committed to Priſon to *Newgate*, where he fell ſick, and on the firſt Day of the fifth Month, 1662, he finiſhed his Teſtimony by Death.

Richard Hubberthorne, a faithful Miniſter of the Lord, being declaring the Truth at the *Bull and Mouth* Meeting, was taken by Soldiers, and carried before

fore *Richard Brown*, who took hold of the Brim of his Hat, and lugged it upon his Face, and committed him to *Newgate*, where he and two more lay in a dark Hole; and falling ſick on the 17th of the ſixth Month, 1662, he laid down his Life for the Teſtimony of Truth.

Anthony Skillington, being at a Meeting of the Lord's People on the 13th of the fifth Month, 1662, was by the rude Soldiers taken out of the Meeting, and brought before *Richard Brown*, who ſent him to Priſon, with many more; and being innocent, they demanded a free Priſon; and ſo the Gaoler put them in the Hole, which is the Place they put Felons in after they are condemned to die; and there eleven of them remained two Nights, and then were had out, and put in a ſtinking Hole amongſt the common Felons; and *Anthony* often complained of the bad Smell before he fell ſick; and by reaſon of want of Air, and ſuch a ſtinking Smell, he and ſeveral more fell ſick and died; and the Jury that viewed his Body, concluded that they did believe his cloſe Impriſonment, and the ſtinking Smell, ſurfeited his Body, which was the Cauſe of his Death, it being in the Heat of Summer.

John Giles, a faithful Miniſter of the Truth, was taken out of a Meeting where he was miniſtring the Truth, and committed to *Newgate* by *Richard Brown*, where falling ſick the 29th of the ſixth Month, 1662, he laid down his Life for the Truth's Sake.

William Watſon of the Pariſh of *White-Chapel*, was taken from a Meeting, and committed to the common Gaol in *Newgate*, where he fell ſick, and on the 25th of the ſixth Month, 1662, died a Priſoner.

William Eldridge and *John Shoot*, were both committed to *Newgate* by *Richard Brown*, for meeting to worſhip God; and they fell ſick, and the latter End of the ſixth Month, 1662, both died, and were carried from *Newgate* together to be buried.

Richard Bradley, for the Cauſe aforeſaid, was committed to New-Priſon, where he fell ſick, and on the firſt Day of the ſeventh Month, 1662, he laid down his Life for the Truth's Sake.

Henry Boreman, being committed to *Newgate* for ſelling Friends Books, fell ſick and died in *Newgate* the 17th of the eighth Month, 1662, and left a Wife great with Child, and three ſmall Children beſides.

Thomas Birkley, *Benjamin Bromly*, *John Witlock*, and *William Snowk*, being committed to the *White-Lyon* Priſon, for meeting to worſhip God (with ſeveral others) they fell ſick for want of Air and Conveniences to lodge; and in the ninth Month, 1662, all died in the Priſon, and gave up their Lives for the Truth's Sake.

John Diſon, *John Woſtenholm*, and *Richard Page*, being committed to the *White-Lyon* Priſon for the Cauſe aforeſaid, with about eighty more, were kept in three little Rooms, where, by reaſon of the Cloſeneſs of the Place, they fell ſick, and in a ſhort time, being about the 6th of the 10th Month, they there finiſhed their Teſtimony by Death.

Thomas Anſtee and *William Hawkes*, being committed to *Newgate* by *Richard Brown* for the Cauſe aforeſaid, fell ſick, and both laid down their Bodies in the Priſon for the Truth's Sake.

Thomas

Thomas Rogers, a young Man, was taken alſo out of a Meeting of the People aforeſaid, and committed to the common Gaol, where he fell ſick about the tenth Month, and died in a ſhort time a Priſoner for the Truth of God.

Mark Cloſe and *Gabriel Shaller*, being committed by *Richard Brown* for the Cauſe aforeſaid, where they fell ſick, and about the latter End of the tenth Month, 1662, died in the common Gaol in *Newgate* for the Truth's Sake.

John Cooper was by *Richard Brown* committed to the common Gaol in *Newgate* for the ſame Cauſe, where he ſuffered the Loſs of his Life for the Truth's Sake, the 30th of the tenth Month, 1662.

Thomas Hancler, *William Pryor*, and *Samuel Petchet*, being committed by *Richard Brown*, for meeting together, about the 6th and 7th of the 11th Month, died in the common Gaol in *Newgate*; *William Pryor* leaving a Wife and Children behind him, whoſe Maintenance did conſiſt on his Labour; and *Samuel Petchet* was a young Man newly come up out of the Country about Buſineſs.

John Trowell, being at a Meeting at the *Bull and Mouth*, the latter End of the ſixth Month, was dragged out of the Meeting by rude Soldiers, and one of them knocked him down for dead in the Street, and then trampled upon him in the Street, and he lay ſick ten Days, and then died, and his dead Body was carried to the *Bull*, where he received his Bruiſes and Blows; and the Coroner and Jury viewed his dead Body, and many others, who judged him to be murdered, his Body being black with Bruiſes, and even rotten and like a Jelly; it cannot well be expreſſed what grievous Blows had fallen on his Body; one of the Officers having a Club in one Hand about a Yard long, which ſeemed to be as much as he could well handle, for Bigneſs and Weight, with which he laid on about him without Mercy, as did the moſt of his Party, regarding neither Age nor Sex: One Friend was knocked down five Times; and the Blood lay in the Streets, and run down Men's Faces and Shoulders; and one Hanger and one other Weapon were both broken by Force of Blows over Men's Heads.

Humphrey Bache, and *Humphrey Brewſter*, were both committed to *Newgate* for meeting; and by the Cloſeneſs of the Priſon their Bodies were corrupted, ſo that in a ſhort time after they were releaſed, they died.

Humprey Leaver, *Richard Davis*, *Robert Croſs*, *Thomas Wingreen*, *John Ratcliff*, were all impriſoned in the common Gaol in *Newgate*, by *Richard Brown*, for meeting to worſhip God, where it is judged, through the Smoke and noiſome Smells their Bodies were corrupted; ſo that ſoon after they were releaſed, they died, who we may reckon, with the reſt, to have ſealed their Teſtimony with the Loſs of their Lives.

Edward Burroughs, a faithful Labourer and Miniſter of the Lord, being impriſoned in *Newgate* for miniſtring the Truth to the People at the *Bull and Mouth*, he remained a Priſoner near three Quarters of a Year, and notwithſtanding the King ſent an Order under his Hand and Seal to releaſe him, yet *Richard Brown* would not releaſe him: The Beginning of the twelfth Month the ſaid *Edward Burroughs* fell ſick, and the 14th Day of the ſame Month he finiſhed his Teſtimony by Death.

And

And there hath ſuffered Impriſonments, Stockings, Whippings, Loſs of Goods, and other Abuſes, for keeping a good Conſcience towards God and Man, before the King came into *England*, 3170 Perſons.

And there hath ſuffered Impriſonments for refuſing to ſwear, and for meeting together, and refuſing to go to public Worſhip, and for keeping a good Conſcience towards God and Man ſince the King came into *England*, 5400 Perſons, notwithſtanding the King's perſonal Endeavours, at ſundry Times, by Letters, Warrants, and Proclamations for their Delivery, and for the Mitigation of the Harſhneſs of his inferior Officers towards them in the Caſes abovementioned.

And there died by Impriſonment, and other hard Uſage, before the King came in, thirty-two Perſons.

And there have died, by reaſon of Impriſonment, and hard and cruel Uſage ſince the King came in, fifty-ſix Perſons.

And there remains at this preſent in Priſon in *England*, who ſuffer for good Conſcience Sake, five hundred Perſons.

From the People of God called QUAKERS.

James Nailor's Recantation, penned and directed by himſelf to all the People of the Lord, gathered and ſcattered; and may moſt fitly ſerve as an Antidote againſt the infectious Poiſon of damnable Hereſies, although couched under the moſt ſpecious Veils of pretended Sanctity.

Printed in the Year 1659.

To all the People of the Lord, gathered and ſcattered.

IN the Fear of God, and Love to his Truth and People, do I declare, in the Spirit of Meekneſs, what hath long oppreſſed my Soul, concerning thoſe unclean Spirits gone out from the Unity of the Truth and Light, by which we have been called and gathered into one Chriſt Jeſus, the Head over all his Bleſſed for ever; whoſe Name hath been greatly diſhonoured by many wild Actings, and his innocent Spirit grieved, and many ſimple Souls deceived, many oppreſſed, and many offended againſt the Truth; for which Work my Soul hath been much troubled, who to this Day raven about from Place to Place amongſt the People of God, ſeeking to enter where they can, ſo to ſtrengthen themſelves into Parties, to trouble ſuch as they cannot enter, ſeeking to ſpoil the pleaſant Paſture of the Lambs, that they ſhould not feed in Peace; and, for that End, haunt after the Meetings of the People of God. All which Practices and Pretences I deny in my Soul, and the Spirit that acts therein.

And

And the more it lies upon me, from the Lord to warn the ſimple innocent Ones of his thereof openly, in that through me theſe Spirits have got much Head and Entrance into the Minds of ſome who were ſimple towards God's Truth: And this the envious One hath done, in the Night of my Trial, and Hour of Darkneſs and Temptation, taking Advantage of my Sufferings, in the Day when my Judgment was taken away, and led Captive under the Power of Darkneſs, which all along hath ſought my Life, had not the Father held, and with his Hand upon me, ſtayed me in thoſe great Temptations, to to whom alone I give the Glory of my Deliverance from that great Deſtruction, as his Promiſe was to me before I came into that Trial, who alſo hath brought me up again, and hath given me to ſee thoſe evil Spirits, and that the Work of the Murderer and Devourer is therein, againſt the Life of God in his Temple; which, though they ſeek Entrance under Pretence of Humility, promiſing ſome great Things, and more Holineſs in that Way, to ſteal into ſimple Minds, yet being got in, exalts himſelf above the Seed of God, and tramples the meek Spirit under Foot, and ſo darkens the Veſſels; and being exalted in the Openings of the Imaginations, leads the Creature as God above that of God, and ſo againſt that of God, he wars in others, where God is above.

And this Myſtery of deep Iniquity hath the Lord God in the Spirit of the Lamb revealed unto me, whoſe powerful Working I have felt, working in me above the pure Meaſure and unſpotted Life of God: And alſo in the Simplicity of Jeſus Chriſt, I had given up my Body all along a free Offering to the Will of God in Life or Death, for the Seed's Sake yet ungathered in the World (as God knoweth I lie not) yet could I often feel that exalted One above, ſecretly tempting to Envy againſt the People of God already gathered, pretending another Thing to come ſome other Way. But this was ever judged the Life of God alſo. I was often buffeted therewith, ſometimes ſo ſtrongly as to force Words from me above the meek and lowly Principle, all which Words were ſoon judged with the Sufferer which lay under, and with his Life be they condemned for ever, and this lieth upon me to declare openly, which God hath revealed unto me, for the Sake of the ſimple ones, who may be deceived therewith, but would not, did they know his Subtilty.

And by this you ſhall all perceive that Spirit, whatever it pretends, it will ſecretly withdraw your intire Love from the Flock of God, already gathered, and cool your Affections and Zeal towards their preſent Meetings, and if you judge it not there, it will grow on with an evil Eye, to ſpy out for their Failings, and to delight to hear of them with an hidden Joy, whiſpering them to others, and adding thereunto, with a Deſire to ſee them broken, and their Nakedneſs laid open, if any Thing be amiſs.

And thus it hath wrought in a Myſtery of Wickedneſs in ſome unjudged, until it be ſeated in the Throne of open Enmity and Striſe againſt the Lambs of Light, preferring the Society of the Profane before them, and taking Part therewith againſt them, joining to any who ſeek to ſcatter them.

And whatever Pretence this Spirit covers itſelf with, this I declare againſt it, having been kept by the good Hand of God, to ſee it revealed in its Ground and End, that it is the old Spirit of the *Ranters*, which now, in a new Way,

make head againſt the Light of Chriſt, and Life of the Croſs, which is the only Thing which ſtands in its Way, by condemning its Filthineſs in every Conſcience.

And ſo they, in whom this is entred, being exalted above the living Witneſs in themſelves, would devour it in others; and this in the Preſence and Fear of God I declare, without the leaſt Prejudice againſt any Man or Woman, but in Obedience to God, and for his Seed's Sake, leſt any more of the Simple ſhould be deceived, and that ſuch as are deceived already may recover themſelves out of Satan's Snares, having no ſelfiſh End therein, God knows.

And long Time hath my Soul travelled, ere I could obtain Power herein (ſo ſtrongly hath he that letteth withſtood my Way) and therefore in the Bowels of tender Love I warn you all to take Heed how ever you come under that Spirit, under what Pretence ſoever, but let the Fear of God, and ſound Judgment, in the Spirit of Meekneſs, preſerve you all above it; for whereſoever it enters by Conſent, it is hard to be got out again, and if it be, it is not without much Sorrow: And this I have found in the Depth, which, for your Sakes, I declare in Plainneſs and in Truth, as I have learned of the Lord, labouring with him without ceaſing, that the reſt of the People of God, every where, may be ſaved from this Devourer, who daily goeth about to deceive; and whoſoever he takes he caſteth into the Earth and into the Sea; for Wickedneſs is with him whereſoever he goes.

Even the Lord God Almighty arm you all againſt his Wiles, being warned thereof in his Love, and the eternal Power of Holineſs preſerve you all clean to himſelf, who are dearer to me than ever, and that in no other Thing but that innocent Principle in which you were kept free from all the Pollutions of the World, and fleſhly Liberty, and do ſtand Witneſſes for God, againſt it, before all Men; and in no other Thing have I Fellowſhip with any, which is that I ſeek to ſet up above all.

And this I was moved to give forth to go every where a Witneſs againſt that unclean Spirit wherever it goes, feeling its Work is to run to and fro to deceive, and that all may be warned by what I have learned in Sufferings; and that they that will not may be left without Excuſe.

JAMES NAILOR.

For the KING and both Houſes of PARLIAMENT, ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, and for every Member thereof to read.

FRIENDS! Oh Friends, in the Power of God dwell, that laſteth for ever, which doth remain and abide; and mind the higher Power, which God hath ordained, which goes over all Tranſgreſſors, Sinners, and Evil-doers; which Law and higher Power was not made for the Righteous, but

but Sinners and Tranſgreſſors, to be a Terror to them, and for the Puniſhment of them, and for the Praiſe of them that do well: Now, them that do well, the Righteous, this Law and higher Power was not made for, and doth not take hold upon them; to which higher Power every Soul muſt be ſubject: The higher Power, I ſay, that is higher than all Tranſgreſſors, Evil-doers, and the Devil, who went out of the Truth, that led into Sin and Tranſgreſſion; therefore to Sin and evil People are not to yield themſelves; but their Souls unto the higher Power, as I ſaid before, that goes over Sin and the Devil, the Author of it, to this Power muſt the Soul be ſubject: Therefore you Rulers and Magiſtrates are to put a Difference between the Precious and the Vile, the Righteous and the Wicked, ſuch as the Law was made for, Sinners and Tranſgreſſors (for which Cauſe it was added) and the Righteous which it was not made for; for this higher Power that goes over all Sinners and Tranſgreſſors was not made for the Righteous, which the immortal Soul muſt be ſubject to. This immortal higher Power, that higher Power anſwereth, and is one with the Spirit and Witneſs of God, that witneſſeth for him, againſt Sin and Tranſgreſſion of the Law and Power of God in every one.

Secondly, Keep all in the Fear of God, departing from Sin and Evil, that ye may receive God's Wiſdom from above, that is pure and gentle, and eaſy to be entreated, and is full of Mercy and Goodneſs, which is not earthly, ſenſual, nor deviliſh, but keeps from Hard-heartedneſs; and that with that Wiſdom you may be ruled, and order and govern with, and by all Things under your Hands to God's Glory, by which Wiſdom all Things were made and created, that to the Lord you may be a Bleſſing, and a ſweet Savour in your Generation, and in the Hearts of all People, anſwering the Witneſs of God in them all, that you may be Eyes to the Blind, Legs to the Lame, taking away every Weight and heavy Burthen, and breaking the Jaws of the Wicked, that would rend and tear the Innocent to Pieces, that in that you may be a Mouth to the Dumb, and a Strength to them who cannot help themſelves, in that you will get the Honour of God, and bow the Hearts of the People.

Again, let Wickedneſs and Violence be ſtopt; Swearing, Oaths, Drunkenneſs and Prophaneneſs, of which much abounds in the Land, that Truth and Righteouſneſs may be ſet up and eſtabliſhed, and run down the Streets; for that is it which eſtabliſheth the Kingdom; for the higher Power is that goes over all, the Devil, and all the Powers of Darkneſs, and over Sinners and Tranſgreſſors, which anſwereth that which all Men do trangreſs.

And let no one be perſecuted and impriſoned for worſhipping of God in Spirit and Truth, which the Devil is out of ſeeing Chriſt and the Apoſtles did not give any Command or Example that they ſhould be impriſoned, perſecuted and baniſhed, though there hath been much Perſecution about the Church Miniſtry and Worſhip, and Ceremonies, ſince the Days of the Apoſtles and Chriſt, in the Fleſh; though, as I ſaid before, from them they have had no Example nor Command from the Apoſtles and the Church in the primitive Times to do ſo; ſuch as will grieve the Spirit, quench the Spirit, deſpiſe the Prophefy, were forbidden by the Apoſtles.

And let there be no Perſecution nor Impriſonment of them that be in Differences in their Opinions in Religion, which all profeſſing the Name of Chriſt, whoſe Command is to all them who follow Him, and own Him, that they ſhould love Enemies: Let this Command be obeyed and minded, and not trodden under Foot; for that is it which overcomes Enemies.

And again, do to all Men as you would have them do unto you, for this is the Law and the Prophets: And if this had been minded in the whole Chriſtendom; that is to ſay, the Law and the Prophets, and practiſed and obeyed, and not trodden under Foot the Life of it, by them who have profeſſed the Words, there would have been better Order in the whole Chriſtendom and Creation; for this we ſay, and know, *He that is born of the Fleſh will perſecute him that is born of the Spirit.* Let not this Birth be found amongſt them that profeſs themſelves Chriſtians, and profeſs Chriſt Jeſus, and own the Church in the primitive Time, which was among the Apoſtles. Now, the Fruit of the Birth born of the Fleſh is *Perſecution*, &c. the Fruit of the Birth born of the Spirit is *Love*, *Peace*, *Gentleneſs*, *Righteouſneſs*, *Goodneſs* and *Temperance*, &c.

Let there be no compelling about Worſhip, about Days, Meats, and Religion, nor forcing of a Maintenance for a Miniſtry; for ſo doing there is no Example among the Apoſtles, nor Command neither from Chriſt nor them; but on the contrary, all Things muſt be done in Love and Bounty, as amongſt the Apoſtles, and in the Church in the primitive Times, *for freely they had received, and freely they were to give.* This was the Command of Chriſt Jeſus, who is the ſame To-day, Yeſterday, and for ever. Chriſt Jeſus, who is the Head of the Church, and chief Biſhop, who did not give forth any Law or Command, or Example to his Ambaſſadors, Apoſtles, and Friends, for them to force or compel any about Worſhip, or Religion, or Maintenance, or about Days, or Meats, or Drinks; from the chief Shepherd, the great Biſhop, there was no Command nor Example for ſo doing, nor from his Diſciples, nor Apoſtles, nor the Church in the primitive Times; but they brought People off the Figures, Types, and Shadows, and from their Affections on Things below to Chriſt Jeſus the Subſtance; and moreover ſaid, That the Body, which is the Church, was to edify itſelf in Love, of which Church Chriſt Jeſus is the Head, who is the Biſhop, Prophet, Prieſt and King, to rule, to teach, and to offer; and Chriſt Jeſus is the End of the firſt Covenant, the firſt Prieſt-hood which had the Tithes and the Offerings; for there was the Tithe which was the Heave-offering, which Chriſt ended, and the Prieſthood and the Law, and the Commandment that gave them, *Heb.* vii.

So the Church of Chriſt ſtands in the End of the Law, firſt Covenant and Prieſt-hood, as is ſaid, Chriſt is the End of the Law for Righteouſneſs Sake, to them that believe; and his Church is made up of Believers, which paſſeth from Death to Life: So all the Miniſters and Teachers in the whole Chriſtendom, that will not preach without a Bag, and without a Magiſtrate's Staff to puniſh, and a Bag to relieve them, and will fill their Bag of ſuch they do not work for, and of ſuch you have Experience; and do, and may know, that they are not like unto the Diſciples which Chriſt ſent forth without Bag or Staff,

Staff, and ſuch as was amongſt the Apoſtles, whom they ſaid muſt not be Strikers, nor Perſecutors, nor covetous, nor greedy of filthy Lucre, and they muſt be proved before they muſt teach: So read the Scriptures of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and there you may ſee the Life, Doctrine, and Commands, by which you may meaſure the Miniſters and Teachers of Chriſtendom; and tho' in the Law among the *Jews*, by the Law they were to put to Death the Blaſphemers, falſe Prophets, and the like; which Law Chriſt ended, and came to ſave Men's Lives, and to deſtroy the Devil and his Works; for this Purpoſe was he made manifeſt; for the Devil was the Author of Blaſphemy, and falſe Prophets, whom Chriſt deſtroys. Blaſphemy and falſe Prophets are the Devil's Works; yet Chriſt ſaved Men's Lives, and rebuked the Zeal of his Diſciples, that would have Men's Lives deſtroyed; and the Apoſtles, which were the Miniſters and Teachers, and Ambaſſadors of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, their Weapons were ſpiritual, and not carnal, and they did not wreſtle with Fleſh and Blood, but with ſpiritual Wickedneſs, and the Powers of Darkneſs; ſo the Men being ſpiritual, and their Weapons ſpiritual, wreſtling not with Fleſh and Blood, their Hands were kept clean, and Fiſts not wicked, who could pray to God, lifting up holy Hands: There were no Complainers about Church-maintenance, Worſhip and Religion; neither were they Strikers; but all in the whole Chriſtendom, ſince the Apoſtle's Days, and the Church in the primitive Times, that have killed, perſecuted, forced, impriſoned, about Church Worſhip and Religion, Maintenance, and have wreſtled with Fleſh and Blood, and deſtroyed Creatures, which have been the Workmanſhip of God, inſtead of wreſtling with the Powers of Darkneſs and ſpiritual Wickedneſs: Theſe have not been ſpiritual Men, neither have they had ſpiritual Weapons; neither have their Hands nor Fiſts been holy and clean; and ſo they have not been agreeable, nor according to the Apoſtles, nor Chriſt Jeſus, and his Church in the primitive Times, but contrary to his Mind, Doctrine, and Commands, and his Church, of whom he is Head.

The Law that was among the *Jews* commanded them to worſhip at *Jeruſalem*, and come up to the Temple, or at the Mountain of *Samaria*; but Chriſt Jeſus, who ends that Law which brought People up to worſhip, then he ſaith, *That the Hour is come, and then was, that they that worſhip the Father muſt worſhip him in the Spirit and in the Truth*; for ſuch were they the Father ſeeks to worſhip him. Now, every one that worſhips the Father in Spirit and Truth, muſt come to the Spirit in their own Particulars, that mortifies Sin and Evil, and into the Truth in their own inward Parts; and this differs them from the Will-worſhippers, and from the Worſhip of the Devil, that is out of Truth, where all the compelling Worſhip is.

And concerning our Meetings, Chriſt and his Diſciples they met in Houſes; yea, the wiſe Men miniſtred to Chriſt and his Mother in the Stable; and Chriſt and his Diſciples met in the Wilderneſſes and in the Mountains, and he bids them go into the high Ways and the Hedges, and preach on the Houſe-tops and in the Markets; and the Apoſtle in the midſt of *Mars* Hill, and ſometimes in the Temple, and in the Synagogues, and amongſt the Heathens, to bring them off Types, Figures and Shadows, and their own Inventions, to

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Chriſt the Subſtance: Therefore, now that Chriſtians ſhould hinder one another that profeſs and own the Name of Chriſt, for meeting together and edifying and building upon another (though they all profeſs the Name of Chriſt) this is to quench the Spirit and limit the holy One, and is againſt the edifying of the Body itſelf in Love, and the building up one another in the holy Faith, in Love, who are not to forſake the aſſembling together, nor the edifying of one another, by how much more the Day doth appear: Now, they that be againſt this be not in the Day, but in the Night, and are contrary to the Apoſtles Doctrine, and the Practice of the Church in the primitive Times; therefore, though there be Diverſities of Gifts, and divers Operations, and ſeveral Gifts, and ſeveral Opinions and Judgments, who with ſpiritual Weapons with ſpiritual Men, are theſe to be ordered, and not with carnal, with Clubs and Staves, and Priſons; for theſe Weapons are of the *Heathens*, *Jews*, *Judaſſes*, and of *Cain*, who was the firſt that killed and perſecuted about Religion and Worſhip upon the Earth, whom God ſaid was a *Vagabond*; and the Apoſtle *Paul* ſaid, *Woe be to them that go in his Way*, who ſaid his Weapons *were ſpiritual*, and ſo not like *Cain*'s, who ſlew his Brother, concerning his Faith and Doctrine: Therefore conſider who are of Faith, and have the Faith, they have the Shield, the ſpiritual Weapons; and who have the Word of God, they have the Sword of the Spirit, and the Hammer and the Fire, that which is to cut down, and hammer down, and bar up that which is contrary to the Word, which makes a Separation from God; and theſe are the Spiritual-weaponed Men.

And Chriſt Jeſus ſaid, who hath all Power in Heaven and Earth given to him, who is the End of the Prophets, Law, firſt Covenant, and firſt Prieſthood, *It hath been ſaid of them of the old Time, thou ſhalt not forſwear thy ſelf, but ſhalt perform thy Oath to the Lord: But I ſay unto you, ſwear not at all, by Heaven nor Earth, nor any other Oath; but in all your Communication, let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, Nay; for whatſoever is more cometh of Evil:* And likewiſe the Apoſtle *James*, who followed Chriſt's Command, and obeyed Chriſt's Doctrine, ſaith, *Above all Things, my Brethren, ſwear not, neither by Heaven, nor by any other Oath*; therefore we and they, that keep out of Evil and Condemnation, cannot ſwear, but rather obey the Doctrine of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, and the Apoſtle, who is the Son of God; and if the Angels command us to ſwear, we cannot; for the Son of God commands us the contrary, and to Him the Angels muſt bow. If *Solomon*, who was a King, and *David* and *Moſes*, or *Abraham*, commands us to ſwear, we cannot; for the Son of God commands the contrary, who was before *Abraham* was, and is greater than *Solomon*, whom *David* called Lord, even Christ Jesus, who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: And if the *Jews* Laws commands us to ſwear, we cannot; for Chriſt Jeſus, who ends the *Jews* Law, and the Oath, and redeems to God, commands us we ſhould not ſwear; ſo our Redeemer and Saviour, who is our Life and Truth, our Way, our Rock and Salvation, his Commands we cannot tranſgreſs: And if they that be Chriſtians, and do profeſs the Name of Chriſt, do perſecute us for obeying of Chriſt Jeſus his Command, and becauſe we will not trangreſs his Command, and the Apoſtles, we ſay, the Will of the Lord be done. And we do ſay, it is not well for

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Chriſtians to perſecute or impriſon ſuch as obey the Command of Chriſt, who in their Communications uſe *Yea* and *Nay*, according to his Doctrine; and if their *Yea* be not *Yea*, and their *Nay*, *Nay*; and if we break our *Yea*, and break our *Nay*, then let us ſuffer as much for breaking of that, as others for breaking their *Oath*: This Impriſoning and Fining us, becauſe we cannot ſwear to the breaking of the Command of Chriſt, hath got up ſince the Apoſtles Days; for which doing ſo, and Practice among the Apoſtles and Church in the Primitive Times, there is no Command nor Example.

And we deſire to have (who pay their Taxes and Aſſeſſments) as much Liberty as Stage-Players, and Mountebanks, and Ballad-Singers, who meet together in Hundreds, to the Diſhonour of God, and likewiſe all other Plays, which we do not hear are called tumultuous Meetings, as ours are, who meet together to edify one another in that which is good, to worſhip God; and this is allowed in the Scripture, *they that feared the Lord, ſpake often together*, whom the Lord heard, and theſe were caſt out and hated in the Days of *Iſaiah*; for they were ſuch as trembled at God's Word; but Sports and Plays the Scripture does not allow of, but the Lord by his Servants rebuked ſuch.

Let no one be put to Death for Cattle or Money, but let them reſtore; and if they have not wherewith, let them labour till they have, in the Thing that is good, and ſo that they may have Space to repent; and this is agreeable to the Scriptures.

Let all Writs and Indictments, Subpœnas, Warrants, have no more put in them, than the Things that are truly charged againſt him; and all Laws drawn in a ſhort Volume, that all may know them, that all Things may be kept wholeſome and ſweet, that to the Lord God you may be a good Savour; and let all Priſoners that have lain four or five Years in Gaols, Priſons, and Houſes of Correction, be brought out to a Trial, before their Accuſers, and ſee who there is that accuſes them, and let them not lie to periſh in Gaols and Priſons, that Mercy and Tenderneſs, Juſtice and Truth may flow among all People, that to the Lord you may be a good Savour, and in your Generations, and a Praiſe to God.

And again concerning Religion, and ſeveral Opinions, and Judgments in the Worſhip of God; let every one ſpeak his Judgment, ſpeak his Opinion.

Let all Magiſtrates keep Peace with his Magiſtrate's Sword, and keep down the Hand and Fiſt of People, that they ſhall not ſtrike with their Fiſts, Clubs, Swords and Staves; for envious Perſons, Strikers and Manſlayers, the Law is againſt: And let the Magiſtrates be like *Gamaliel*, who ſaid, *If it was of God, it would ſtand; if it was not, it would fall*; who ſaid to others, *They ſhould take Heed, leſt they were found Fighters againſt God*; ſo let the Patience of an Heathen be an Example to Chriſtians, which indeed them that profeſs the Name of Chriſt, ſhould be beyond *Gamaliels*; ſo whatſoever Opinions, Judgments, that are not of God will fall; but take Heed, do not fight againſt it, leſt you be found Fighters againſt God; and conſider Chriſt's Mind, who ſaid, *Let the Tares and the Wheat grow together till the Harveſt*: Therefore you may ſee he ſtopped his Diſciples from pulling up, leſt they ſhould pull up the Tares and Wheat together, and ſo prevented that Danger; therefore mind that Caution: And *Saul*, before he was converted, in his firſt Birth was a Perſecutor,

running

running up and down from the Chief Prieſts, with his Packet of Letters, to hale and perſecute from City to City, ſuch as lived in the Life of *Chriſt Jeſus*; but of this Action he repented when he was converted; and the Apoſtles had no ſuch Agents as the *Jews* Chief Prieſts had, with Packets of Letters, to perſecute them, and hale from City to City; and they that have done ſo ſince the Days of the Apoſtles, gone up and down with their Packets of Letters, haling and perſecuting ſuch as have been in the Life of Chriſt Jeſus, have been like the unconverted *Jews*, and Prieſts, and *Saul*; but not like the Church in the Primitive Times, and converted *Paul*. So here you may ſee the converted and the unconverted; he that is in the Birth born of the Spirit, and he that is in the Birth born of the Fleſh.

And concerning of what Sort of People the Lord made Uſe of, and ſpake to in the *Old Teſtament*; and concerning alſo what Sort his Son Chriſt Jeſus made Uſe of, and ſpoke to in the *New Teſtament*; in the *Old*, ſuch as were Herdſmen, Plowmen, Keepers of Cattle, Gatherers of Fruit, Threſhers of Corn, Keepers of Sheep: And theſe were hated of the World, as *Abel*, a Keeper of Sheep, and *Moſes*, a Keeper of Sheep, and *Jacob* a Keeper of Sheep, and the Prophet *David*, a Keeper of Sheep; and theſe confounded the World, and ſuch like as theſe ſpeak forth the Scriptures. And Chriſt choſe Fiſhermen for Soul-Gatherers, *Paul*, a Tent-maker, *&c.* And theſe had not been at Univerſities, and Schools of Learning to train them up in; but Chriſt Jeſus was their Teacher, who did not call many of the great Doctors, and learned Men, who is the ſame To-day, Yeſterday, and for ever, both God and Chriſt. And if he make Uſe of the ſame, and ſuch-like now, be not offended; if he fill the Earth with his Knowledge, and cover it with the ſame as the Water of the Sea, let none be troubled and offended: *For all the Children of the Lord ſhall be taught of him*, and *in Righteouſneſs ſhall they be eſtabliſhed, and great ſhall be their Peace*, according to *Iſaiah*'s Propheſy, *Iſa.* liv. which Propheſy many of us do witneſs: And likewiſe we do witneſs the Promiſe of God, who ſaid, he would make *a new Covenant, not according to the old:* For he ſaid, I *will put my Law in their Minds, and put them in their Hearts*; *whereby they ſhall not have Need to ſay to one another, Know the Lord*; *for all ſhall know him, from the greateſt to the leaſt*; *and I will be to them a God, and they ſhall be to me a People*, &c. and this we witneſs: And ſo we need not to have Teachers, ſaying, *Know the Lord.* So therefore, we need not be compelled to ſuch Teachers, who would keep us always in Teaching, that we might be always paying of them, who keeps us always learning; under whoſe Teachings we were never able to come to the Knowledge of the Truth; under whoſe Teaching we were kept in Reprobation from Faith, which Chriſt is the Author of now, unto whom we look, and need not ſay to one another, *Know the Lord.* And Chriſt is the Head of every Man, who is our Head, who is our Leader, who is our Way, and we need not another. For God now ſpeaks unto us by his Son, who is the Heir of all Things; upholding all Things by his Word and Power; of whoſe Grace have we received, who is our Covenant with God and our Life; of whoſe Kingdom we are Heirs, that is everlaſting without End; and in whoſe Dominion is our Life, that is an everlaſting Dominion, which hath no End; which is over all that has an End. And our Croſs of

Chriſt

Chriſt is the Power of God, that crucifieth us from the World, and keeps us over and from the Power of Ungodlineſs that is therein; and for this Croſs Sake are we perſecuted; in which Croſs is our Fellowſhip; and our Goſpel it is the Power of God, which is the everlaſting Goſpel, which laſts for ever; in which we are ſhod; and our Helmet is Salvation, and our Fellowſhip is in the Spirit, which baptizeth into one Body, which plunges down the Corruption that is got up ſince the Tranſgreſſion, which ſeparates from God; in which Spirit is our Fellowſhip, in which we were all made to drink; and into this we would have all People to come, that they might have Fellowſhip and Union, and Drink; and the Head of our Church is Chriſt Jeſus, who hath all Power in Heaven and in Earth given unto him: Chriſt, who is God's Wiſdom to govern it, who is the Rock to uphold it above all Storms and Tempeſts: And our Religion is pure, from above, and we cannot own that which is below, amongſt whom the Profeſſion lieth in Lips and Mouth, and Tongues at Liberty, and Hearts afar off from God; Tongues at Liberty, and not bridled: And our Manners lies in the Power of God, and Spirit, and the Light of Chriſt Jeſus, that keeps us from evil Words, that corrupts good Manners. So where the good Manners are not, the Tongue is not bridled.

And again, let no one be perſecuted, nor impriſoned, nor fined, for not putting off his Hat or Cap, which ſatisfieth the Luſt of the Eye, and the Luſt of the Fleſh, and the Pride of Life, which is of the World, and not of the Father: So we cannot ſeek Honour one of another, as the Phariſees did, to whom Chriſt ſaid, *How can you believe, who ſeek Honour one of another, and not the Honour which comes from above only?* Therefore, who believe and are the Believers, and ſeek the Honour which comes from God only, which is from above, ſuch ſeek not the Honour that is below, as the Phariſees did one of another. So the Believer is the Converted, born of God, and will not perſecute, for not having that Honour that is below given to him; neither will he ſeek it, as the unconverted Phariſees did, *John* v.

And again, for we to honour all Men, is to have all Men in eſteem; therefore we eſteeming all Men, do love them, and not hurt them, and ſo are come into the Mind of Chriſt Jeſus, who commands *to love Enemies*, who is the Saviour of all Men, but eſpecially thoſe that believe: And the Mind of God is, that all Men ſhould come to Repentance, and to the Knowledge of the Truth; but all Chriſtendom have profeſſed that Scripture, and ſaid, *Honour all Men*, &c. which hath been Hat, Lip, and Foot, but have hurt, murdered, killed one another, their Heads and Princes; and theſe have been with the Honour below, which God hath, and will lay in the Duſt; for to *honour all Men*, is to have *all Men in eſteem*, and to have *all Men in eſteem*, is to hurt no Man: And if this had been ſo in the whole Chriſtendom practiſed, then would never a Man in the whole Chriſtendom have been hurt by one another, but every Man in the whole Chriſtendom would have loved one another as himſelf; and they that rule well, ſuch are worthy of double Eſteem, more than they that are ruled, which are all to be had in Eſteem which are honoured: And if this Practice had been followed in the whole Chriſtendom, there had been more Love and Unity, which hath been loſt ſince the Apoſtles Days, which Practice

was amongſt them, which the Honour of a Magiſtrate lies in the higher Power, and likewiſe the Honour of all Men, which every Soul muſt be ſubject to the higher Power; and in that Power *they honoured all Men*, and in that Power they give them that rule well double Honour, which before this Honour is the Humility; ſo he that will have the Honour, muſt have the Humility, for it goes before the Honour, which higher Power brings him to be humble, in which higher Power he hath the Honour, and this is from above, higher Honour in the higher Power, higher I ſay, and above the Devil and all his Works, and Workers and his Tranſgreſſors; a higher Power is higher than them all, is over and above them all, and it is above the Honour which is below, which God will ſtain; and in this Power we do eſteem all Men, and do give double Eſteem to them that rule well; and ſo honour them not with that Honour which the World honours them withal, which is below; and the ſame that will honour them with Hat and with Knee, will diſhonour them and God both; which they with that Honour in the Power of God, which is from above, which Honour they honour withal, will not diſhonour God nor Man.

Now you have tried us, by long and cruel Impriſonments, in Dungeons, and Holes, and Vaults, and Cellars, and Stables, and Houſes of Correction, where we have been thruſt upon Heaps, and have not had ſo much Liberty in many Places as Felons; nor have not had ſo much Room in many Places, as to lie down by one another: Through which cruel Sufferings and hard Uſage, twenty-one have died, and beſides many more are weak, and not ſuffered to have Neceſſaries to come in; and many Tradeſmen, and Seamen, Merchants, and Huſbandmen, their Callings and Families have been neglected and waſted: So you have not acted towards us as Chriſtians, nor minded *Solomon*'s Council, who ſaith, *a Kingdom is maintained by Huſbandry.*

So theſe twenty-one which are dead, their innocent Blood, through cruel Sufferings, we leave to the Lord to require; and can ſay, *the Lord forgive you, and lay not theſe Things to your Charge*; but that ye may do ſo no more, and not bring innocent Blood upon yourſelves and the Land. For the Lord will make Inquiſition for Blood; *for precious are the Death of his Saints in his Eyes.* Though we are killed all the Day long, and are as the Sheep for the Slaughter; and by theſe long and cruel hard Sufferings, of above five thouſand ſince the King's Arrival; from whom we did not look for ſuch Meaſure of Sufferings: And three thouſand of us have ſuffered by the Powers before him; which many of them yet lye in Priſon, and have lain this four or five Years, in the Names of the Protectors, and Commonwealths, for Conſcience Sake, and yet by you have not been ſet at Liberty, though they do not lye in your Names, in your Gaols.

And notwithſtanding all this Trial of us, by which ye have tried us under cruel Sufferings, and have not found us guilty of Plots, Inſurrections, Tumults againſt the King, or the Peace of the Nation, or any Man's Perſon or Eſtate, our Liberty is not reſtored to us, as to meet together to worſhip God according to the King's Word and Declaration, which is but a juſt Thing; we not being found to be ſuch (as his Proclamation limits) who have made ill Uſe of his Indulgence, neither have we forfeited our Liberty: Therefore it is not

Equity

Equity to number us among ſuch who have forfeited their Liberty. Now therefore, our Deſire is, that a Proclamation may be ſet forth that we may have our Liberty, ſeeing we have not forfeited it, according to the King's Word, and that Men may not run upon us with Arms, Clubs, and Staves, which are not Chriſtians Weapons, to run upon People who are met together to worſhip God; which is the ſpiritual Mens Place to meddle with ſpiritual Things. And it is the Son of Perdition that ſits in the Temple of God, which exalts himſelf above all that is called God, who muſt be deſtroyed by the Brightneſs of his Coming, and by the Breath of his Mouth; and have cried the Miniſters we cannot ſerve our Bellies of the People, if we have not the Magiſtrates Swords to compel and forbid People not to meet together to worſhip God and pray together, and declare his Goodneſs, and confeſs his Name; for with the Mouth Confeſſion is made to Salvation; you may as well bid us deny God our Salvation, and not confeſs ourſelves to be Chriſtians, and to live without the Fear of God; for they that feared God, met often together, as in *Malachi*, whom the Lord heard: And is not the Scripture full of theſe Sayings, that the Saints ſhould tell of the Wonders of God, and declare what God had done for their Souls? And what! Chriſtians limit us from this. And muſt we be limited from confeſſing Chriſt before Men? Is not Chriſt aſhamed of them before his Father, that be aſhamed of him before Men? And muſt Sons and Daughters be limited from propheſying, upon whom the Lord hath poured his Spirit? And doth not the Apoſtle ſay, *Quench not the Spirit?* And is not this his Doctrine? And doth not God ſay, *Limit not the Holy One*, and *deſpiſe not Propheſy?* And doth not the Apoſtle ſay, *God is not worſhipped by the Handy-works of Men*, by that which Men's Hands have wrought and ſet up for Worſhip? That is a large Word, but God is worſhipped in Spirit and Truth; this is Chriſt's Doctrine: And let none be compelled to the public Worſhip, nor fined, nor impriſoned; for that was never the Practice nor Doctrine of Chriſt, nor the Apoſtles, to compel any againſt their own Conſciences, who were not firſt perſuaded by the Spirit of God.

This is from the People of God called Quakers, *and ſubſcribed by us this 13th Day of the third Month*, 1661.

G. Fox,	*F. Howgil,*	*R. Hubberthorn.*
J. Stubbs,	*H. Fell,*	*R. Scoſtrop.*

POSTSCRIPT.

LET no one be perſecuted about Religion, Worſhip, Miniſters Maintenance; let all be done freely in Bounty and Love, as it was among the true Churches in the Primitive Times; for *Cain* killed his Brother about Worſhip, Religion and Sacrifice, which *Cain* built a City; by that you may ſee he was a Ruler; for which Fact, killing his Brother, God ſaid, *He was a Fugitive, a Vagabond in the Earth, for murdering and killing his Brother.*

The *Jews*, by the Law of God, were to kill Heretics and falſe Prophets, that were Setters-forth of ſtrange Gods; and this they were to do by the Law of God, which Law of God Chriſt ended, who hath all Power in Heaven, and in Earth given unto him, who was the chief Magiſtrate upon the Earth: And the *Jews*, in a Pretence of killing the falſe Prophets, they killed the true Prophets and ſtoned them to Death, before Chriſt the great Prophet came in the Fleſh, and they crucified him, and cauſed many of the Apoſtles to be perſecuted and killed, and they thought they did God good Service, having God's Law to kill ſuch that ſet forth ſtrange Gods, or another Way; therefore they thought they did God good Service in killing the Prophets, killing the Son, killing the Saints, and ſo do all Religions elſe, as do the Antichriſts and Papiſts, that have killed and put to Death ſo many Hundreds, that were contrary minded in Religions, which with them was vagabonded from God; by which the Earth hath been ſtained with the Blood of the Innocent, in killing, perſecuting, and putting to Death about Religion ſince the Apoſtle's Days; *and the Church went into the Wilderneſs*, Rev. xii. *Yea the very Earth hath not yielded her Increaſe, but it hath brought a Curſe upon it*; though they have been Sacrificers and Killers, as *Cain*, which Sacrifice God hath no Reſpect to; but to ſuch as are of *Abel*'s Faith, that do not kill, but have the ſpiritual Weapons: Therefore, let there be an univerſal Liberty about Religion, and let no Chriſtian perſecute a Chriſtian, ſeeing all profeſs Chriſt in Words; but let them be ruled with ſpiritual Weapons, and their Religion defended with ſpiritual weaponed Men, elſe they are but like *Cain*, the *Jews*, *Judas*, and the Papiſts, and not like the Apoſtles in the Primitive Times, who ſaid, their Weapons were not carnal but ſpiritual.

And if you ſay, how ſhould we know the true Diſciples of Chriſt Jeſus? here is their Mark, they are ſuch that love one another; hereby they are known to be Diſciples: And if you do ſay, How ſhall we know the true Believers in Chriſt Jeſus? theſe are they that are paſſed from Death to Life, and ſuch love both Brethren and Enemies.

Now, though there were Haters, and Perſecutors, Deniers of the Reſurrection, Blaſphemers of God and Chriſt, who had all Power in Heaven and in Earth given unto him, the chief Ruler upon the Earth, which ended the Law, did not perſecute any, nor cauſe any to be put to Death, to be perſecuted or baniſhed by the *Jews* Law, but he ſaid, *Love Enemies*: Here they differed from the *Phariſees*, here was their Mark of being Children of the moſt high God. And the Apoſtle ſaith, *He that is born of the Fleſh will perſecute him that is born of the Spirit*: So here is each Birth, (and they which are the Children of the Fleſh, theſe are not the Children of God) the one will perſecute, and the other is perſecuted, and the Apoſtle bids *overcome Evil with Good*.

So all the true Worſhippers, that worſhip God in the Spirit, in the Truth, which the Devil is out of, theſe cannot perſecute any about Religion, Church and Worſhip, but are the ſpiritual Men, and have the ſpiritual Weapons, and theſe are like unto the Apoſtles in the Primitive Times: Therefore, as the Papiſts have perſecuted about their Church, Religion and Sacrifice; for which

Example

Example they have had none from the Apoſtles in the primitive Times: Let none follow their Examples; but Chriſt, who ſaid, *Love Enemies, and wreſtle not with Fleſh and Blood*; but Chriſt ſaid to the Diſciples, who would have had Fire come down from Heaven, to conſume them who were contrary-minded, he reproved them, and tells them they knew not what Spirit they were of.

Wherefore they that do deſtroy Men's Lives about Worſhip, Church and Religion, do not know what Spirit they are of; wherefore how can we truſt our Bodies, Souls and Spirits into the Hands of ſuch as know not what Spirit they are of themſelves?

Let there be no forced Maintenance to the Miniſters that profeſs the Goſpel, but let all be done by Freeneſs and Bounty, as it was in the Apoſtles Days; for the Papiſts that ſet up Tithes, and pretend the Law of God, hath been ſince the Apoſtles Days; which Law of God Chriſt ended, and Tithes both, as in *Heb.* vii.

Let no one be put to Death for Cattle, or Money, or ſuch Things as many be; but let them live to reſtore four-fold, or be ſold for their Theft, and to work with their Hands in the Thing that is good, according to the Apoſtles Doctrine, and Command of God; for the Law of God is juſt and equal, and perfect, going over all Tranſgreſſion, anſwering the tranſgreſſed Principle in all, and to all Men to do as as they would be done by.

And many ſay the Lord's Prayer, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*, then fall a Perſecuting and Revenging, although with their Lips they ſay theſe Words; for if they had forgiven, there had never been Perſecution in the whole Chriſtendom ſince the Apoſtles Days.

Wherefore they that ſay theſe Words, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*, and do not the Things, are the Sayers and not Doers, like the *Phariſees*.

Wherefore conſider, for CHRIST JESUS, the Lord of Life, the King of Glory, Lord of Heaven and Earth, is come to reign, to reward every one according to their Works, and give every one a Reward for his Doings; wherefore fear and dread the Lord God of Hoſts, of Heaven and Earth; for now you have Time to prize it, ſpend it not as a Tale, nor as one that dreameth, paſs it not away; for Man muſt periſh, or will periſh, living in the Earth, out of the Life, being in the Separation from God; wherefore fear and tremble before the Living Mighty God of Heaven and Earth, *The Lord of Hoſts is his Name.*

Now, whereas there is a great Noiſe of ſtopping and impriſoning the Leaders and the Heads of the *Quakers*. Thus Chriſt is their Head, *and the Head of every Man* (as in *Corinthians)* and Chriſt in the Female, and he is the Head there, who is their Leader to God, who deſtroys the Devil and his Works, and all the Powers of the World cannot limit him. Chriſt, who hath all Power in Heaven and in Earth given unto him, and he in the Male and Female, is King, is Head, is the Leader, is their Commander, is their Wiſdom, Juſtification and Sanctification, is their Redemption, and the Reſurrection, bringing them to God, into a Life that is everlaſting, without End:

So

So Chriſt is the Prophet, and King, a King to rule, a Prophet to teach, an everlaſting Prieſt-hood, that offers up the ſpiritual Sacrifice to God; he is in Man, in the Male, in the Female; ſo Chriſt is in all, except they be Reprobates; and if he be within, he is the Teacher, he is the Head, he is the Elder, he is the Firſt, he is the Laſt: So here is no ſuch Thing among the *Quakers*, which know their Election before the World began, whoſe Salvation is wrought out with Fear and Trembling, that are redeemed from all them that have caſt the Fear of God behind them, and live without it, without God in the World, and no Aſſurance of Election, who hire Men to lead them, and teach them, where there is exalting, and Heads many over them, whom Chriſt is the Head, to Condemnation that hate the Light: Among them are the ſeveral Maſters, like *Phariſees*; but to the Diſciples he ſaid, *It ſhall not be ſo among you*, who is the Head of his Diſciples, their Teacher and Leader, ſo they have but one Head, if they be ten thouſand Times ten thouſand, Chriſt is the Head in the Male and Female; and here is no exerciſing Lordſhip among them over one another, as among the *Gentiles*; and the apoſtate Chriſtians are got into the Lordſhip, and are offended if they will not give them earthly Honour: And the Lord ſaith, *His Children ſhall be taught of him, and they ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs*; and theſe are them which the Teachers and Profeſſors of the World perſecute. And the Lord ſaith, *Every one that hath heard, and learned of the Father, cometh to the Son:* And the Apoſtle ſaith, *They have the Anointing within them to teach them, and they need not Man to teach them, but as the ſame Anointing did teach them.* And this he wrote to the Saints concerning them that did ſeduce them; and he told them many Antichriſts and falſe Prophets were gone out into the World, and thoſe be them that be always teaching them, that they may be always paying them; but the true Apoſtles brought People to the *Anointing within them*, and told them, *That the Grace of God, which brought Salvation, did teach them.* And God had put his Law in their Minds, and writ it in their Hearts, whereby they need not ſay one to another, Know the Lord, for they all know him, from the leaſt to the greateſt: And the Apoſtle ſaid to the *Hebrews*, how that God had ſpoke to our Fathers by the Prophets at ſundry Times; but now hath ſpoke unto us, by, or in his Son, which is the Teacher, whom we witneſs (Thouſands) to be our Teacher, and Head, and Leader, *Why perſecutes thou me*, ſaith Chriſt: It is hard for ye to kick againſt that which pricks you in your own Conſciences, ſaith Chriſt, in the Male, in the Female; you caſt into Priſon, you do not viſit Chriſt there, you do not cloath him, you do not feed him, nor give him Drink. Oh! where will you appear? where will your End be that do not juſtly? Did not Chriſt lay theſe plainly down, ſaying, They caſt him into Priſon, and did not viſit him, nor relieve him when he was ſick? and yet now you in Chriſtendom, do not ſee, and are ſo ignorant of him, where he is made manifeſt in his Members in the Male and Female, who is their Head, and Teacher, and Leader into the Righteouſneſs and Truth, whom you ſhould love; and you caſt them into Priſon for meeting together, having nothing againſt them to inſnare them, and yet you profeſs the Name of Chriſt: Now if you did profeſs the Name of Chriſt in Truth, you would

love

love Enemies (if they were your Enemies) and not perſecute them that are taught of God, and Chriſt is their Head; for God let *Cain* have the Liberty of the Earth, though he was a Fugitive in it, for murdering his Brother: And God let the Heretic *Nimrod*, that began to build *Babel*, have Liberty in the Earth; and ſcoffing *Iſmael* have Liberty in the Earth in the Wilderneſs.

And becauſe the *Jews* had the Law of God, who had the Signs, Types, Figures and Shadows, by which they were to kill Blaſphemers and falſe Prophets, that drew away from God; which Law and outward carnal Weapons, was a Figure of the true ſpiritual Weapons, and of the Word of God, Chriſt Jeſus, that deſtroys the Devil, and Blaſphemers, and falſe Prophets, which were gone out from God; and this was done by the ſpiritual Weapons; yea by the Sword that proceeds out of his Mouth; therefore the Chriſtians are to love Enemies.

For they that go about to take away the Heads and Leaders of the *Quakers*, as they think, they go about to take away CHRIST, for he is the Head, not many Heads, but their Head and Leader; for the many Heads is the Beaſt, and is in the World, and is in the Fall from God; for Chriſt is their Head and Leader, and Way (in the Male and Female) and Life and Truth, who is the Way to God the Father, who is the only King, omnipotent, immortal, and everlaſting, Glory be to him for evermore; who hath ſent his Son to be our Teacher, Saviour, Redeemer, and our Way, and Truth, and Life, and our Reſurrection, and our Offering, and great Sacrifice, by which we are ſanctified and perfected for ever; who is alſo our Prophet, Prieſt and King, and his Command we cannot deny, but muſt confeſs him before Men, even Chriſt Jeſus, who hath ſpoken to us in theſe laſt Days, who ends the Law, and Prieſts, Temples, Tithes, Offerings, Sacrifices, firſt Covenant, and Ceremonies, and Shadows, and the carnal Weapons, which do kill about Religion; and the Son of God bids us *love Enemies:* God's Son bids us *love Enemies*, and *ſwear not at all*. And this is the Son of God that ſpeaks from Heaven: They that ſpeak from Earth, kill and perſecute one another, and ſay, *We muſt ſwear*, and brings it from the *Jews* Law, which Chriſt ends, or from the Heathens below: But we muſt confeſs Chriſt before Men; for he hath poured out of his Spirit upon all Fleſh, and his Sons and Daughters, and they ſhall, and do propheſy; and the Teſtimony of Jeſus is the Spirit of Propheſy; and this is our Teſtimony of Jeſus, *even the Spirit of Propheſy*; and God hath given to us of his Spirit, by which we know his Things; and the Manifeſtation of his Spirit is given to every Man to profit withal; and they that *grieve* and *quench the Spirit*, do not profit by the Spirit, but to their Condemnation; and if any one have not the Spirit of Chriſt, he is none of his.

Iter Carolinum; being a ſuccinct Relation of the neceſſitated Marches, Retreats, and Sufferings of His Majeſty *CHARLES* the Firſt, from *January* 10, 1641, till the Time of his Death, 1648. Collected by a daily Attendant upon his ſacred Majeſty, during all the ſaid Time.

Printed in the Year 1660.

To the Loyal READER.

I DO *here preſent you with a compendious Collection of thy late Sovereign's Afflictions, which are many and unparallelled, in ſo much, that I may truly ſay (though therein contradictory to the wiſe Man, who ſaith,* There is nothing new under the Sun*) that there was no ſuch Deed done, or ſeen, from the Beginning of the World until this Day.*

Look not hereon, I conjure thee, unleſs with Tears; nay, indeed, how canſt thou? to ſee the King driven from Place to Place, affronted, neglected, deſpiſed, hungring and thirſting, reviled, perſecuted, and defamed; ſo that he may juſtly take up that of the Apoſtle, 1 Cor. iv. 9, 10, &c. *And indeed* hinc fons ille lacrymarum: *From this Fountain came all our future Sorrows. This, this, I ſay, was the Cauſe of our ſucceeding Miſeries, our ineſtimable Loſs, and almoſt inexpiable Ruin; but* propitiatur Deus, *ſo infinite is God in his Mercy, that he not only can, but will pardon, though his Juſtice ſeverely denounceth this Sentence,* The Soul that ſins ſhall die.

But our preſent Time ſpeaks better Things; we have the Pool of Bethesda, *whereat many have lain groaning, even deſpairing for Help, and* now God hath ſent his Angel and moved the Water, and the whole Nation, by ſtepping in, are healed of the Diſeaſe they too too long laboured under: *O terque quaterque beatus!* Thrice happy he whoſe loyal Actings by Heaven have crowned been with ſuch a bleſſed Succeſs, that After-times ſhall call him, and confeſs he was his Country's Honour, and his Prince's Shield. *Pardon, I pray, good Reader, this zealous Digreſſion, and in the ſhort enſuing Tractate, pleaſe to take Notice, that it begins at the* 10*th of* January, 1641, *when his Majeſty was forced, by Tumults, from* Whitehall, *and is continued till his Death, after the Manner of a* Diary, *pointing out his Travel from Place to Place, with their Diſtances from each other; his Abode therein, and Entertainment ſuccinctly withal; yet myſtically relating the moſt remarkable Paſſages and Battles occurring in that Time. I need ſay no more, but let it ſpeak for itſelf. I ſuppoſe there are many who will remember much thereof. I know the Author, my Father, and Self, were* Teſtes oculati, *ſpeaking only what we had ſorrowfully ſeen and known.* Oh! that Poſterity may never know the like! but for ever reſt ſatisfied in their undoubted Sovereign, that his Generation may never fail to ſway the *Scepter in theſe Kingdoms,* while the Sun and Moon endureth: *Which is the cordial Prayer of his Majeſty's moſt faithful Subject.*

THOMAS MANLEY.

A LIST of his Majesty's Marches and Removes, since his coming from London, *on* Monday *the Tenth of* January, *Anno Dom.* 1641.

January, 1641.

		Nights.	Miles.
10.	FROM *Whitehall* to *Hampton-Court*	2	12
12.	To *Windsor*	28	10

February.

9.	To *Hampton Court*, riding somewhat out of the Way	1	12
10.	To *Greenwich*	1	14
11.	To *Rochester*	1	20
12.	To *Canterbury*	4	22
16.	To *Dover*	9	12
25.	The Queen went aboard to *Holland* in the *Lyon.*		
25.	To *Canterbury*	1	12
26.	To *Greenwich*	2	42
28.	To *Theobald's*	4	16

March.

3.	To *Royston*	5	21
7.	To *Newmarket*	5	20
14.	To *Huntington*	1	24
15.	To *Stanford*	1	21
16.	To *Grantham*	1	16
17.	To *Newark*	1	10
18.	To *Doncaster*	1	28
19.	To *York*	110	28

July, 1642. *Lincoln* Journey.

7.	To *Beverley*	5	22
12.	To *Doncaster*	1	28
13.	To *Newark*	1	28
14.	To *Lincoln*	2	12
16.	To *Beverley*	2	45

Leicester Journey.

21.	To *Nottingham*	1	60
22.	To *Leicester*	4	16
26.	To *Doncaster*	1	32
7.	To *Beverley*	3	28
30.	To *York*	17	22

	Auguſt, 1642.	Nights.	Miles.
16.	To *Nottingham*, Earl of *Clare*	2	55
18.	To *Leiceſter*	1	16
19.	To *Stonely* Abby, Sir *Tho. Lee*	3	20
23.	To *Nottingham* Earl of *Clare*, where his Majeſty ſet up his Royal Standard	21	
	September.		
13.	To *Derby*	3	12
16.	To *Utoxeter*	1	
17.	To *Stafford*	2	
19.	To *Wellington*	1	
20.	To *Shrewſbury*	3	
23.	To *Weſt-cheſter*	4	28
27.	To *Shrewſbury*	15	27
	October.		
12.	To *Bridgnorth*	3	
15.	To *Wolverhampton*	3	10
17.	To *Bremichem Aſton*, Sir *Tho. Holts*	2	
18.	To *Packington*, Sir *Rob. Fiſher's*	1	
19.	To *Killingworth*	1	
21.	To *Southam*	2	10
22.	To *Edgcott*	1	9

Edgehill Battle.

23. *Octob.* The great Battle at *Edgehill* was ſtricken, the Earl of *Lindſey* General for his Majeſty, who was killed in the Field; and his Majeſty, notwithſtanding the Treachery of his chief Gunner, the Loſs and Re-taking his Standard, with the Death of Sir *Edmund Verney*, the over-eager Purſuit of the Parliament's Wing of Horſe by Prince *Rupert* (whoſe Soldiers too ſoon fell to plunder) remained ſole Maſter of the Field, and the next Day had the Advantage of the Rout.

26.	To *Aynow* on the Hill	4	10
28.	To *Woodſtock*	2	10
29.	To *Oxford*	4	6
	November.		
3.	To *Benſon*	1	10
4.	To *Reading*	4	10
8.	To *Maidenhead*	2	
10.	To *Colebrook*	2	
12.	To *Hounſlow*	2	5

Brentford

Brentford Fight.

After *Edge-hill* Battle, his Majeſty having continued his Marches, as aforeſaid, towards *London*, in the Way at *Brentford*, met with ſome Forces of the Parliament's there, falling into their Quarters, and with much Courage putting them to the worſt, till relieved by other Regiments lying near, it became a hot Fight in the Fields, Lanes, and Streets, his Majeſty's Forces ſtill valiantly maintaining their Ground they had at firſt got, until by Intelligence underſtanding the vaſt Supplies both of Horſe and Foot that were coming out of *London*, finding it impoſſible to be abſolute Victors, it was thought fit to retreat with Honour and Safety, which they did, marching away thro' *Kingſton*.

	Nights	Miles
13. To *Hampton-Court*	1	
14. To *Oatlands*	1	4
18. To *Bagſhot*	4	8
19. To *Reading*, which immediately upon the King's Receſs was ſurrendred to the Earl of *Eſſex*	9	10
29. To *Wallingford* Dinner, *Oxford* Supper, and there during Pleaſure		

November 1644.

A Liſt of his Majeſty's Marches from Oxford *to* Briſtol, Glouceſter *Siege*, &c. *beginning the Firſt of* Auguſt, 1643.

	Nights	Miles
8 From *Oxford* to *Farrindon* Dinner, to *Malmſbury* Supper and Bed	1	12, 16

Briſtol taken by the King.

2. To *Briſtol*	6	22
8. To *Tedbury* Dinner, to *Cirenceſter* Supper and Bed, Sir *William Maſters*	1	20, 8
9. To *Panſweck*	1	11

Glouceſter beſieged.

10. To *Macſeon*, Mr. *Selwin*'s near *Glouceſter*	26	4

September.

5. To *Panſweek*	1	4
6. To *Bantley* Hill Dinner, to *Coverley*, Supper and Bed	1	8
7. Dinner in the Field, to *Sudely* Caſtle, Supper and Bed	4	12
11. Dinner in the Field, to *Eviſholme*, Supper and Bed	1	14
12. To *Parſhall*	2	4

The Earl of *Eſſex* approaching with his Army, the King raiſed his Siege from *Gloceſter*, and marched

	Nights.	Miles
14. To *Eviſham*	2	4
16. To *Snowſhill*	1	6

	Nights	Miles
17. To *Norlich* Dinner, *Alſcoc* Supper	1	12
18. To *Faringdon* Dinner, to *Wantage*, Sir *George Wilmot*'s, Supper and Bed	1	10
19. Dinner in the Field *Newbury*, to Supper and Bed Mr. *Cox*'s, and on *Wedneſday* the 20th the great Battle was ſtruck there	4	10
23. To *Oxford*, during Pleaſure		20
April, 1644.		
9. From *Oxford* to *Childrey*, the Lady *Fettiplace*'s	1	12
10. To *Marlinborow*, the Lord *Seymer*'s	1	13
11. To *Wantage* Dinner, to *Oxford* Supper and Bed, during Pleaſure	15	10
May, 1644.		
16. To *Coley* near *Reading*	2	22
18. Dinner to *Compton*, *Oxford*, Supper and Bed, during Pleaſure	12	13

A Liſt of his Majeſty's March with his Armies towards the Weſt, &c. *beginning on* Sunday *the* 2d *of* June, Anno Dom. 1644.

June, 1644.	Nights	Miles
Sunday the 2d Day in the Afternoon, we went from *Oxford* to *Woodſtock*, and returned back that Night; and on *Monday* Morning the 3d, about 6 o'Clock, his Majeſty came back again to *Oxford*	1	6
Monday the 3d, and *Tueſday* the 4th, about 9 o'Clock at Night, his Majeſty marched again toward *Woodſtock*, but left it on the Right-hand; to *Burford* to Supper; the 4th Day, and that Night, lodged at *Burton* on the Water, at Dr. *Temple*'s	2	18
Wedneſday the 5th, to *Eviſham*, Mr. Alderman *Martin*'s	1	15
Thurſday the 6th, to *Worceſter*, the Biſhop's Palace	6	12
Tueſday the 11th, to *Bewdley*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*'s	3	12
Saturday the 15th, to *Worceſter* again, the Biſhop's Palace	1	12
Sunday the 16th, to *Bradway*, Mrs. *Savage*'s	1	17
Monday the 17th, to *Burford*, the *George*	1	12
Tueſday the 18th, to *Whitney*, the *White Hart*	3	6
Friday the 21ſt, to *Blechington*, Sir *Thomas Coghil*'s	1	7
Saturday the 22d, to *Buckingham*, Sir *Thomas Richardſon*'s	4	12
Wedneſday the 26th, to *Brackley*, the College there	1	2
Thurſday the 27th, to *Culworth*, Sir *Samuel Danvers*'s	1	8
Friday the 28th, to *Grymſbury*, a Yeoman's Houſe	1	7
Saturday the 29th, to *Williamſcot*, a very poor Man's Houſe	2	4
July, 1644.		
Monday the 1ſt to *Dedington*, the Parſonage	1	2

Tueſday

	Nights	Miles
Tueſday the 2d, to *Morton Hinmarch*, the *White Hart* .	1	12
Wedneſday the 3d, to *Eviſham*, Alderman *Martin*'s .	9	10
Friday the 12th, to *Coverley*, the Earl of *Downe*'s, by *Bradway* and *Sudely*	1	16
Saturday the 13th, to *Sapperton*, Sir *Henry Poole*'s, near *Cirenceſter*	1	7
Sunday the 14th, *Bodmyngton*, the Lord *Herbert*'s of *Ragland*	1	14
Monday the 15th, to *Bath*, Sir *Thomas Bridges* the Governor's	2	11
Wedneſday the 17th, to *Mells*, Sir *John Horner*'s, the King's by Attainder	2	8
Friday the 19th, to *Bruton*, Sir *Charles Bartley*'s . .	2	10
Saturday the 20th, to *Ilcheſter*, Mr. *Dawes*'s Houſe .	4	12
Wedneſday the 24th, to *Charde*, Mr. *Barcroft*'s, a Merchant of *London*	1	12
Thurſday the 25th, to *Hinington*, Dr. *Marwood*'s, a Phyſician	1	12
Friday the 26th, to *Exeter*, *Bedford-Houſe*, Sir *John Bartley*'s the Governor	1	15
Saturday the 27th, to *Crediton*, Dinner, to *Bradinch*, Mr. *Seuter*'s Supper	1	16
Sunday the 28th, to *Crediton*, Mr. *Tucker*'s Houſe .	1	8
Monday the 29th, to *Bow*, Mr. *Philips*'s, a mean Quarter	1	10
Tueſday the 30th, to *Oakhampton*, at Mr. *Rotenbury*'s .	1	8
Wedneſday the laſt, to *Lifton*, the Parſonage Houſe .	1	8

Auguſt, 1644.

Thurſday the 1ſt, to *Trecarroll*, Mr. *Manington*'s Houſe in *Cornwall*	1	9
Friday the 2d, to *Liſkard*, Mr. *Jeane*, a Commiſſioner's Houſe	6	8
Thurſday the 8th, to *Boconnock*, the Lord *Mohun*'s, but called from thence to make ready at Mr. *Glin*'s of *Glinford*, affrighted from thence by the *Militia*, his Majeſty lay in the Field all Night in his Coach on *Boconnock* Down, a heathy Place	1	5
Friday the 9th, to *Boconnock* again, where his Majeſty quartered	21	5
Saturday the laſt Day, to *Leſtithiall*, thence toward *Foy*, his Majeſty lay in the Field, his Meat and Drink dreſſed at Mr. *Hixt*'s, the Militia diſarmed, *E.* fled the Field, the Articles confirmed	2	5

And here his Majeſty's Clemency was moſt eminent, when having all the Infantry at his Mercy, he not only pardoned the Soldiers in general, but admitted the chief Officers to kiſs his Hand, only refuſed that Favour to Major General *Skippon*, as being too great an Enemy to his Majeſty's Honour and Safety. 2 5

September, 1644.

Monday the 2d, to *Boconnock*, the Lord *Mohun*'s again. .	2	5

Wedneſday

	Nights	Miles
Wedneſday the 4th, to *Liſkard*, Mr. *Jeane*'s	1	7
Thurſday the 5th, to *Taviſtock*, the Lady *Glanvil*'s	5	15
Tueſday the 10th, to *Widey*, near *Plymouth*, Yeoman *Heale*'s Houſe	4	10
Saturday the 14th, to *Taviſtock*, the Lady *Glanvil*'s	3	10
Monday the 16th, to *Oakhampton*, Mr. *Rottenbury*'s	1	12
Tueſday the 17th, to *Exeter*, *Bedford-Houſe*, the Governor's, at *Crediton*	6	20
Monday the 23d, to *Chard*, Mr. *Barcroft*'s at *Honiton*, Dinner	7	27
Monday the laſt Day, to *South Parrat*, Mr. *Gibs*, Dinner in the Field	1	8

October, 1644.

Tueſday the 1ſt to *Mayden Newton*, Mr. *Oſborne*'s, Dinner in the Field	1	8
Wedneſday the 2d to *Sherborn* Lodge, the Lord *Digby*'s, Dinner in the Field	6	12
Tueſday the 8th, to *Stalbridge*, the Earl of *Cork*'s, dined there	1	5
Wedneſday the 9th, to *Stirmiſter Newton*, Mr. *Reeves*, Dinner in the Field	1	3
Thurſday the 10th, to *Brianſtone* near *Blanford*, Mrs. *Rogers*	4	7
Monday the 14th, to *Cranborn* Lodge, the Earl of *Saliſbury*'s Dinner in the Field	1	10
Tueſday the 15th, to *Saliſbury*, Dr. *Sadler*'s Chancellor, Dinner in a little Lodge	3	10
Friday the 18th, to *Andover*, the *White Hart*, Dinner in the Field	1	15
Saturday the 19th to *Whitchurch*, Mr. *Brooke*'s Dinner in the Field	2	7
Monday the 21ſt, to *King's Cleer*, Mr. *Tower*'s, Dinner at *Whitchurch*.	1	5

His Majeſty's March from the Weſt, in October.

October, 1644.

Tueſday the 22d, to *Newberry*, Mr. *Dunce*, Dinner at *King's Cleer*	5	6
Sunday the 7th, a great and ſecond Battle betwixt his Majeſty's Army, and the Parliament's, by the ſame Hands his Majeſty had diſarmed and ſhewn Mercy to at *Leſtithiall*, wherein his Majeſty had much the better of the Day, and yet was adviſed to deſert the Field, whereby, *&c.* his Majeſty marched to meet Prince *Rupert* at *Bath*, Prince *Maurice*, General *Goring*, and moſt of his Majeſty's Houſhold about nine o'Clock that *Sunday* Night marched from *Denyngton* Caſtle to *Wallingford*, and the next Day, *Monday* the 28th came all to *Oxford*, waiting for his Majeſty	1	25

His

His Majesty's March from Bath *to* Oxford.

	Nights	Miles
Sunday the 27th, from *Denyngton* Castle marching all Night, and on *Monday* the 28th came to *Bath*, and there	2	50
Wednesday the 30th, to *Churchston*, a Widow's House	1	
Thursday last, to *Cirencester*, Sir *William Masters*'s, Bart.	1	26

November, 1644.

Friday the 1st, to *Oxford*, Supper, and there during Pleasure

A List of his Majesty's Marches from Oxford *towards* Denyngton *Castle, both to relieve it, and to draw off the Ordnance left there the 27th of* October *before.*

	Nights	Miles
Wednesday the 6th, to *Bullington* Green, the Rendezvous, Dinner, *Oxford*, Supper, where Prince *Rupert* was declared General, with great Acclamation	2	1
Thursday the 7th, to *Wallingford*, Colonel *Blagues* the Governor	12	1
Friday the 8th, to *West Illesley*, the Bishop of *Gloucester*'s *in commendam*	8	1
Saturday the 9th, to *Denyngton* Castle, where was a great Skirmish with the Parliamenteers in *Newbury* Field, whence we retreated, and lay on the Castle all Night	8	1

November, 1644.

Sunday the 10th, to *Lamborn*, Mr. *Garret*'s	8	2
Tuesday the 12th, to *Marlinborough*, the Lord *Seymer*'s	8	5
Sunday the 17th, to *Hungerford*, the *Bear*	8	2
Tuesday the 19th, to *Shelford*, Mr. *Brown*'s, the King's Birth-day	6	2
Thursday the 21st, to *Charlton* near *Wantage*, Sir *George Wilmot*'s	6	1
Friday the 22d, to *Farrington*, Sir *Robert Pye*'s	7	2
Saturday the 23d, to *Oxford* Dinner, and there during Pleasure all Winter	14	

Anno XXI. Regis Caroli, *May.*

A List of his Majesty's several Marches, beginning upon Wednesday, *the 7th of* May, Anno Dom. 1645.

	Nights	Miles
Wednesday the 7th, from *Oxford* to *Woodstock*	1	6
Thursday the 8th, to *Stow in the Wole*, Mr. *Jones*'s	1	13
Friday the 9th, to *Evisham*, Alderman *Martin*'s	1	12
Saturday the 10th, to *Inkeborow*, the Vicarage	1	6
Sunday the 11th, to *Droitwich*, Mr. *Barret*'s	3	9
Wednesday the 14th, to *Coftonhall*, Mrs. *Skinner*'s, *Hawkesly-House* taken by Prince *Maurice* in our March, a Garrison	1	10
Thursday the 15th, to *Hemly*, near *Wolverhampton*, Mr. *War*'s	1	12

Friday

	Nights	Miles
Friday the 16th, to *Biſhberry*, near *Sturbridge*, Mr. *Groſvenor*'s	1	6
Saturday the 17th, to *Chetwin*, near *Newport*, Mr. *Pigot*'s	3	12
Tueſday the 20th, to *Beaton*, near *Drayton*, Mr. *Church*'s	2	8
Thurſday the 22d, to *Park-hall*, near *Stone*, Mr. *Crompton*'s	2	10
Saturday the 24th, to *Eaton in the Clay*, Sir *Thomas Millware*'s	1	10
Sunday the 26th, to *Tutbury*, Dinner, Lord *Loughborow*'s	2	6
Tueſday the 27th, to *Aſhby de la Zouch*, Earl of *Huntingdon*'s	1	9
Wedneſday the 28th, to *Coat*'s, near *Loughborow*, Sir *H. Skipwith*'s	1	9
Thurſday the 29th, remarched to *Elſtone* near *Leiceſter*, which we faced with Soldiers, the R. defaced with Fire .	2	10
Saturday the laſt, to *Leiceſter*, which was taken by his Majeſty at two, many Soldiers rewarded with the Plunder, the Slain equal on both Sides, the Counteſs of *Devonſhire*'s we demoliſhed with Fire . . .	4	3

June, 1645.

Wedneſday the 4th, to *Wiſtow*, Sir *Richard Halford*'s .	1	5
Thurſday the 5th, to *Lubenham*, near *Harborow*, Mr. *Collin*'s	2	7
Saturday the 7th, to *Daventree*, the *Wheatſheaf*, from whence *Oxford* was relieved from a Siege, and victualled .	6	14
Friday the 13th, remarched again to *Lubenham*, Mr. *Collin*'s	1	14
Saturday the 14th, an Alarm affrighted the King and Army from *Lubenham* at two o'Clock in the Morning to *Harborow*, the General's Quarter, thence about ſeven towards *Naſeby*, where the Parliament's Army quartered, raſhly fought with them, were utterly defeated through the Cowardice of the Horſe, which fled to the Walls of *Leiceſter*, 16 Miles, never faced nor rallied till there, whereby many of the Horſe, all the Foot, were either ſlain or taken Priſoners, with ſome of his Majeſty's Servants, all the Ordnance, Ammunition, the King's Stuff, Houſhold Carriages, and all the Baggage of the Army, were totally loſt, the Parliament having the cleareſt Victory given them from the Beginning; the King himſelf in Perſon being neceſſitated, with his own Troop only, to charge through their Body for his Eſcape; from *Leiceſter* we marched to *Aſhby de la Zouch* in the Night, and came thither about Break of Day, and halted there .	1	28
Sunday the 15th, to *Litchfield*, the Governor's in the Cloſe	1	12
Monday the 16th, to *Wolverhampton*, Mrs. *Barnford*'s a Widow	1	12
Tueſday the 17th, to *Bewdley*, the *Angel* . . .	2	13
Thurſday the 19th, to *Bramyard*, Dinner, to *Harriford*, Supper	12	24

July, 1645.

Tueſday the 1ſt, to *Campſon*, Dinner, Mr. *Pritchard*'s, to *Abergaveny*, Supper, Mr. *Guncer*'s	3	15

Thurſday

	Nights	Miles
Thurſday the 3d, to *Ragland*, Supper, Marquis of *Worceſter*'s	12	7
Wedneſday the 16th, to *Tredegar*, Dinner, *Cardiffe* Supper, Sir *T. Tirrel*'s, defrayed at the Country's Charge .	1	20
Thurſday the 17th, to *Tredegar*, Sir *William Morgan*'s to Bed	1	8
Friday the 18th, to *Ragland*, Dinner, *&c.* on *Tueſday* the 22d, to Mr. *Moore's* of the *Creek*, near *Black-rock*, and came back to *Ragland*, Supper, but came in ſo late as made us doubtful of his Majeſty's Return; the *Scots* approach, and our own cauſeleſs Apprehenſion of Fear, made us both demur and doubt, on the firſt what to reſolve, and in the latter how to ſteer our Reſolutions, which involved us in a moſt diſaſtrous Condition, *&c.* . . .	6	12
Thurſday the 24th, from *Ragland*, to Mr. *More*'s of the *Creek*, to paſs over at the *Black-rock* for *Briſtol*; but his Majeſty ſitting in Council, and adviſing to the contrary, marched only with his own Servants and Troop, that Night to *Newport* on *Uſke*, lay at Mrs. *Pritty*'s	1	21

His Majeſty's March in July, 1645.

Friday the 25th, to *Ruppera*, Sir *Philip Morgan*'s .	4	5
Tueſday the 29th, to *Cardiff*, Dinner, the Governor's at our own Charge	7	7

Auguſt, 1645.

Tueſday the 5th, to *Glancayah*, Mr. *Pritchard*'s, Dinner, at *Brecknock* the Governor, Supper . .	1	29
Wedneſday the 6th, to *Gurnevit*, Sir *Henry Williams*'s, Dinner, to *Old Radnor*, Supper, a Yeoman's Houſe, the Court diſperſed	1	18
Thurſday the 7th, to *Ludlow Caſtle*, no Dinner, Col. *Woodhouſe*	1	14
Friday the great Faſt, the 8th to *Bridgnorth*, Sir *Lewis Kirke*'s the Governor's	1	14
Sunday the 10th, Dinner near *Wolverhampton in campis*, at *Litchfield* Supper, the Governor's in the Cloſe . .	2	22
Tueſday the 12th, to *Tutbury Caſtle*, *Pr. in camp.* and lying at the Lord *Loughbrough*'s	1	12
Wedneſday the 13th, *Aſhborn in the Peak*, Mrs. *Cakaine*'s .	1	14
Thurſday the 14th, to *Chattford*, near *Bakewell*, Earl of *Devonſhire*'s	1	14
Friday the 15th, to *Welbeck*, Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*'s .	2	12
Monday the 17th, to *Edlington*, Mr. *Boſwel*'s . .	1	11
Monday the 18th Day, to *Doncaſter*, the *Three Cranes* .	2	3
Wedneſday the 20th, to *Redford*, Mr. *Lane* a Lawyer .	1	14
Thurſday the 21ſt, to *Newark*, the Lord *Danecourt*'s .	1	14

	Nights	Miles
Friday the 22d, to *Belvoir*, the Earl of *Rutland*'s .	1	12
Saturday the 23d, to *Stanford*, the *George* . .	1	12
Sunday the 24th, to *Huntingdon*, the *George* . .	1	16
Monday the 26th, to *Woborn*, the Earl of *Bedford*'s .	2	21
Wedneſday the 27th, to *Aſcot*, near *Winge*, the Earl of *Carnarvon*'s	1	20
Thurſday the 28th, to *Oxford* at *Chriſt-Church*, and there	2	20

A ſecond Liſt of his Majeſty's Marches from Oxford, *on* Saturday *the 30th of* Auguſt, 1645.

Saturday the 30th, to *Morton Hin.* the March *White Hart*	1	24
Sunday the laſt, no Dinner, Supper at *Worceſter*, a cruel Day	3	24

September, 1645.

Wedneſday th 3d *Bramyard*, Mrs. *Baynham*'s . .	1	10
Thurſday the 4th, to *Hereford*, Dinner, Biſhop's Palace .	1	10
Friday the 5th to *Lempſter*, Dinner at the *Unicorn*, to *Webley*, Supper, the *Unicorn*	1	14
Saturday the 6th, to *Hereford*, Dinner, Biſhop's Palace .	1	7
Sunday the 7th, to *Ragland Caſtle*, Supper, 17; *Monday* the 8th, to *Abergain*, Dinner, *Ragland*, Supper, 14; *Thurſday* the 11th, to *Ragland*, Supper, *Abergaveny*, Dinner, 14	7	45
Sunday the 14th, to *Monmouth*, Dinner, the Governor's, to *Hereford*, Supper; *Monday* the 15th, we marched half-way to *Bramyard*, but there was *Leo in itinere*, and ſo back to *Hereford* again	3	10
Wedneſday the 18th, the Rendezvous was at *Athurſtone*, there dined, 10 Miles, to *Hamlacy*, Supper, Lord *Scudamore*'s	1	26
Thurſday the 18th, to a Rendezvous, five Miles from *Hamlacy*, with Intention for *Worceſter*, *Poins* and *Roſceſter* in the Paſſage, whereupon we remarched towards *Hereford*, ſo to *Leominſter*, then to *Webley*, thence to *Preſtine*, there halted at Mr. *Andrew*'s; this March laſted from ſix in the Morning, till Midnight, *&c.*	1	28
Friday the 19th, to *Newton*, Mr. *Price*'s, a long March over the Mountains	2	14
Sunday the 21ſt, to *Llanvillin*, Supper, Dinner, Mr. *Price*'s	1	20
Monday the 22d to *Chirk Caſtle*, Sir *John Watt*'s, the Governor's	1	14
Tueſday the 23d, to *Llangollen*, 4; to *Wrixham* 8 to *Cheſter*; a great Fight between *Cheſter* and *Tarvin*, the King Victor, but made no Uſe of it, leaving *Cheſter* unrelieved. This was performed by the ſame Horſe that fled at *Naſeby* on *Rowton* Heath, againſt Colonel *Poyntz*, and the Army under his Command	2	20

Thurſday

	Nights	Miles
Thurſday the 25th, Dinner at *Cheſter*, marched to *Hawarden* Caſtle, halted there, thence to *Northop*, to *Skiviock*, to *Potvary*, to *Denbigh*, *William Salſbury* of *Bohambed*, Governor	3	20
Sunday the 28th, Dinner at *Denbigh*, Supper late at *Chirke* Caſtle	1	18
Monday the 29th, Dinner at *Chirke* Caſtle, Supper at *Halton* in *Montgomeryſhire*, Mr. *Lloyd*'s	1	26
Tueſday the laſt, *prand. in camp.* Supper at *Bridgnorth*, the Governor's	2	30

October, 1645.

Thurſday the 2d, Dinner at *Ridgheath* the Rendezvous, Supper at *Litchfield*, the Cloſe	1	22
Friday the 3d, no Dinner, at *Tongue*, Supper, Mr. *Sutton*'s	1	15
Saturday the 4th, no Dinner, at *Newark*, Supper, Lord *Danecourt*'s	9	26
Sunday the 12th, to *Tuxford*'s, the *White Hart*	1	12
Monday the 13th, Dinner in the Field, at *Welbeck*, Supper, Marquis of *Newcaſtle*'s	1	12
Tueſday the 14th, no Dinner, at *Newark*, Supper Lord *Danecourt*'s	18	12

November, 1645.

Monday the 3d of *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1645, his Majeſty, about 11 o'Clock at Night, went out of *Newark*, marched all that Night; all the next Day, being *Tueſday*, at 12 o'Clock that Night, halted at *Codſbury*; *Wedneſday*, about 10 o'Clock in the Morning, came to *Banbury*, made an Halt and dined there at the Caſtle, and afterward, the ſame *Wedneſday* the 5th of *November*, about 5 o'Clock in the Evening, came to *Oxford* to Supper, and continued there during Pleaſure	4	90

His Majeſty went from *Oxford* the 27th of *April* 1646, towards *Newark*, to the *Scottiſh* Leaguer there; but in regard of the Privateneſs of his going away, *Oxford* being at that Time beleaguered by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army, and the fewneſs of his Attendants, being at the moſt but two, we have no Certainty where he ſtaid by the Way, but ſhortly after he appeared in the *Scots* Army, who pretended to protect him from his *Engliſh* Rebels; and for the better ſecuring his Majeſty's Perſon from Danger, as was pretended, they ſtaid not long after at *Newark*, but, by eaſy Marches, removed with his Majeſty's Perſon from *Newark* to *Newcaſtle*; where the ſolemn Argument between his ſaid Majeſty and Mr. *Henderſon* happened, concerning Epiſcopacy and Church Government, to his Majeſty's everlaſting Honour. But ſuch was the horrid Perfidy of thoſe treacherous *Scots*, that, inſtead of the expected Safety of his Majeſty's Perſon, *Judas*-like, for Money (though a far greater Sum)

ſold and delivered their Sovereign Lord and King, into the Hands of his *Engliſh* Rebels, who by this Means had, under God, a Power to reſettle the Kingdom's Peace: But they were blinded to their own Deſtruction; and having taken the Lord's anointed in their Pits, they now uſed him as they liſted, carried him whither they pleaſed, and indeed treated him no otherwiſe than as their Priſoner; for with a ſtrong Guard of Horſe and Foot, in the Month of *February* 1646, the Depth of Winter, they begin to remove him from *Newcaſtle* in Manner following:

His Majeſty's Geſts from Newcaſtle *to* Holdenby, *in* February, 1646.

		Nights	Miles
3	Day, from *Newcaſtle* to *Durham*	1	12
4	From thence to *Aukland*	1	
5	From thence to *Richmond*	1	
6	From thence to *Rippon*	2	
8	From thence to *Wakefield*	1	
9	From thence to *Rotheram*	1	
10	From thence to *Mansfield*	1	
11	From thence to *Nottingham*	1	12
12	From thence to *Leiceſter*	1	16
13	From thence to *Holdenby*, during Pleaſure.		

Long had not his ſacred Majeſty continued there, but he was, by a Part of the Army under one *Joyce*, violently taken from thence, and brought to his Honour of *Hampton Court*; where, for a while, he ſeemed to begin to reaſſume his priſtine Majeſty, being admitted to ſee and to be ſeen: But *Cromwell*, fearing the Frequency of ſo great Reſort might ſpoil his traiterous Deſigns, with much ſerpentine Craft and deviliſh Subtilty, perſuaded and inſinuated into his Majeſty's Heart, Doubts and Suſpicions of Miſchief intended againſt him; the only Way for preventing whereof, he affirmed to be the withdrawing his Perſon from thence to a Place of more Strength and Security, and to that Purpoſe nominated the *Iſle of Wight*, to which Place his Majeſty, led by the Innocency of his ſpotleſs Conſcience, was decoyed, and at his Arrival found himſelf overreached; for he was immediately ſecured by Colonel *Hammond*, who then was Governor in the ſaid Iſland, and kept a long time a Priſoner there in the Caſtle of *Cariſbrook*, until afterwards, upon the Petitions of moſt Counties of *England*, a perſonal Treaty was appointed to be held in the ſaid Iſle at *Newport*, for which End Commiſſioners were ſent thither with Inſtructions, and the Treaty begun and proſecuted with ſo good Effect, that his Majeſty's Conceſſions, at that time, were voted by the Parliament a ſufficient Ground to proceed on for the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom. But here again, his Majeſty is violently and traiterouſly ſeized by the Army, then under *Fairfax*'s Command; by whom, *December* the 1ſt, 1648, he was brought to *Hurſt* Caſtle in *Hampſhire*, and there kept as a Priſoner till the 21ſt of the ſame Month, when he was brought to *Wincheſter*, thence the 23d to *Windſor*, where

for

for a little time he ſtaid, attended by ſtrong Guards of Soldiers, till about the 9th of *January* following; when they removed him towards *London*, and brought him to his own Houſe at *St. James's*, and conſequently to perfidious *London* (Oh infortunate Monarch!) where not long after, with helliſh Effrontery, even in Deſpight of Heaven, at Noon-day, before his own Houſe, *Whitehall*, in the open Street, with armed Multitudes of Soldiers, they ſacrilegiouſly murdered that bleſſed (though unfortunate) Prince, *Charles* the Firſt: There being actually guilty of that horrid Murder, by giving Sentence, and ſigning the Warrant for his Beheading,

John Bradſhaw, Preſident,
John Liſle,
William Say,
Oliver Cromwell,
Henry Ireton,
Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*,
Valentine Walton,
Thomas Harriſon,
Edward Whaley,
Thomas Pride,
Iſaac Ewers,
Lord *Gray* of *Groby*,
Sir *John Danvers*, Knight,
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Bart.
Sir *John Bourchier*, Knight,
William Heveningham,
Alderman *Pennington*,
William Pureſoy,
Henry Martin,
John Barkſtead,
John Blackiſton,
Gilbert Millington,
Sir *William Conſtable*, Bart.
Edmond Ludlow,
John Hutchinſon,
Sir *Mich. Liveſey*, Bart.
Robert Titchbourne,
Owen Roe,
Robert Lilburn,
Adrian Scroop,
Richard Deane,
John Okey,
John Hewſon,

William Goffe,
Cornelius Holland,
John Carey,
John Jones,
Miles Corbet,
Francis Allin,
Peregrine Pelham,
John Moore,
John Aldred,
Henry Smith,
Humphrey Edwards,
Gregory Clement,
Thomas Woogan,
Sir *Gregory Norton*, Knight,
Edmond Harvy,
John Venn,
Thomas Scott,
Thomas Andrews, Alderman,
William Cawly,
Anthony Stapley,
John Downes,
Thomas Horton,
Thomas Hammond,
Nicholas Love,
Vincent Potter,
Auguſtine Garland,
John Dixwell,
George Fleetwood,
Symon Mayne,
James Temple,
Peter Temple,
Daniel Blagrave,
Thomas Waite.

Counſellors Aſſiſtant to the Court, and to draw up the Charge againſt the King, Dr. *Doriſlaus*, Mr. *Aſke*, Mr. *Steele*, Attorney General, Mr. *Cook*, Solicitor General, Mr. *Broughton*, Mr. *Phelps*, Clerks to the Court.

Officers

Officers of the Court.

Sergeant *Dandy* Sergeaut at Arms, Colonel *Humphrey* Sword-bearer.

Meſſengers, Door-Keepers, and Griers, were theſe, viz.

Mr. *Walford*, Mr. *Radley*, Mr. *Pain*, Mr. *Powel*, Mr. *Hull*, Mr. *King*.

Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Colonel *Harriſon*, Commiſſary-General *Ireton*, Colonel *Dean* and Colonel *Okey*, appointed the Place to be the Street before *Whitehall*, and the Time the 30th of *January*.

INSTRUCTIONS lately agreed on by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, for the Commiſſioners ſent by them to the *Hague*, unto the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty: Together with the SPEECH made thereupon by the Honourable *Denzell Holles*, Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners, on *Wedneſday* the 16th Day of *May*, 1660. Now publiſhed for the taking off and diſproving thoſe falſe Reports raiſed by ſome malicious Perſons, as if he had gone beyond his Commiſſion, and the ſaid Inſtructions.

Sit Liber Judex.

Printed in the Year 1660.

INSTRUCTIONS for *Aubery* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles* Earl of *Warwick*, *Lyonel* Earl of *Middleſex*, *Lyceſter* Viſcount *Hereford*, *George* Lord *Berkley*, *Robert* Lord *Brooke*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Mandevile*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Caſtleſton*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Fairfax*, *Denzell Holles*, Eſq; Sir *Horatio Townſend*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, Sir *George Booth*, and Sir *Henry Cholmley*.

YOU are to begin your Journey towards his Majeſty on *Friday* next, and make a ſpeedy Repair to ſuch Place where his Majeſty ſhall be, and humbly to preſent the Letters wherewith you are reſpectively inſtruſted by both Houſes of Parliament.

You are to acquaint his Majeſty with what great Joy and Acclamation he was proclaimed in and about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, upon the Eighth Day of *May* inſtant, and preſent the Proclamation itſelf unto his Majeſty; and

to

to acquaint him with the Orders of both Houſes to have the ſame proclaimed throughout the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; and that both Houſes have ordered, *That all and every the Miniſters throughout the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland *be enjoined in their public Prayers to pray for his moſt excellent Majeſty, and for the moſt illuſtrious Prince* James, *Duke of* York, *and the reſt of the Royal Progeny.* And alſo that they have ordered, *That the aſſumed Arms of the late pretended Commonwealth, wherever they are ſtanding, be taken down, and that his Majeſty's Arms be ſet up inſtead thereof:* And you are to communicate to his Majeſty the Reſolutions of both Houſes relating to this Inſtruction.

You are to acquaint his Majeſty with the earneſt Deſire of both Houſes, That his Majeſty will be pleaſed to make a ſpeedy Return to his Parliament, and to the Exerciſe of his kingly Office, and that in order thereunto, both Houſes have given Directions to General *Montague*, one of the Generals at Sea, and other Officers of the Fleet, to obſerve ſuch Commands as his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to give him, or them, for Diſpoſal of the Fleet, in order to his Majeſty's Return; and you are to communicate to his Majeſty the Reſolutions of both Houſes relating to this Inſtruction.

That the Committee from both Houſes do beſeech his Majeſty, That they may know where he purpoſeth to take Shipping, and to land at his coming over, that Preparation may be made for his Reception; and which of his Majeſty's Houſes he intendeth to make uſe of at his firſt coming to *London*; and whether he will come all the Way by Land after he comes on Shore, or whether he will pleaſe to come by Water from *Graveſend* to *London*; and that his Majeſty will declare in what manner he is pleaſed to be received.

WILL. JESSOP, *Cl. of the Commons Houſe of Parliament.*

The SPEECH *made thereupon by the Honourable* Denzell Holles, *Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners.*

Dread Sovereign,

YOUR faithful Subjects the Commons of *England*, aſſembled in Parliament, have ſent us hither, Twelve of their Number, to wait upon your Majeſty; and by their Commands we are here proſtrate at your Royal Feet, where themſelves are all of them preſent with us in the ſincere and moſt loyal Affections and Deſires of their Hearts, and would have been in their Perſons, if your Majeſty's Service, and the Truſt repoſed in them by all the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, did not neceſſarily require their Attendance and Continuance in the Place where they now are, and where all their Thoughts and Endeavours are wholly taken up and employed in thoſe two great and main Works, which are the proper and genuine Ends of all Parliaments, the Advancement of their King's Service and the Diſcharge of their Country's Truſt.

And certainly, Sir, we can ſpeak it with a great deal of Joy, and with no leſs of Truth, that never Parliament made greater Demonſtrations of Zeal,

Affection

Affection and Loyalty to any of the Kings of *England*, than this Parliament hath done, and doth, and we hope, and doubt not, nay we know it, that it ever will do unto your Majeſty, our Liege Lord and King: Their Hearts are filled with a Veneration of you, Longings for you, Confidence in you, and Deſires to ſee and ſerve you, and their Tongues do, upon all Occaſions, expreſs it; and in ſo doing they are (according to the Nature of Parliaments) the true Repreſentative of the whole Nation; for they but do that in a more contracted and regular Way, which the Generality of the People of the Land, from the one End of it to another, do in a more confuſed and diſorderly manner, yet as heartily and as affectionately, all Degrees, and Ages, and Sexes, high and low, rich and poor (as I may ſay) Men, Women, and Children join in ſending up this Prayer to Heaven, *God bleſs King* Charles, *Long live King* Charles; ſo as our *Engliſh* Air is not ſuſceptible of any other Sound, and ecchoes out nothing elſe, our Bells, Bonfires, Peals of Ordinance, Volleys of Shot, the Shouts and Acclamations of the People, bears no other Moral, have no other Signification but to triumph, triumphs of our King in the Hearts of his People.

Your Majeſty cannot imagine, nor can any Man conceive it, but he who was preſent to ſee and hear it, with what Joy, what Chearfulneſs, what Lettings out of the Soul, what Expreſſions of tranſported Minds, a ſtupendous Concourſe of People, attended the proclaiming of your Majeſty in your Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, to be our moſt potent, mighty, and undoubted King, the oldeſt Man living never ſaw the like before; nor is it probable, ſcarce poſſible, that he who hath longeſt to live will ever ſee the like again, eſpecially (and God forbid he ſhould) upon ſuch an Occaſion; for we wiſh, and heartily pray, that your Majeſty may be the laſt of Men of the Generation now in being, who ſhall leave his Place to a Succeſſor.

We have here the Proclamation itſelf to preſent unto your Majeſty, and the Order of the two Houſes, enjoining it to be proclaimed throughout *England*, *Ireland*, and your Dominions of *Wales*; and likewiſe their Orders for all Miniſters in their public Prayers to pray for your Majeſty, and for the illuſtrious Prince the Duke of *York*, your Majeſty's Brother, and for the reſt of the Royal Progeny; and another Order of theirs for taking down every where the aſſumed Arms of the late pretended Commonwealth, and ſetting up the Arms of your Majeſty in their ſtead.

Here he tendred the Proclamation, and the ſeveral Orders, unto his Majeſty; offered to read them, but then ſaid, he thought that his Majeſty had already received them from the Lords, and that therefore it would be but a Trouble to his Majeſty to hear them again; to which his Majeſty anſwering, that he had received them, was pleaſed further to enlarge himſelf in ſome Diſcourſe to this Effect, expreſſing his Senſe of the Miſeries which his People had ſuffered under thoſe unlawful Governors which had ruled over them, and of his Gladneſs for their returning unto him with thoſe good Affections which they now ſhewed towards him; adding, that he had always made it his Study, and ever would, to make them as happy as himſelf, which was the Sum and Subſtance of what his Majeſty ſaid.

To

To which was replied with humble Thanks for thoſe gracious Expreſſions, That his Majeſty would ever find both Parliament and People to be full of Loyalty and Obedience unto his Majeſty, as his Majeſty was of Grace and Goodneſs towards them. And then he went on with his Speech relating to thoſe Orders and Proceedings of Parliament; and ſaid,

Theſe are ſome Teſtimonies of their Love and Affection unto your Majeſty, ſuch as can as yet be expreſſed by them, which are but as a Picture in little of a great and large Body, which far exceeds in its true and natural Dimenſions, the whole Compaſs of a ſmall Piece of Cloth on which notwithſtanding it is drawn and repreſented to the Life.

And, may it pleaſe your Majeſty to give us Leave to ſay, That as the Affection, ſo your Subjects Expectations of you are high, and their Longings after you great and vehement; and both Expectations and Longings have increaſed by the long Time that your Majeſty hath been kept from them. Hope deferred makes the Heart ſick; and the Sickneſs ſtill augments till the Thing hoped for be obtained.

You are the Light of their Eyes, and the Breath of their Noſtrils, their Delight, and all their Hope; to have been ſo long baniſhed from them into a ſtrange Land, it is no Wonder that the News of your Return ſhould put a new Life into them; what then will it be when their Eyes ſhall be bleſſed with the Sight of your Royal Perſon? And therefore are we commanded humbly to acquaint your Majeſty with the earneſt Deſires of both Houſes for your ſpeedy Return unto your Parliament, and the Exerciſe of your kingly Office; and that in order to it, they have given Directions to General *Montague*, one of the Generals at Sea, and the other Officers at Sea, to obſerve ſuch Commands as your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to give them for the Diſpoſal of the Fleet: And we have it in our Inſtructions further to beſeech your Majeſty to let your Parliament know when and where your Majeſty purpoſeth to take Shipping, and where to land; and after your coming on Shore, whether to come all the Way to *London* by Land, or by Water from *Graveſend*; and which of your Houſes your Majeſty intends to make uſe of at your coming to *London*, that accordingly Proviſion may be made for your Majeſty's Reception, for then, and not till then, will be the compleating of your Subjects Rejoycing.

True it is (as your Majeſty was pleaſed juſt now to touch upon it) that in your Abſence, other Lords have had Dominion over them, have reigned and ruled over their Bodies and Eſtates; but their better Part, their Hearts and Minds, and Souls, were free, and did abhor ſuch Rulers, and ſtill continued faithful and loyal to your Majeſty, their rightful Lord and Sovereign, and with you, and under you, they now expect to re-enter into the Poſſeſſion of their ancient Rights and Privileges, to enjoy again their Laws and Liberties, and which is above all, their Religion in Purity and Truth; of all which, thoſe Lords (who called themſelves ſo, and made themſelves ſo) that is, to be ſo called, but in truth were not ſo, for they were nothing leſs, thoſe kind of Lords, I ſay, had ſo long deprived them. This is our Expectation from your Majeſty, and we are more than confident we ſhall not be deceived in it, but that your Majeſty will anſwer and go beyond all that can be expected

from you: A King of ſo many Vows, and of ſo many Prayers, cannot but crown the Deſires of his People.

Sir, to tell you what Men think, and ſay, and wiſh, and even are aſſured of, in relation to your Majeſty, and the Happineſs which your Government will produce, would ſeem a Deſcription of the golden Age which Poets fancy.

Truly, we dare not undertake it in your Majeſty's Preſence, leſt we ſhould be thought to flatter, and ſhould offend the ſacred Modeſty of your Ears, and of your Princely Mind. Though it would all be but a real Truth; yet looking like that which you do not like, we fear you would diſlike it for the Look-ſake: Great Princes will not be flattered, but really and truly ſerved; and we deſire to ſerve your Majeſty in your own Way.

Your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to declare your Royal Intentions unto your Parliament, in your gracious Letters to either Houſe, and the two Houſes have ſeverally given unto your Majeſty a faithful Account of that grateful Senſe wherewith they have received them, and of their humble Submiſſion unto, and Compliance with, all your Majeſty's Deſires; which by their Letters, in anſwer unto your Majeſty's, they make bold to ſignify: That from the Houſe of Peers hath been already preſented, and we who are before your Majeſty are intruſted by the Houſe of Commons with the Delivery of theirs, an Honour not more conferred upon us beyond our Deſervings, than embraced and received by us, with an Exceſs of Joy, and with all due Reſpects, which is the Errand upon which we are now come. That Letter, and the Proclamation, and the ſeveral Orders, together with Ourſelves, our Lives and Fortunes, and the Vows and Services of thoſe who ſent us, we do, with all Humbleneſs, lay at your Majeſty's Feet, lifting up our Hearts and Hands to the God of Heaven, for your Majeſty's long and happy Reign over us, and ſpeedy Return unto us.

A faithful

A faithful MEMORIAL of that remarkable Meeting of many Officers of the Army in *England*, at *Windſor* Caſtle, in the Year 1648. As alſo a Diſcovery of the great Goodneſs of God, in his gracious meeting of them, hearing and anſwering their Suit or Supplications, while they were yet ſpeaking to him. All which is humbly preſented, as a precious Pattern and Precedent unto the Officers and Soldiers of the ſaid Army (or elſewhere) who are, or ſhall be, found in the like Path, of following the Lord in this evil Day, ſearching and trying their Ways, in order to a thorough Return and Reformation.

By *William Allen*, late Adjutant-General of the Army in *Ireland*.

Prov. i. 23. *Turn you at my Reproof: Behold, I will pour out my Spirit unto you, I will make known my Words unto you.*

Printed in the Year 1659.

To Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, *and other the Officers of the Armies in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *eſpecially ſuch of them who in the Senſe of the Dangers of the Day, have been of late (as is ſaid) betaking themſelves to that moſt neceſſary Duty of ſolemn Addreſſes, and fervent Supplications to the Lord, humbling their Souls before him, in the Senſe of their own and others Abominations abounding in this Day, with unfeigned Deſire and Endeavour to find out and forſake them accordingly, with all others in the Armies that are, or ſhall be found ſearching and trying their Ways in order to return. The following Narrative is humbly tendered by a late Member of them, and now a Mourner for them; yet unfeignedly deſiring their Proſperity in the Path of Repentance.*

HAving underſtood that you have of late been much converſant in ſeeking the Lord, in this Day of Diſtreſs, and enquiring (as becomes you) into the Cauſes of his Diſpleaſure againſt us (which ſeems to wax hot) all which, if performed in a right Senſe, obſerving right Rules and Ends, may be of ſingular Uſe to help in Time of Need: Yet knowing the Aptneſs of my own, with others, Hearts to miſcarry in ſuch Duties, and thereby miſs of the deſired Succeſs, by either ſetting up the Stumbling-block of our Iniquity before our Eyes, or having any ſecret Regard thereto in our Hearts, the Effect of which is to ſhut out Prayer; I held it my Duty to

contribute my Mite to this Work of Weight, by preſenting you with a Precedent once famous amongſt us, by the Succeſs the Lord crowned it with, and us in that Path, in a Day of very great Diſtreſs round about; and deſire, that ſo far as you ſhall ſee this Practice here preſented, with the Method therein obſerved, to agree with the revealed Will of God contained in the Scripture, relating to the Duty of his People, in ſuch a Poſture, that you will not be afraid to make it your Pattern, ſince the Lord hath formerly borne ſuch a Witneſs to it, and written ſuch Bleſſing upon it, as may well be ſet up as a Pillar of Remembrance in the midſt of us, to his Praiſe, as well as our Direction to, and in like Duties in future Streights.

In the Year 47, you may remember, we in the Army were engaged in Actions of a very high Nature, leading us to very untrodden Paths, both in our Conteſts with the then Parliament, as alſo Conferences with the King; in which great Works wanting a Spirit of Faith, and the Fear of the Lord, and alſo unduly ſurprized with the Fear of Man, which always brings a Snare; we, to make Haſte, as we thought, out of ſuch Perplexities, meaſuring our Way by a Wiſdom of our own, fell into Treaties with the King and his Party; which proved ſuch a Snare to us, and led into ſuch Labyrinths by the End of that Year, that the very Things we thought to avoid, by the Means we uſed of our own deviſing, were all, with many more of a far worſe and more perplexing Nature, brought back upon us, to the overwhelming our Spirits, weakening our Hands and Hearts, filling us with Diviſions, Confuſions, Tumults, and every evil Work, and thereby endangering the Ruin of that bleſſed Cauſe we had, with ſuch Succeſs, been proſpered in till this Time; for now the King and his Party, ſeeing us not anſwer their Ends, began to provide for themſelves, by a Treaty with the then Parliament, ſet on Foot about the Beginning of 48. The Parliament alſo was, at the ſame time, highly diſpleaſed with us for what we had done, both as to the King and themſelves; the good People likewiſe, even our moſt cordial Friends in the Nation, beholding our turning aſide from that Path of Simplicity we had formerly walked (and been bleſſed) in, and thereby much endeared to their Hearts, began now to fear and withdraw their Affections from us in this politic Path into which we had ſtept and walked in, to our Hurt, the Year before: And as a farther Fruit of the Ways of our own Back-ſliding Hearts, we were alſo filled with a Spirit of great Jealouſy and Diviſions amongſt our ſelves, having left that Wiſdom of the Word that is, firſt pure, and then peaceable, that we were now fit for little but to tear and rend one another, and thereby prepare our ſelves, and the Work in our Hands, to be ruined by the common Enemy, as theſe that were ready to ſay, as many others of like Spirit in this Day, of the like ſad Occaſions amongſt us, Lo, this is the Day we looked for. The King and his Party prepare accordingly to ruin all, by ſudden Inſurrections in moſt Parts of the Nation, the *Scot* concurring with the ſame Deſigns, comes in with a potent Army under Duke *Hamilton*. We in the Army in a low, weak, divided, perplexed Condition in all reſpects, as aforeſaid, ſome of us judging it a Duty to lay down Arms, and quit our Stations, putting our ſelves into the Capacities of private Men,

Men, ſince what we had done, or was yet in our Hearts to do, tending, as we judged, to the Good of theſe poor Nations, was not accepted by them.

Some alſo encouraging themſelves and us to ſuch a Thing, by urging for ſuch a Practice, the Example of our Lord Jeſus, who when he had borne an eminent Teſtimony, to the Pleaſure of his Father, in an active Way, ſealed to it at laſt by his Sufferings, which was preſented to us as our Pattern for Imitation.

Others of us were different minded, thinking ſomething of another Nature might be farther yet our Duty, and therefore were by joint Advice, by a good Hand of the Lord, led to this Reſult, *viz.* to go ſolemnly to ſearch out (and humble our Souls before the Lord in the Senſe of) our Iniquities, which we were perſuaded had provoked the Lord againſt us, to bring ſuch ſad Perplexities upon us, as at that Day, out of which we ſaw no Way elſe to extricate ourſelves.

Accordingly, we did agree to meet at *Windſor* Caſtle, about the Beginning of 48, and there ſpent one Day together in Prayer, enquiring into the Cauſes of that ſad Diſpenſation. Coming to no farther Reſult that Day, but that it was ſtill our Duty to ſeek, and on the Morrow we met again the Morning, where many ſpake from the Word and prayed; and the then Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* did preſs very earneſtly, on all there preſent, to a thorough Conſideration of our Actions as an Army, as well as our Ways particularly, as private Chriſtians, to ſee if any Iniquity could be found in them; and what it was, that if poſſible we might find out, and ſo remove the Cauſe of ſuch ſad Rebukes, as were upon us, by reaſon of our Iniquities, as we judged at that Time. And the Way more particularly the Lord led us to herein, was to look back, and conſider what Time it was that we could, with joint Satisfaction, ſay, to the beſt of our Judgments, the Preſence of the Lord was amongſt us, and Rebukes and Judgments were not as then upon us: Which Time the Lord led us jointly to find out and agree in; and having done ſo, to proceed, as we then judged it our Duty, to ſearch into all our public Actions as an Army, afterwards duly weighing (as the Lord helped us) each of them, with their Grounds, Rules, and Ends, as near as we could; and ſo concluded this ſecond Day with agreeing to meet again on the Morrow; which we accordingly did upon the ſame Occaſion, re-aſſuming the Conſideration of our Debates the Day before, and reviewing our Actions again, by which Means we were, by a gracious Hand of the Lord, led to find out the very Steps (as we were then all jointly convinced) by which we had departed from the Lord, and provoked him to depart from us; which we found to be thoſe curſed carnal Conferences, our own Wiſdom, Fears, and want of Faith, had prompted us the Year before, to entertain with the King and his Party: And at this Time, and on this Occaſion, did the then Major *Goff* (as I remember was his Title) make uſe of that good Word, *Prov.* i. 23. *Turn you at my Reproof*, &c. which (we having found out our Sin) he urged, as our Duty, from thoſe Words, and the Lord ſo accompanied by his Spirit, that it had a kindly Effect, like a Word of his, upon moſt of our Hearts that were then preſent, which begot in us great Senſe, Shame, and loathing our ſelves for our Iniquities, and juſti-

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fying the Lord, as righteous in his Proceedings againſt us: And in this Path the Lord led us not only to ſee our Sin, but alſo our Duty; and this ſo unanimouſly ſet with Weight upon each Heart, that none was able hardly to ſpeak a Word to each other for bitter Weeping, partly in the Senſe and Shame of our Iniquities of Unbelief, baſe Fear of Men, and carnal Conſultations (as the Fruit thereof) with our own Wiſdoms, and not with the Word of the Lord, which only is a Way of Wiſdom, Strength and Safety, and all beſides it Ways of Snares; and yet were alſo helped with Fear and Trembling to rejoice in the Lord, whoſe Faithfulneſs and Loving-kindneſs we were made to ſee yet failed us not; but remembered us ſtill, even in our low Eſtate, becauſe his Mercy endures for ever. Who no ſooner brought us to his Feet, acknowledging him in that Way of his, *viz.* ſearching for, being aſhamed of, and willing to turn from our Iniquities, but he did direct our Steps, and preſently we were led, and helped to a clear Agreement amongſt ourſelves, not any diſſenting, that it was the Duty of our Day, with the Forces we had, to go out and fight againſt thoſe potent Enemies, which that Year in all Places appeared againſt us, with an humble Confidence in the Name of the Lord only, that we ſhould deſtroy them; alſo enabling us then, after ſerious ſeeking his Face, to come to a very clear and joint Reſolution, on many Grounds at large then debated amongſt us, that it was our Duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in Peace, to call *Charles Stuart*, that Man of Blood, to an Account, for that Blood he had ſhed, and Miſchief he had done to his utmoſt, againſt the Lord's Cauſe and People in theſe poor Nations: And how the Lord led and proſpered us in all our Undertakings this Year, in this Way, cutting his Work ſhort in Righteouſneſs, making it a Year of Mercy equal, if not tranſcendent to any ſince theſe Wars began, and making it worthy of Remembrance by every gracious Soul, who was wiſe to obſerve the Lord and the Operations of his Hands, I wiſh may never be forgotten; bringing us together again, from all Parts ſhortly after, with Admiration; each one's Heart, as it were, filled with the Wonders beheld, and Occaſion given to all to ſay each to other, Lo, what hath God wrought! the King's Armies in all Places broken, his ſtrong Holds moſt of them taken; he himſelf all that Time treating with the then Parliament, and both of them deſirous to conclude, yet by an over-ruling Providence hindered, and the King ſo infatuated, as he ſtands diſputing Punctilios till he loſes all, and himſelf with it, and is fetched away from his Place of Treaty to a Priſon, in order to Execution, which ſuddenly followed accordingly; and all this done within leſs than three Quarters of a Year, even to Aſtoniſhment of ourſelves, and other Beholders both at home and abroad; yea our very Enemies then were made to ſay, God was amongſt us of a Truth, and therefore they could not ſtand againſt us.

But alas, who would have thought that ſo few Years would have worn out the Memory of ſuch a not-to-be-forgotten Mercy, or that any of thoſe that then ſaw his Works, and ſang his Praiſe, ſhould ſo ſoon forget what their Eyes had ſeen, as not to wait for his faithful Counſel in future Streights! Yet behold, how ſome directly, and others conſequentially, are now ſaying, all theſe Things were but the Product of a potent politic Party, fluſhed with Succeſs;

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and others, though more modeſt and moderate, yet it is to be feared, in too eager a Purſuit of falling in with, or fear of being hurt by what is uppermoſt, if not timely complying, at once in the Lump adventure to cry up abſolute Obedience to the Powers that are, though thereby they condemn themſelves and others, as Tranſgreſſors and Rebels, for oppoſing thoſe that were; together with the whole Series of Action made glorious by God's Appearance with us, beyond Parallel of any late Years: And thus doth the Name and Works of the Lord ſuffer (as Chriſt of old) between theſe two, who almoſt equally, though not alike intentionally, rob the Lord of his Glory, and give great Occaſion to the worſt of our Enemies the more to blaſpheme.

This is the brief, yet true Account of this Matter, with the bleſſed Effects of it, as a Manifeſtation of the Lord's Inclination and Diſpoſition to poor Returners; who is ſtill the ſame, becauſe he hath ſaid, and will perform it, as in *Jer.* xxix. 12, 13. *Then ſhall ye call upon me, and ye ſhall go and pray unto me, and I will hearken unto you. And ye ſhall ſeek me and find me, when ye ſhall ſearch for me with all your Hearts.* And I have a little hope that this precious Pattern, thus preſented, may not be without ſome Uſe to you in this Day, if the Lord lead your Hearts rightly to conſider it. That we are a poor, broken, divided, intangled, bewildered, People, in our public Affairs, none but they that are very great Strangers in our *Iſrael* can be ignorant: For who hath known and obſerved former Days, when the Candle of the Lord ſhined on our Tabernacles, by the Light of which we walked through Darkneſs, and ſhall compare thoſe Days with theſe four or five Years paſt, can look upon them without a Heart deeply affected, to think what once we were (when we followed the Lord, though in a Land that was not ſown, when we were a more plain ſimple-hearted People, yet proſpered by the Lord, to the Terror of Enemies abroad and at home, through an eminent Preſence of God with us) and what now we are, ſince we have turned aſide into the carnal, empty, formal Shews of the Nations, admiring (and acting by) their Policies, and ſaying a Confederacy with them, fearing their Fear, and not ſanctifying the Lord in a Way of believing: How are we become the Tail, and not the Head, a Hiſſing, yea, a Scorn to the baſeſt of Nations! What Rebukes at Sea, at Land! What Diſappointments of Enterprizes! What Strokes on many formerly eminent public Inſtruments! What impoveriſhing of theſe poor Nations, by Decay of Trade in all Parts, to the Ruin of many! What ſore Viſitations, and of long Continuance on the Nations throughout, by Deaths, and lingering pining Diſeaſes! Yea, what Heart-dividings are amongſt thoſe that have been as one Stick together, uſed in the Hand of the Lord, in his Works of Wonder in the Midſt of us, and thereby endangering the whole Intereſt we have fought for, into the Hands of ſuch as are known Enemies, or at beſt have been but faint Friends to it and us, in Days of Diſtreſs? And are not all theſe Things worth conſidering and enquiring into, by every gracious Heart, with the Cauſes of them? For ſure the Lord afflicts not without Cauſe, nor grieves not the Sons of Men willingly.

And would you enquire aright, purſue the Method laid down in the Caſe preſented; enquire when could you with joint Satisfaction ſay, At ſuch a Time the Preſence of the Lord was with you; and theſe ſore Hands of Diſ-

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pleaſure that have of late Years attended you, were not upon you, nor Works in your Hands as now. And if you can but find that, let me adviſe and beſeech you, as you tender the Delivery of your own Souls, and Good of theſe Nations, weigh Action by Action ſince, and ſee where you have gone out of that proſperous Path you were formerly in, and fear not to look into any Action you are or may be concerned to look into, in which you think Evil may be at the Bottom; for that remaining, will cauſe greater Shakings than the moſt ſtrict Enquiry you make can do: And conſider what as an Army you have done, with the Grounds of it, and what you have engaged before God, Angels and Men to do; and either, if it be your Sin, make your Repentance as public as your Evil hath been, and ſo clear yourſelves; or elſe, up and be doing whatever you judge your Duty, in the Face of whatever Difficulties you meet with; and in that Path doubt not of God's being with you, while you are with him: But if you will neither purſue your Duties in one reſpect or other, know of a certain, the Lord who is a jealous God, will not be mocked by any that is not ſtronger than he, but will be above Men, and make them know, he will be ſo in thoſe Things in which they deal moſt proudly, and Deliverance ſhall ariſe ſome other Way, with ſore Rebuke to you, for your ſhameful Neglects of Duty in ſuch a Work of Weight which you have been entruſted with, and muſt, ere long, be called to an Account how you have diſcharged it.

Alas! may we not ſay, and ſhall we be afraid to ſay, we, our Rulers, Prophets, Armies, People, have ſinned; yea, have grievouſly departed from the Lord, and Help nor Healing is not to be had, but in returning from what Evil ſo ever is in our Hands or Hearts? It is not Power, nor Policy, nor foreign Confederacies; it is not Prayers, though frequent, or ſeemingly fervent, no, though attended with Tears and Confeſſions, without thorough Forſakings, will be a Path of Safety for us, *Iſa.* lviii. No, the Voice of the Lord is plain to Rulers, Armies, People, *Thus ſaith the Lord, conſider your Ways: Why do we labour in the Fire for very Vanity?* Why is Wiſdom hid from the Prudent? Why do we ſow much in Prayers, Tears, Confeſſions, and hazardous Undertakings at home and abroad, and bring in little, and what we get is, as it were, put into a Bag with Holes, and the Lord, in a Way of Rebuke ſeems to blow upon it? Is it not that we ſhould conſider our Ways! Oh ſearch and try, yea call in the Help of God and good Men in this, to ſee if there be any Way of Iniquity in your Hearts or Hands, and clear yourſelves of it, with manifeſting moſt Indignation againſt it. And for your Help herein, if it may be, let me humbly caution you to take Heed of adviſing only with ſuch that may be moſt pleaſing to you; Self-love is apt in ſuch Caſes to blind much: Yea, or with ſuch only, or chiefly, that are or may be under the influencing Power of profitable Employments, ſteered by the Favours, or Fear of the Frowns of Rulers; but rather with ſuch who have been Perſons of known Integrity, and ancient conſtant Friends to the good old Cauſe of God, and their Country, in all its Viciſſitudes and loweſt Ebbs; not *Shimei*-like, curſing and deſerting in a Day of Diſtreſs, and changing their Languages when it tended to the Change of their Conditions, for outward Advantage; but ſuch

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as have not been pleaſed with their higheſt, moſt profitable Promotions and Preferments, when they could not ſee the Cauſe of God and their Country promoted alſo; and let not thoſe Names of Odium, of diſſatisfied, *&c.* (that they have been clothed with, the better to anſwer the evil Deſigns of ſome) affright you in this Matter: And if you dare thus purſue Duty in this Path of Simplicity preſented to you, without ſetting up the Stumbling-Block of any of your Iniquities before you, I am perſuaded (not without many demonſtrable Grounds producible from the Word) you will find it a Path of Peace, through the Lord's bleſſing it; and you, in the ſincere applying to it, will be directed and led to Grounds more clearly laid, for an unanimous, vigorous Proſecution of the old dying Cauſe, by its beſt and trueſt Friends, than hitherto you have found; or at leaſt will find it effectual, to the Reſcue of your own Souls out of Paths of Danger, which for want of pondering according to the Word, you may be walking in to your great Hurt. And therefore, let me beſeech you in all Sincerity, as you tender your own, and theſe poor Nations Welfare, apply to it with Speed. For your betaking yourſelves to any other Courſes, will prove fruitleſs as aforeſaid; for the Lord hath ſmitten, and only can heal; and if ever he do, he will do it in this Way, *Hoſ.* v. If what I have propoſed prove any way advantageous to the Ends for which it is offered, *viz.* to cauſe you to ſearch, try, and turn from the Evil of your Ways, I have my End, and let the Lord have Glory: But if this poor Means, in much Faithfulneſs and Tenderneſs preſented to you, be rejected or ſlighted by you, I ſhall, I hope, be enabled to mourn in ſecret for you before the Lord; and ſhall have this Satisfaction, when I ſhall come to lye down in the Duſt, which how ſoon it may be I know not, that I have, in ſome Meaſure, delivered my own Soul, and endeavoured the like for yours; and ſhall earneſtly intreat the Lord, that this poor Word of Warning, amongſt many others in this Day preſented to you, may not one Day meet you, as a Witneſs againſt you, for not regarding it: For I am well aſſured it ſhall live, ſpeak, and have its Fruit, when you and I ſhall ceaſe to be.

WILLIAM ALLEN.

POSTSCRIPT.

This Paper was ſent to the Preſs about ſix Weeks ſince, to have been made public at that Time; but by an unexpected Obſtruction, hath hitherto been hindered: But hoping it may yet be of ſome Uſe, is therefore now publiſhed.

April 23d, 1659.

A DECLARATION of the Officers of the Army, inviting the Members of the long Parliament, who continued ſitting till the 20th of *April*, 1653, to return to the Exerciſe and Diſcharge of their Truſt.

Friday, 6*th* May, 1659.

Ordered by the Lord Fleetwood, *and the General Council of the Officers of the Army, That this Declaration be forthwith printed and publiſhed.*

Thomas Sandford *Secretary.*

Printed in the Year 1659.

THE public Concernments of this Commonwealth being, through a Viciſſitude of Dangers, Deliverances, and Back-ſlidings of many, brought into that State and Poſture wherein they now ſtand, and ourſelves alſo contributing thereunto, by wandering divers Ways, from righteous and equal Paths; and although there hath been many Eſſays to obviate the Dangers, and to ſettle theſe Nations in Peace and Proſperity, yet all have proved ineffectual, the only wiſe God, in the Courſe of his Providence diſappointing all Endeavours therein.

And alſo obſerving to our great Grief, that the good Spirit which formerly appeared amongſt us, in the carrying on of this great Work, did daily decline, ſo as the good old Cauſe itſelf became a Reproach; we have been led to look back, and examine the Cauſe of the Lord's withdrawing his wonted Preſence from us, and where we turned out of the Way, that through Mercy we might return and give him the Glory.

And, amongſt other Things, calling to mind, that the long Parliament conſiſting of the Members which continued there ſitting until the 20th of *April* 1653, were eminent Aſſertors of that Cauſe, and had a ſpecial Preſence of God with them, and were ſignally bleſſed in that Work (the Deſires of many good People concurring with ours therein) we judge it our Duty to invite the aforeſaid Members to return to the Exerciſe and Diſcharge of their Truſt, as before the ſaid 20th of *April*, 1653.

And therefore we do hereby moſt earneſtly deſire the Parliament, conſiſting of thoſe Members who continued to ſit ſince the Year 1648, until the 20th of *April* 1653, to return to the Exerciſe and Diſcharge of their Truſt, and we ſhall be ready, in our Places, to yield them, as becomes us, our utmoſt Aſſiſtance to ſit in Safety; for the improving preſent Opportunity for ſettling and ſecuring the Peace and Freedom of this Commonwealth; praying for the Preſence and Bleſſing of God upon their Endeavours.

Signed by Direction of the Lord Fleetwood, *and the Council of Officers of the Army.*

6th *May*, 1659. Thomas Sandford, *Secretary.*

Which

Which Declaration was this Day preſented to the Speaker by

The Lord *Lambert*,
Lord *Berry*,
Lord *Cooper*,
Sir *Arthur Heſilrig*.
Major General *Lilburne*,
Colonel *Aſhfield*,
Colonel *Salmon*,
Sir *Jerome Sankey*,
Major General *Kelſey*,
Colonel *Okey*,
Captain *Blackwell*,
Major General *Haynes*,
Lieutenant Colonel *Allen*,
Major *Packer*,
Lieutenant Colonel *Pierſon*.

The ROYAL OAK: or an Hiſtorical Deſcription of the Royal Progreſs, wonderful Travels, miraculous Eſcapes, and ſtrange Accidents of his ſacred Majeſty *CHARLES* the Second, third Monarch of *Great Britain*: Wherein is obſervable and worth public View,

I. His Majeſty's ſtrange and wonderful Eſcape from *Worceſter* Fight, the diſrobing of himſelf of his princely Ornaments, the caſting away his Chain of Gold, and the cutting off his precious Hair and curled Locks, by the Lord *Wilmot* for a Diſguiſe.

II. The purſuing of his Royal Perſon by *Oliver Cromwell* and his Blood-hounds; and the Manner how his Majeſty eſcaped, making a hollow Oak his Royal Palace, within four Miles of *Wolverhampton*.

III. The memorable Travels of Mrs. *Jane Lane* and his Majeſty, his riding before her to make an Eſcape, and his going in a Livery Cloak by the Name of *William*, Servant to Mr. *Laſtel* her Father-in-law.

IV. The Diſcourſe betwixt his Majeſty and the Cook-Maid at the *three Crowns* in *Briſtol*; her ſeveral Queſtions, where he was born, and what Trade he was, with the King's Anſwer; and the remarkable Paſſages that happened in the Kitchen, upon the Maid's employing the King to wind up the Jack.

By John Danverd, *a loyal Subject and Servant to his Majeſty.*

Printed in the Year 1660.

AFTER the great and fatal Fight at *Worceſter*, between his Majeſty's Forces and the *Cromwellian* Rebels, the Field being loſt, not for want of Courage, by the King's Party, but by thoſe numerous Supplies, who ſerved only like the *Turkiſh Aſapi*, to blunt the royal Swords; ſo that

their wearied Arms no longer able to hold out, were forced to retreat, and at length (notwithſtanding the generous Example of his Majeſty, who performed Things worth Wonder) to a diſorderly Fight: Yet it is worthy of Obſervation, that upon *Cromwell*'s Advance near the City, his Majeſty in Perſon, and in the Head of the Horſe, drew out againſt him, and that with ſo much Valour and Courage, that *Cromwell*'s own Life-guard, and the beſt of his old Soldiers (who were thought almoſt invincible) were forced to retire, till ſeconded by *Fleetwood*, *Deſborough*, *Lambert*, and others, who overpowered the King's Forces, being above five to one; and ſo loth was his Majeſty to decline the Field, that upon his earneſt Endeavours to have his Horſe and Foot rally, twice had he his Horſe ſhot under him, and at length was forced to ſhift for himſelf, and to provide for his own Safety; and ſo with ſome Nobles and Servants, not without a great deal of Difficulty, forced to quit the Field, and by the moſt unfrequented Roads that they could poſſibly find out, rid to the Farm-houſe of a noble Gentleman on the Borders of *Staffordſhire*, where they no ſooner arrived, but his Majeſty diſrobed himſelf of his princely Ornaments and Accoutrements, and particularly of a Chain of Gold, or Spannar-ſtring, worth 300 *l. Sterl.* the Preſent of a *Scottiſh* Lad, which he beſtowed upon a Servant of his there preſent; which done, for his farther Diſguiſe, he proceeding to the cutting off his Hair, and the Cot affording neither Shears nor Sciſſars to perform it, it was by the Lord *Wilmot* cut off with a Knife. And now every one is commanded to ſhift for himſelf, and this poor Prince left alone to the ſole Protection of the Almighty, he chooſing none but one Friend to accompany him, with whom he wandered into a Wood, within four Miles of (ſay ſome) *Woolverhampton*, where finding a hollow Oak, he was now content to make it his Palace, for here he for ſome Days concealed himſelf, his Friend ſtill, towards Night, going out to provide him ſome Refreſhment during this his ſolitary Confinement. In the mean time the Lord *Wilmot*, who was commanded with the reſt to ſeek his Fortune, was by Chance purſued by ſome Soldiers, but meeting with a Country Fellow, formerly a Soldier in the old King's Army, he was by him ſecured, though ſomewhat ſtrangely, for he carries him into a Malt-houſe belonging to Mrs. *Jane Lane*, and having no other convenient Place to hide him in, clapped him under the Kiln, though there was then ſome Fire in it, and the Malt ſmoaking on the Top. In the mean time, the Soldiers then in Purſuit of him, entered the Houſe, and having made about three Quarters of an Hour's Search every where elſe, but not at all ſuſpecting the Kiln, where they ſaw the Fire burning, they departed, and the Lord *Wilmot* was taken out of the Kiln almoſt ready to faint with the Extremity of the Heat. The Country Fellow having thus ſecured this Lord, acquaints Mrs. *Lane* with what he had done, and ſhe extremely glad of it, gets him to her Houſe, where in Conference ſhe enquires of the King's Safety. The Lord *Wilmot* gives her the former Relation of his great Miſeries and Diſtreſs, which forces Tears from the tender-hearted Gentlewoman, ſhe earneſtly intreats him to take ſome Courſe for the finding out of his Majeſty, and conducting him to her Houſe, ſhe being reſolved to venture her Life, had ſhe ten thouſand, for the ſaving of his Royal Majeſty. The Lord *Wilmot*, glad of ſo happy an Opportunity to ſerve

his

his Majeſty, and ſo great a Probability of ſecuring him, the next Night finds him out, and conducts him from the Royal Oak to the Houſe of Mrs. *Jane Lane*, where, after a large condoling of his hard Fortune, Conſultation was had for a Conveniency for his Eſcape beyond Sea, and at length it was concluded, that *Briſtol* would be the moſt convenient Place to take Shipping; that his Majeſty ſhould ride before Mrs. *Lane* by the Name of *William*, Servant to Mr. *Laſtel* her Father-in-law, who was likewiſe to go with them; and thus it was immediately given out, that Mr. *Laſtel* and Mrs. *Lane* were to take a Journey in the Weſt, to viſit ſome Friends; and ſhortly after they ſet forward. In this Journey there happened many Accidents worthy Commemoration: And firſt, the King's Majeſty riding now as a Servant to one of the faithfulleſt of his Subjects, in a Livery Cloak, though not without that Reſpect that durſt be given to him, complains to Mrs. *Lane* that the Cloak wearied him, whereupon ſhe deſires Mr. *Laſtel* to carry it; and long they had not rid ſo, but they meet upon the Road her Brother-in-law, who, amongſt other Queſtions, demanded of her, if her Father muſt carry her Man's Cloak; to which ſhe readily anſwered, that it was ſo big that it often endangered the throwing her off the Horſe; and that ſhe had therefore deſired him to carry it. The next and moſt important Accident of all was, that coming into a Town which they were to paſs through, there was a Troop of Horſe there to be quartered drawn up, which cauſed ſome Fear, but at length with a Reſolution they paſſed on, and the Captain taking them for honeſt Travellers, made his Troop open to the Right and Leſt, and ſo permitted them to paſs. Another Accident there happened, which one may ſay was almoſt comical in this Tragedy: Mrs. *Lane* coming into the Inn, leaves his Majeſty under the Name of *William* her Servant in the Kitchen, with whom the Maid enters into Diſcourſe; ſhe aſks him where he was born, and what Trade he was? He anſwers, at *Birmingham*, and a Nailor's Son; and after a great Deal of other Diſcourſe, the Jack being down, the Maid deſires him to wind it up, which he willingly undertakes, but goes the wrong Way about it, and ſomewhat prejudices it; at which the Maid grew angry, aſking him where he was bred, and telling him he was the verieſt clowniſh Booby that ever ſhe ſaw in all her Life; which Railing of hers made his Majeſty, notwithſtanding his preſent Miſery, go out of the Room ſmiling.

Mrs. *Lane*, notwithſtanding his Majeſty went as her Servant, yet had a greater Reſpect for him before others, pretended him her Tenant's Son; but on the Road ſhe would always aſk what he would have to Dinner or Supper, and what Piece of that he liked, which ſhe would be always ſure to get made ready and give him, he ſtill ſitting at the lower End of the Table.

But to come to the End of their Journey, being arrived at *Briſtol*, they lodged at the Houſe of a noble Gentleman there, and Kinſman to Mr. *Laſtel*: The King finding it to be a Houſe of great Reſort, feigns himſelf ſick of an Ague, and ſo keeps his Chamber all the Day, coming down only at Nights; but one Night coming down, and being ſomewhat cold, craves a Glaſs of Wine of the Butler, who carries him into the Butlery; this Butler having before ſerved his Majeſty's Father in the Wars, looking earneſtly upon him, ſuſpected

him

him to be the King, ſo eaſily will Majeſty appear, though veiled in the utmoſt Diſguiſes; and thereupon pulling off his Hat, told him very ceremoniouſly, that he might command what Wine he pleaſed; of which the King took no Notice, but drinking off his Wine, went out; yet the Butler could not ſatisfy his Suſpicion, but went up to Mr. *Laſtel*, and demanded of him how long he had had that Servant, whereupon Mr. *Laſtel* was very angry at his Boldneſs, in daring to aſk him ſuch a Queſtion; but the Butler ſtill perſiſted, and whiſpering told him, that he believed it was the King; whereupon Mr. *Laſtel* ſeeing he was diſcovered, ſends immediately for his Majeſty, whom he acquaints with the Butler's Diſcovery of him, with whom the King was ſomewhat angry, in regard he did not firſt acquaint himſelf with his Suſpicion, it not being impoſſible, but that Mr. *Laſtel* might not have known him to be the King; but upon Pardon aſked by the Butler, it was granted by the King, and he afterwards proved very inſtrumental in his Majeſty's Conveyance through the Country.

But here at *Briſtol* the chief Deſign they had in hand failed them; for though there were a little Bark lay there, judged moſt convenient for the Buſineſs, yet the Maſter would for no Reward tranſport a ſingle Perſon, though he was ſo honeſt as only to deny it, and made no further Search or Enquiry concerning the Perſon, which might perhaps have tended to a Diſcovery.

This Deſign here failing, his Majeſty deſired to be brought ſome Miles Weſtward, to the Houſe of a worthy Gentleman, whom he knew to be a truſty Friend, where coming, he finds the Gentleman in the Field with his Servants; having diſcovered himſelf to him, he was by him conveyed to a convenient Stand till Night (having firſt taken Leave of his true Friends, who had thus far conducted him with the Danger of their Lives and Eſtates) from whence he was in the Duſk conveyed into the Houſe, and there carefully concealed for a Week, till ſuch Time as Preparation could be made in ſome weſtern Port, of a Paſſage for him; but coming afterwards there where it was provided, chancing to dine with a Parliament Colonel then there, he thought it the ſafer to loſe the Benefit of that Paſſage, than adventure to embark himſelf ſingly, which might breed Suſpicion, and perhaps have been the Means, after ſo many Deliverances, to have betrayed him into the Hands of his Enemies.

This Paſſage then likewiſe failing him, he returned back to the Place from whence he came, and concealed himſelf three Weeks longer, till in the End it being reſolved on, he, by the Aſſiſtance of Mr. *Ph.* was conveyed through the moſt by-ways they could imagine, to a Gentlewoman's Houſe in *Suſſex*, where he lay ſome few Days, till a Perſon of true Worth and Honour made Proviſion of a faithful Maſter, who with a ſmall Veſſel wafted him to a ſmall Creek in *Normandy*, to the great Content of the King's ſacred Majeſty, and all his loyal Subjects, and to the Honour of the Maſter with due Reward, as in Time may appear.

Perhaps the Reader may think it tedious that I have given ſo large a Relation of his Majeſty's Eſcape from that Fight at *Worceſter*; but it was a Work ſo full of Wonder and Providence, and ſo many falſe Relations there are abroad, that

that I could do no leſs than recount all thoſe Miſeries and Hardſhips which the poor Prince endured for the Sakes of us his Subjects, and more would he willingly have endured, even Death itſelf, to the redeeming of us from the Tyranny and Oppreſſion which we then groaned under.

But let him that ſhall look upon the ſeveral Paſſages of his Life, read them over and over, conſider the ſeveral Difficulties he paſſed, the many Dangers he was in to be betrayed, the Country being up round about, the Sum of M oney ſet upon his Head, for which many Hundreds out of Covetouſneſs, made it their Buſineſs to ſearch for him, and they will confeſs ingeniouſly, that God was never ſo merciful to any People as to us, in delivering his ſacred Majeſty ſo wonderfully out of the Hands of his Enemies, who breathed out nothing but his Death and Deſtruction, that we may yet have Hope to be a happy Nation.

RESOLVES of Parliament.

Thurſday, April 26, 1660.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled.

THAT this Day Fortnight be ſet apart for a Day of Thankſgiving to the Lord for raiſing up his Excellency the Lord General, and other eminent Perſons, who have been inſtrumental in Delivery of this Nation from Thraldom and Miſery.

Reſolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled,

THAT this Day Fortnight be the Day ſet apart for a Day of Thankſgiving for both Houſes of Parliament, and within the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and late Lines of Communication; and this Day Month for the whole Nation.

April 26, 1660.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament aſſembled,
That theſe Reſolves be forthwith printed and publiſhed.

JO. BROWNE, *Cleric. Parliamentorum.*

A LIST

A LIST of the Earls and Lords that were preſent in the Houſe of Peers, on *Friday*, *April* the 27th, 1660.

Earl of *Mancheſter* SPEAKER,

EARL of *Oxford*
Earl of *Northumberland*
Earl of *Derby*
Earl of *Rutland*
Earl of *Bedford*
Earl of *Pembrooke*
Earl of *Lincoln*
Earl of *Nottingham*
Earl of *Suffolk*
Earl of *Dorſet*
Earl of *Bridgwater*
Earl of *Warwick*
Earl of *Denbigh*
Earl of *Middleſex*
Earl of *Bullingbrook*
Earl of *Rivers*
Earl of *Wincheſter*
Earl of *Strafford*

Lord Viſcount *Say* and *Seale*
Lord Viſcount *Conway*
Lord Viſcount *Hereford*
Lord *De La Ware*
Lord *Berkley*
Lord *Cromwell*
Lord *Wharton*
Lord *Hunſdon*
Lord *Peter*
Lord *Gerrard*
Lord *Tenham*
Lord *Gray* of *Werke*
Lord *Deyncourt*
Lord *Craven*
Lord *Mainerd*
Lord *Howard* of *Eſſex*
Lord *Capel.*

A PROCLAMATION.

ALthough it can no way be doubted, but that his Majeſty's Right and Title to his Crowns and Kingdoms, is, and was every way compleated by the Death of his moſt Royal Father of glorious Memory, without the Ceremony or Solemnity of a Proclamation; yet ſince Proclamations in ſuch Caſes have been always uſed, to the End that all good Subjects might, upon this Occaſion, teſtify their Duty and Reſpect: And ſince the armed Violence, and other the Calamities of many Years laſt paſt, have hitherto deprived us of any ſuch Opportunity, wherein we might expreſs our Loyalty and Allegiance to his Majeſty; We therefore, the Lords and Commons, now aſſembled in Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, and other Freemen of this Kingdom, now preſent, do, according to our Duty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimouſly acknowledge and proclaim, That immediately upon the Deceaſe of our late Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, the Imperial Crown of the Realm of *England*, and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights belonging to the ſame,

ſame, did by inherent Birth-right, and lawful and undoubted Succeſſion, deſcend and come to his moſt excellent Majeſty *Charles the Second*, as being lineally, juſtly, and lawfully, next Heir of the Blood-Royal of this Realm; and that by the Goodneſs and Providence of Almighty God, he is of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, the moſt Potent, Mighty, and Undoubted King: And thereunto We moſt humbly and faithfully do ſubmit and oblige Ourſelves, Our Heirs, and Poſterities for ever.

God ſave the King.

Tueſday, May 8, 1660,

Ordered by the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That this *Proclamation* be forthwith printed and publiſhed.

Will. Jeſſop, *Clerk of the Commons Houſe of Parliament.*

Tueſday, May 8, 1660.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Commons aſſembled in Parliament,

THAT the Members of this Houſe, who ſerve for the ſeveral Counties, Cities and Boroughs, take Care forthwith to ſend to the Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Head Officers of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of *England* and *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, for which they ſerve, the *Proclamation* for proclaiming of the King's Majeſty, to the Intent the ſame may be proclaimed in the reſpective Counties, Cities, and Boroughs; which the ſeveral Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Head Officers are required to do with Speed accordingly.

W. Jeſſop, *Clerk of the Commons Houſe of Parliament.*

A DECLARATION.

THE Commons aſſembled in Parliament do declare, That theſe Acts following; that is to ſay, *An Act for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion, and Encouragement and Settling of the learned and pious Miniſtry, and both the Univerſities in order thereunto, with a due Care of tender Conſciences*; one other *general Act for Oblivion, Indemnity, and Free Pardon*; *An Act for Confirmation of judicial Proceedings in the ordinary Courts of Juſtice*; *An Act touching the Confirmation of Grants and Sales*, and *An Act for ſecuring unto the Army and Navy their Arrears*, are already under Conſideration, and that a

good Progreſs is made in them, and Directions given for the ſpeedy perfecting of them.

Tueſday, May 8, 1660.

Ordered by the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That this *Declaration* be forthwith printed and publiſhed.

William Jeſſop, Clerk of the Commons Houſe of Parliament.

To his moſt excellent Majeſty King *CHARLES* the Second, our moſt gracious Sovereign.

The humble Addreſs of the Officers of the ſeveral Regiments of Horſe, under the Command of his Excellency the Lord-General *Monck*, as it was preſented by them to his Majeſty, at *Dartford-Heath* in *Kent*, this preſent *Tueſday, May* 29, 1660.

WITH ſuch a Joy as flows from Reverence and Love, we humbly preſent our ſelves before your ſacred Majeſty; beſides our Reflection on the common Good, which in this happy Change relates to our Particular, intends this Joy, and renders it ſincere; for we can now pleaſe our ſelves in our ſelves, while we are really performing that Duty for which we were firſt raiſed: And with all Thankfulneſs we acknowledge that Care your Majeſty in your late Letter and Declaration hath expreſſed of our neceſſary Intent.

We bleſs God to ſee that Day when the Serenity of every Man's Countenance diſcovers the Tranquility of his Mind; for this ſhews your Majeſty to be the true Soul of the People, ſince during your Abſence the whole Nation was caſt into ſuch Diſtractions, as we have no Pleaſure to remember, but had rather turn our Thoughts and grateful Acknowledgments to the happy Conduct of our noble General, who hath thus far led us in our Duty to your Royal Perſon. Yet as we cannot attribute too much to his Merits, ſo neither can we deprive ourſelves of that Honour and Comfort which we find in the Accompliſhment of his juſt Deſign.

Therefore in plain and ſoldier-like (though humble) Terms, we ſay your Majeſty hath made us and the Nation happy in your Return to this your native Kingdom; which doubtleſs will, nay we may ſay hath, produced a Settlement upon the Foundation of our ancient Laws; by the due Execution of which, together with your Majeſty's pious Inclinations, we truſt Libertiniſm and Prophaneneſs wholly ſuppreſſed, the Proteſtant Cauſe, and true Profeſſors of it, encouraged, to the Comfort of all your religious and good People.

Your Majeſty will now have your Great Council about you, who have already given Proof of their Loyalty and Wiſdom both to your Majeſty and them.

them. We profeſs and declare, That as we have not been altogether uſeleſs in the Reſtoration, as well of your ſacred Majeſty to your Crowns and Kingdoms, as your People to their juſt Rights, ſo we ſhall in the future, chearfully ſacrifice our Lives, or whatſoever can be more dear to us in the Service of your Majeſty, againſt all Oppoſitions whatſoever; and by a ready Obedience to your Majeſty's Commands, expreſs our ſelves,

Your Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects,

And obedient Servants.

Monday, December 17, 1660.

WHEREAS the maimed Soldiers and Penſioners belonging to *Ely-Houſe* and the *Savoy*, formerly a great Charge to the Nation, are by Order of Parliament diſcharged, and ſent with Recommendations into their reſpective Counties and Places where they did laſt reſide, but are not accordingly received, or relieved by the reſpective Juſtices of the Peace: It is therefore ordered by the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That all and every the Juſtices of the Peace in all Counties, Corporations, and Places within his Majeſty's Dominions, do take ſpeedy Care, and make Proviſion, according to the Statute for maimed Soldiers, and that of the 43d of Queen *Elizabeth* concerning the Overſeers for the Poor, for the Relief and Livelihood of ſuch Penſioners, maimed Soldiers, Widows and Orphans as come unto them with ſuch Recommendations, ſigned with the Hands of *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Sir *Anthony Irby*, Sir *William Wheeler*, Sir *John Robinſon*, Sir *Francis Gerard*, Sir *Thomas Meeres*, Sir *Thomas Clergis*, *John Birch*, *William Prynn*, *Edward King*, *Gilbert Gerrard*, *Richard Knightly*, and *Michael Mallet*, Eſquires, or any Three of them, being Members of the Committee of Parliament, appointed to diſcharge the ſaid Penſioners. And that this Order be forthwith printed, and that the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes do convey the ſame unto the reſpective Places for which they ſerve in Parliament; reminding the ſaid Juſtices of the Neceſſity of this good Work, and of the Laws made concerning the ſame.

W. Jeſſop, Clerk of the Commons Houſe of Parliament.

The Earl of *Mancheſter*'s SPEECH to his Majeſty, in the Name of the Peers, at his Arrival at *Whitehall*, the 29th of *May*, 1660. With his Majeſty's gracious Anſwer thereunto.

THAT this Day may prove happy to your Majeſty, is the Hope, the Expectation, and the earneſt Deſire of my Lords the Peers, whoſe Commands are upon me to make this humble Tender to your Majeſty of their loyal Joy for your Majeſty's ſafe Return to your native Kingdom, and for this happy Reſtoration of your Majeſty to your Crown and Dignity, after ſo long, and ſo ſevere a Suppreſſion of your juſt Right and Title.

I ſhall not reflect upon your Majeſty's Sufferings, which have been your People's Miſeries; yet I cannot omit to ſay, That as the Nation in general, ſo the Peers with a more perſonal and particular Senſe have felt the Stroke that cut the *Gordian* Knot which faſtened your Majeſty to your Kingdom, and your Kingdom to your Majeſty.

For ſince thoſe ſtrange and various Fluctuations and Diſcompoſures in Government, ſince thoſe horrid and unparallelled Violations of all Order and Juſtice, *Strangers have ruled over us*, even with a Rod of Iron: But now, with Satisfaction of Heart, We own and ſee your Majeſty, Our native King, a Son of the wiſe, a Son of the ancient Kings, whoſe Hand holds forth a golden Scepter.

Great King! Give me Leave to ſpeak the Confidence, as well as the Deſires, of the Peers of *England:* Be you the powerful Defender of the true Proteſtant Faith, the juſt Aſſerter and Maintainer of the Laws and Liberties of your Subjects; ſo ſhall *Judgment run down like a River, and Juſtice like a mighty Stream*; and God, the God of your Mercy, who hath ſo miraculouſly preſerved you, will eſtabliſh your Throne in Righteouſneſs and in Peace.

Dread Sovereign! I offer no flattering Titles, but ſpeak the Words of Truth: You are the Deſire of three Kingdoms, the Strength and the Stay of the Tribes of the People, for the moderating of Extremities, the reconciling of Differences, the ſatisfying of all Intereſts, and for reſtoring of the collapſed Honour of theſe Nations. Their Eyes are toward your Majeſty, their Tongues with loud Acclamations of Joy, ſpeak the Thoughts and loyal Intentions of their Hearts, their Hands are lift up to Heaven with Prayers and Praiſes; and what oral Triumph can equal this your Pomp and Glory?

Long may your Majeſty live and reign; a Support to your Friends, a Terror to your Enemies, an Honour to your Nation, and an Example to Kings, of Piety, Juſtice, Prudence, and Power, that this prophetic Expreſſion may be verified in your Majeſty, *King* Charles *the Second ſhall be greater than ever was the greateſt of that Name.*

His

His Majeſty's gracious Anſwer to the Earl of Mancheſter's *Speech, made in the Name of the Houſe of Peers, at the Arrival of his Majeſty at* Whitehall, *on the 29th of* May, 1660.

My Lord,

I Am ſo diſordered by my Journey, and with the Noiſe ſtill ſounding in my Ears (which I confeſs was pleaſing to me, becauſe it expreſſed the Affections of my People) as I am unfit, at the preſent, to make ſuch a Reply as I deſire; yet thus much I ſhall ſay unto you, That I take no greater Satisfaction to myſelf in this my Change, than that I find my Heart really ſet to endeavour by all Means for the reſtoring of this Nation to their Freedom and Happineſs; and I hope, by the Advice of my Parliament, to effect it. Of this alſo you may be confident, that next to the Honour of God, from whom principally I ſhall ever own this Reſtoration to my Crown, I ſhall ſtudy the Welfare of my People; and ſhall not only be a true Defender of the Faith, but a juſt Aſſerter of the Laws and Liberties of my Subjects.

A PROCLAMATION againſt vicious, debauched, and prophane Perſons. By the KING.

CHARLES R:

SINCE it hath pleaſed the divine Providence in ſo wonderful a Manner, and by Ways and Means no leſs miraculous, than thoſe by which he did heretofore preſerve and reſtore his own choſen People, to reſtore us and our good Subjects to each other, and to ſhew us a very hopeful Proſpect, if not to put us already into Poſſeſſion of that Peace, Happineſs and Security, with which this our Kingdom hath been heretofore bleſſed; it will become us all, in our ſeveral Stations, to acknowledge this tranſcendent Goodneſs of Almighty God in ſo ſeaſonable a Conjuncture, with ſuch a Circumſpection, Integrity, and Reformation in our Lives, that we may not drive away that Mercy which ſo near approacheth us, by making ourſelves (wholly) unworthy of it. And in order hereunto, we think it high Time to ſhew our Diſlike of thoſe (againſt whom we have been ever enough offended, though we could not in this Manner declare it) who under Pretence of Affection to us and our Service, aſſume to themſelves the Liberty of reviling, threatening, and reproaching others; and as much as in them lies, endeavour to ſtifle and divert their good Inclinations to our Service, and ſo to prevent that Reconciliation and Union of Hearts and Affections, which can only, with God's Bleſſing, make us rejoice in each other, and keep our Enemies from rejoicing.

There are likewiſe another Sort of Men, of whom we have heard much, and are ſufficiently aſhamed, who ſpend their Time in Taverns, Tipling-houſes, and

and Debauches, giving no other Evidence of their Affection to us, but in drinking our Health, and inveighing againſt all others who are not of their own diſſolute Temper; and who, in Truth, have more diſcredited our Cauſe by the Licence of their Manners and Lives, than they could ever advance it by their Affection or Courage. We hope that this extraordinary Way of delivering us from all we feared, and almoſt bringing us to all we can reaſonably hope, hath and will work upon the Hearts even of theſe Men to that Degree, that they will cordially renounce all that Licentiouſneſs, Profaneneſs and Impiety with which they have been corrupted, and endeavoured to corrupt others, and that they will hereafter become Examples of Sobriety and Virtue, and make it appear that what is paſt, was rather the Vice of the Time, than of the Perſons, and ſo the fitter to be forgotten together.

And, becauſe the Fear of Puniſhment, or Apprehenſion of our Diſpleaſure, may have Influence upon many, who will not be reſtrained by the Conſcience of their Duty, we do declare, That we will not exerciſe juſt Severity againſt any Malefactors, ſooner than againſt Men of diſſolute, debauched, and prophane Lives, with what Parts ſoever they may be otherwiſe qualified and endowed; and we hope, that all Perſons of Honour, or in Place and Authority, will ſo far aſſiſt us, in diſcountenancing ſuch Men, that their Diſcretion and Shame will perſuade them to reform what their Conſcience would not, and that the Diſpleaſure of good Men towards them, may ſupply what the Laws have not, and it may be, cannot well provide againſt; there being, by the Licence and Corruption of the Times, and the depraved Nature of Men, many Enormities, Scandals, and Impieties, in Practice and Manners, which Laws cannot well deſcribe, and conſequently not enough provide againſt; which may, by the Example and Severity of virtuous Men, be eaſily diſcountenanced, and by Degrees ſuppreſſed.

However, for the more effectual reforming theſe Men, who are a Diſcredit to the Nation, and unto any Cauſe they pretend to favour and wiſh well to, we require all Mayors, Sheriffs, and Juſtices of Peace, to be very vigilant and ſtrict in the Diſcovery and Proſecution of all diſſolute and prophane Perſons, and ſuch as blaſpheme the Name of God, by prophane Swearing and Curſing, or revile or diſturb Miniſters, and deſpiſe the public Worſhip of God; that being firſt bound to the good Behaviour, they may be further proceeded againſt, and expoſed to Shame in ſuch a Manner as the Laws of the Land, and the juſt and neceſſary Rules of Government, ſhall direct or permit.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, *the Thirtieth Day of* May, *in the Twelfth Year of our Reign*, 1660.

The

The true Copy of a LETTER directed to the Provoſt and Preachers of the City of *Edinburgh*, delivered by an unknown Hand at the Croſs, on *June* 19th, 1660, in the Time of the ſolemnizing the proclaiming of his ſacred Majeſty *Charles* II. fully diſcovering the horrid Treacheries of the Lord Marquis of *Argyll* and his Accomplices. To which is added an ACT of the *Weſt-Kirk*, dated *Auguſt* 13th, 1650.

Publiſhed by a Worthy Hand.

Printed in the Year 1660.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVE you but a due Reflection on the Buſineſs you are about, with the Place and Poſture you are in, you cannot but call to Mind the rebellious Band of *Iſrael*, who deſpiſing Authority, having forged the molten Image, and moulded the Calf of Perdition, ſate down to eat and drink, and roſe up to be merry. The Occaſion of your Jollity, as it doth reſemble the Morning Beams cheriſhing the Creatures, and delivering them from the drowſy Shades, and irkſome Furrows of an auſtere and tedious Night, ſo ought your Reſentment to have been like the Sun in the Meridian, conſuming the Vapours, and rendering the Sky ſerene on each Hand.

Gentlemen, I know you have long laboured of this Birth, and now are brought to bed of a Mole, or rather a Monſter, with the Face of a Man, the Heart of a Hog, and the Feet of a Boar. You call this a *Day of Thankſgiving*, and Reaſon it ſhould be ſo, for the Love of God manifeſted in the happy and peaceable Reſtoration of the moſt mighty, virtuous, and wiſeſt of Princes, the Glory of *Great Britain*, and Terror of its Foes; the Delight of the Living, and Joy of the Dead, loyal, and afflicted Subjects, the Avenger of innocent Blood: But which is the Peace-offering? Where is that Sorrow or Sadneſs of Heart for our former Rebellions, can only impregnate ſuch Actions? You have been pretending to praiſe God at the Church in the Forenoon, and now to rejoice in the King at the Croſs in the Afternoon, where is the Burnt-offering, the Atonement of the Day, the propitiatory Sacrifice of Submiſſion and Satisfaction, ſhould render the Work pleaſing to God, and acceptable to his Anointed? Which of you hath ſearched his Conſcience, and found the *Tekel* of God, who wills the Double-minded to purge their Hearts, and the bloody Men to purge their Hands? Who is it among you hath with Candour expreſſed his Deteſtation of the Treaſons raiſed and fomented againſt the unparalleled, and ever-bleſſed Martyr *Charles* I. *anno* 1637, by convening and combining his Subjects

jects againſt him, proteſting, declaring, and oppoſing his Royal Authority; the baſe and treacherous Aſſociation with the Rebels in *England anno* 1643, contrary to the Oath of God, and our ſpecial Engagements; the calling him from *Oxford* to the *Scots* Army *anno* 1646, under Pretext of owning his Intereſt; the perfidious Reſtraint and infamous Merchandize of his ſacred Perſon to his Murderers for a Piece of Money, the damnable Maſſacre of many innocent Souls, after Quarter and public Faith in the *Highlands*, becauſe of their Loyalty in the ſame Year; the proud malicious Oppoſition made againſt his Deliverance *anno* 1648; the moſt ignoble Call and Combination with the execrable Regicide *Oliver Cromwell*; the horrid Treaty at the Lady *Home*'s Lodging, anent the taking away of his Life; the ignominious Surrender of the Liberty of the Nation into the Hands of Strangers; the cogging Papers and Proteſtations, paſſed at his Trial *anno* 1649, and the deteſtable Connivance at his Murder; the unhallowed Act at the *Weſt-Kirk*, diſowning our preſent mighty and magnanimous Sovereign *anno* 1650, after he was trained in the Snares of his Enemies; the ſhameful Declaration preſented to his Majeſty at that time; the hard and unnatural Uſage of him by ſome, during his Abode amongſt us: In fine, the godleſs Compliance with the Vipers of the Throne *anno* 1652, and ſince to his happy and acceptable Re-union, making Havock of Conſcience, gratifying the Wicked with the Portion of the Righteous, in favour of your only fixed Principle (to ſome of you of the Miniſtry I ſpeak) your Stipend the ſole Impulſive of theſe unwarrantable Actings, ſtand now like Vizards on your Faces: Pretend what you will, it was that, and nothing but that, made you, at one Throw, play away the Intereſt of the King, the Country, and your Kirk, and all the preſented Duties of your Covenant; in purſuance of which, have you not killed Kings, and ſhed the Blood of Princes, ſent many poor Souls to the Grave, and made your native Soil groan with Captivity? I am not ignorant of your juggling Precepts, giving us to believe, that your not praying for his Majeſty, your cloſing with his Murderers, reſigning into the Hands of the Tyrant the Collation of Benefices, you had by Force wreſted from our lawful Sovereign; your vile Submiſſion and blaſphemous Petitions in the Day of Trial (all which I ſhall, at more Convenience, make known to the World) giving us to believe, were in order to the Preſervation of the Goſpel, the Removal whereof was threatened, ſay you, than which there is nothing more falſe; for it cannot be expected, that thoſe who licenſed, nay authoriſed Coblers, Tinkers, and ſuch, to preach the Goſpel, would ever have ſtopped an ordinanced Miniſtry: No, no, the Matter is higher, you ſhould have had Liberty to preach as oft, and as much as you would; but no Benefice, unleſs according to the Temper of the Time: Where is, I ſay, your Sorrow and Submiſſion for theſe and the like? In place whereof, do not your Churches ring with Rebellion, and your Tables ſtream with Blood? Do not the fruitful Ecchoes of this Day's Treaſon, ſpued out in your Pulpits, reſound to ſeventy and a hundred Fold in the Streets, which makes the World to ſay, you have this Day chriſtened your Hypocriſy *de novo*, and called the King for your Godfather.

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, I am loth to interrupt your Frolic further, with thoſe doleful Mementos; wherefore, I will once more, and once for all, put you in Mind of the Opening of the fifth Seal of the Viſion of St. *John*, where the Souls of them that were ſlain for the Word of God, and the Teſtimony they held, called from below the Altar for Judgment and Vengeance on thoſe that dwell on the Earth; O forget not, forget not, the Blood lyeth under your Table: Was it not there you firſt proteſted againſt the Honour and Authority of the holy Martyr *Charles*, never to be forgot? Where was it but there you ſhed the Blood of War in Peace, killed and cut down his Majeſty's good Subjects? Does not yourſelf now ſtand, where you barbarouſly butchered the loyal and renowned Marquis of *Montroſe*; and not content with that, but as the *Ætas conſiſtentiæ* of Treaſon had been in your Time, and Rebellion its Pitch and Fulneſs of Stature in your Perſons, Did you not hang up the Commiſſion of our preſent dread Sovereign about his Neck, thereby ſtriking at the very Root of Monarchy and Intereſt of his ancient Inheritance? What worſe Entertainment could the commoneſt Thief and bloodieſt Murderer in the Nation, being out of your Hands, have found amongſt you, than to have been hanged in Effigy? Kings their Charters are their Images, and their Plenipotentiaries their lively Portraits; theſe be the Dregs of the Wine of the Wrath of the Fornication of *Babylon*, through the Abundance of whoſe Delicacies, many have waxed rich, and with whom Multitudes have committed Abomination: Now ſhe is fallen, and become the Habitation of Devils, ſhe that by her Sorceries did deceive the Nations, is now become the Hold of unclean Spirits, and in her is found the Blood of the Prophets, the Saints, and many ſlain; now ſhe is thrown down with Violence, and double ſhall be given unto her, according to her Works; therefore I adviſe you to come out of her, leſt you alſo partake of her Plagues. It is never too late to repent while we are here; there is Fulneſs of Grace with the Almighty, and abundance of Mercy with the King; humble yourſelves before his Majeſty's Feet, that you may be ſigned with the Seal of the Living, and eſcape the Fury of the deſtroying Angels.

Gentlemen, I do freely proteſt, I intend no Prejudice or Reproach to any penitent Subject; therefore I will expect a favourable Conſtruction of this Addreſs, made allenerly for rouſing the Conſciences of ſuch, whoſe Overthrow ſeems to be ſealed up in the Hardneſs of their Hearts, and whoſe Converſion ſhall be much in the Prayers of

June 19th, 1660.

Your loving Friend in God, and the King.

Weſt-Kirk, the 13th Day of *Auguſt*, 1650.

THE Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly conſidering that there may be juſt Ground of ſtumbling, from the King's Majeſty's refuſing to ſubſcribe and emit the Declaration offered unto him by the Committee of Eſtates, and Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly, concerning his former Carriage, and Reſolutions for the future, in Reference to the Cauſe of God, and the Enemies and Friends thereof, doth therefore declare, That this Kirk and Kingdom doth not own nor eſpouſe any malignant Party, or Quarrel or Intereſt, but that they fight merely upon their former Grounds and Principles, and in the Defence and Cauſe of God and of the Kingdom, as they have done theſe twelve Years paſt: And therefore, as they do declaim all the Sin and Guilt of the King, and of his Houſe, ſo they will not own him nor his Intereſt, otherwiſe than with a Subordination to God, and ſo far as he owns and proſecutes the Cauſe of God, and diſclaims his and his Father's Oppoſition to the Work of God and to the Covenant, and likewiſe all the Enemies thereof; and that they will, with convenient Speed, take in Conſideration the Papers lately ſent unto them from *Oliver Cromwell*, and vindicate themſelves from all the Falſhoods contained therein, eſpecially in thoſe Things wherein the Quarrel betwixt us and that Party is miſ-ſtated, as if we owned the late King's Proceeding, and were reſolved to proſecute and maintain his preſent Majeſty's Intereſt before, and without Acknowledgment of the Sins of his Houſe and former Ways, and Satisfaction to God's People in both Kingdoms.

13th *Auguſt*, 1650. A. KER.

THE Committee of Eſtates having ſeen and conſidered a Declaration of the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, anent the ſtating of the Quarrel, wherein the Army is to fight, do approve the ſame, and heartily concur therein.

THO. HENDERSON.

To

To the Right Honourable the Commons of *England* aſſembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition of Sir JOHN STAWELL.

SHEWETH,

THAT by a Certificate made by the High Court of Juſtice upon Trial of his Life, which was directed to, and read in Parliament the 10th of *June*, 1651, as alſo by a Judgment paſt on the 15th of *Auguſt*, 1653, for the Reſtitution of his Eſtate, it appears, that your Petitioner hath good Right to the Articles of *Exeter*, dated the 8th of *April*, 1646, and that he hath performed all that was on his Part by the ſaid Articles required, notwithſtanding which ſaid Articles (importing a Contract and Bargain made, not to be voided as he humbly conceives in common Right and Juſtice, but by his own Conſent) your Petitioner hath been hitherto debarred the Benefit of them, his Perſon impriſoned ever ſince the Year 1646, nothing allowed unto him out of his own, for the Space of many Years to afford him his daily Bread; himſelf, during that Time, ſeveral Times tried for his Life; his good Name, by ſcandalous Letters, and Impeachments of Felony and High Treaſon, defamed; his Eſtate totally ſold; divers Judgments recovered againſt him for Things relating to the unhappy Differences; his Family ruined, deſtroyed, and brought to the extremeſt Point of Miſery; and the public Faith, Honour and Juſtice of the late Parliament, Army, and Nation in general, highly ſcandalized, contrary to their honourable, juſt, and equitable Intentions, declared by ſeveral Acts, Orders, and Ordinances, made for the Relief of ſuch as claim the Benefit of Articles, and contrary to the Order and Judgment of the Court of Articles, appointed by them to hear and determine Cauſes of that Nature. All which Miſeries and Preſſures were brought upon him originally by means of Mr. *John Aſh* (Chairman of the Committee of *Goldſmiths-Hall*, when your Petitioner firſt appeared to make tender of his Compoſition) who coveting the Farm at *Aubery* (Part of your Petitioner's Eſtate) and having conferred with Sir *Edward Baynton* touching the ſame, did in the firſt Place, upon untrue Suggeſtions made to the Parliament, procure the Benefit of your Petitioner's Compoſition before it was ſet: And having gotten by this Means a kind of Intereſt in his Eſtate, did unjuſtly calumniate your Petitioner before his Admittance to the Committee, who were Strangers unto him; and when he was admitted, the ſaid Mr. *Aſh* told him, That the Petition delivered by him was a Remonſtrance, not a Petition, wherein he had rejected the Parliament's Mercy offered him in his Articles, and had put a Contempt upon the Authority of Parliament; and did, at the ſame time, obtrude Oaths upon him, contrary to the ſaid Articles; upon Refuſal of which, and the Judgment which Mr. *Aſh* had paſſed upon his Petition, his Compoſition was denied unto him; and the ſaid Mr. *Aſh*, together with Mr. *John Leech* (then Clerk to the ſaid Committee) did in a few Days after, by the Entry of a falſe Record,

contrive a Way how your Petitioner might forfeit both Life and Eſtate together, in caſe he ſhould refuſe to part with the ſaid Eſtate, when the Sale thereof ſhould be propoſed unto him; and becauſe this could not be well effected but by Authority of the then Parliament, to bring him to a Tryal for his Life, a Report was made to the Houſe of Commons by M. *John Stephens* (who was not preſent when your Petitioner firſt appeared) to the ſame Senſe that the Words were formerly delivered by Mr. *Aſh* (viz.) *That your Petitioner had ſlighted and contemned the Authority of the then Parliament, and forfeited their Mercy contained in the Articles of* Exeter; together with this Addition in the Cloſe thereof, *That if they did not make Sir* John Stawell *a Trayton, Sir* John Stawell *had made them Traytors*, ſtrangely interpreting the Petition preferred by him to obtain the Benefit of his Articles, to be a Forfeiture of them, and a Contempt of that Authority which gave a Confirmation unto them: Upon which Report, the Houſe was pleaſed on the 18th of *Auguſt*, 1646, to command your Petitioner to be brought from *Ely* Houſe (where he was kept a Priſoner by the Mittimus of Mr. *Aſh* and ſome others) to *Weſtminſter*, where Mr. *Aſh* (coming ſeveral Times, under Pretence of Kindneſs, to viſit him, whilſt he was in the Cuſtody of his Keepers) at laſt propoſed unto him the Sale of the ſaid Farm, offering for it not half of that it coſt your Petitioner; and upon his Refuſal thereof, your Petitioner was forthwith brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, and from thence was committed to *Newgate*, and ordered to be tried for his Life as a Traytor, and was (by Indictment removed by *Certiorari* out of the County of *Somerſet*) ſeveral Mornings tried for his Life at the then *King's-Bench* Bar accordingly.

That the Parliament being thus incenſed againſt your Petitioner, the Deſign to deſtroy him was droven on (as he conceives upon the ſame Inſtigation) by the Committee appointed for drawing up the Act touching Delinquents, who on the 13th of *March*, 1648, did reſolve, *That your Petitioner ſhould be preſented to the Houſe as a Perſon formerly excepted for Life, and then in Cuſtody, and that it ſhould be referred to the Houſe, whether to proceed againſt him by way of Trial for Life, perpetual Impriſonment, or Baniſhment, and Confiſcation*; whereupon it was reſolved by the Houſe the Day following, being the 14th of *March* (upon a Report made by Sir *Arthur Hazelrig*, who was one of the ſaid Committee, and preſent when the Reſolve was made) *that he ſhould be proceeded againſt for Life in the Upper Bench*: And the Commiſſioners of *Haberdaſhers-Hall* (of whom Sir *Arthur Hazelrig* was likewiſe one, and preſent) on the 18th of *March*, 1649, did make a Reſolve, *That your Petitioner ſhould be one of thoſe named to the Houſe, whoſe Eſtate was thought fit to be ſold*; and your Petitioner's Eſtate hath been ſold accordingly.

That on the 9th of *July*, 1650, a ſpecial Act was publiſhed for the Tryal of your Petitioner, and ſome others, at the High Court of Juſtice (a Court not formerly known in *England*, till introduced by Mr. *Liſle*, Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Millington*, Mr. *Garland*, Mr. *Miles Corbet*, Mr. *Saye*, and ſome others.) And by the ſaid Act it was declared (as a Ground for the Court Proceedings) *That your Petitioner was not admitted to Compoſition*; which Averment, as it was much inſiſted on by Mr. *Prideaux* (then Attorney-General) to the extreme Hazard of

of your Petitioner's Life; ſo thereby it clearly appears, that the Parliament (giving Credit to the ſaid Reports made by their own Members, and ſuppoſeing that in Truth your Petitioner had either forfeited the Benefit of his Articles, or been an excepted Perſon for Life) did purſue their Reſolves formerly made on the 14th of *March*, 1648. And at the Time of your Petitioner's Tryal upon the ſaid Act, the ſaid Mr. *Aſh*, Mr. *Leech*, and ſome others, endeavoured by falſe Oaths, urging the ſaid falſe Record againſt him; Concealment of the Petition he firſt preferred to be admitted to his Compoſition; and by other indirect Practices (according to the Deſign aforeſaid) to deprive him of his Life, and to render (as much as in them lay) the Parliament itſelf (which is the very Fountain of Juſtice) inſtrumental to the Deſtruction of the Innocent.

And your Petitioner further ſheweth, That by the Judgment of the ſaid Court of Articles, he was to be admitted to compound for his whole Eſtate, both Real and Perſonal, according to the Tenor of the ſaid Articles, notwithſtanding any the Settlements, Sales, or Contracts thereof made, at ſuch Rates, and in ſuch manner, as others comprized within the ſaid Articles have done: And that the Commiſſioners for compounding with Delinquents, were alſo thereby enabled, authorized, and required to permit your Petitioner to compound for his whole Eſtate as aforeſaid: And in reſpect of the great Loſſes, and extreme Damages which your Petitioner had ſuſtained by the Sequeſtration and Detention of his Eſtate, and the Profits received out of it, for above ſeven Years laſt paſt (before the Date of the ſaid Decree) and by felling of his Woods and Timber, and otherwiſe for want of being admitted to a timely Compoſition, the ſaid Court did order and direct the ſaid Commiſſioners to cauſe an exact Account to be made of the Rents, Iſſues, and Profits received for, or out of his Eſtate, ſince he firſt ſubmitted to Compoſition, recommending to their Conſiderations the Proofs before taken in the ſaid Cauſe, Copies whereof atteſted by the Regiſter, were for that Purpoſe to be preſented unto them: And if the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhould find the ſame to amount unto, or exceed the Fine or Compoſition which your Petitioner ought to have paid according to the Rate preſcribed and allowed by the ſaid Articles, then the ſame to be allowed and accepted in lieu and full Satisfaction of the ſaid Fine ſo impoſed upon him, or to be ſatisfied by your Petitioner, according to his ſaid Articles, otherwiſe the Defect (if any were) to be ſupplied by him; and that if any Surpluſage, or Overplus remained, the ſaid Commiſſioners were ordered and deſired to certify the ſame to the ſaid Court; and upon ſuch Computation, and Satisfaction made as aforeſaid, the ſaid Commiſſioners were thereby further directed and authorized to give their Order for ſuch Acceptance of his Fine and Compoſition, and to give your Petitioner a Diſcharge accordingly; and they were alſo thereby deſired to give him all fitting Expedition in the Premiſſes: And it was alſo further adjudged, and declared by the ſaid Court, that after the making of the ſaid Compoſition, your Petitioner ſhould have the Liberty and Indemnity of his Perſon free from all further Reſtraints, or Impriſonments: And that all Bail, or other Security entred into by him, or any other with him, touching his true Impriſonment, ſhould be delivered up to him and vacated; and alſo that your Petitioner, from and af-

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ter ſuch Compoſition ſhould have the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate freed and diſcharged from all Sequeſtrations and Seizures whatſoever, and enjoy the ſame without any Claim or Demand of the ſaid Truſtees, or the Survivors of them, or their Heirs: And further, that the Truſtees for Sale of Lands and Eſtates forfeited, ſhould upon Sight of the ſaid Order and Award, ſtay and forbear all further Proceedings in the Sale or Diſpoſal of any the Lands or Eſtate of your Petitioner remaining unſold (if any ſuch were): And if any Part of the Monies remained unpaid for any Lands belonging to him, then contracted for and ſold, that they ſhould likewiſe forbear to demand or receive the ſame, or to make any further Proceedings in the ſame, or to intermeddle further therewith, as by the Decree itſelf more fully appears: Notwithſtanding which, ſome of the Commiſſioners for Sequeſtrations, and Truſtees for Sale of Lands and other Perſons have (in further Proſecution of the ſaid Deſign as he humbly conceives) refuſed the Tender made of his Compoſition for his whole Eſtate, by Virtue of the ſaid Judgment, thereby denying him that common Juſtice they were intruſted to adminiſter; defrauded the public Revenue and Treaſure, and deprived him of One Thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* of his Eſtate, unſold after the Judgment of the Court of Articles was duly ſerved upon them, and for which your Petitioner had really compounded, and ſatisfied his Fine, by Colour of antedated Contracts, Orders, and other unjuſt Pretences: All which your Petitioner doubts not, clearly to prove againſt the particular Perſons named, together with ſome others guilty of the ſaid Miſdemeanors, if thereunto admitted.

Now foraſmuch as it appears, that the Proccedings againſt your Petitioner for Life, Liberty and Eſtate were all grounded upon the Miſrepreſentations made as aforeſaid unto the late Parliament (who being of themſelves very ſenſible of all Injuries done unto Articles) were pleaſed to declare by their Act, dated the 18th of *July*, 1649, *That they were concerned in Honour and Juſtice that the Faith of their Armies ſhould be made good, and receive no Violation; and that the Certificates, Orders, and Awards made by the Commiſſioners in that Act named, ſhould be concluſive, binding, and obſerved by all Courts of Juſtice, Commiſſioners, Committees, and Perſons concerned, any Law, Order, or Ordinance to the contrary notwithſtanding.*

And foraſmuch as Acts of Parliament made for the Sale and Forfeiture of Eſtates, contrary to Articles of War (which by the Law of Nations ought inviolably to be kept) have been by the Wiſdom and Juſtice of former Parliaments not only repealed, and made void (as a Caſe very far different from all other Sales whatſoever) but that the late Parliament alſo were honourably pleaſed to provide (not knowing then the Claims that were and might be made unto Articles) *That the Truſtees*, in the firſt Act of Sale named, *ſhould have, hold, and enjoy all and ſingular the Premiſes, ſubject to ſuch Truſts and Uſes as by that Act, or in, or by Authority of Parliament ſhould be thereafter further directed and appointed:* And in purſuance of this Power reſerved to them, and received from them, not only the Commiſſioners of *Worceſter-Houſe*, have granted divers Reprizes for Lands ſold by the firſt Act of Sale (which comprehends your Petitioner's Eſtate) but the Truſtees of *Drury-Houſe*, and Commiſſioners

miſſioners of *Haberdaſhers-Hall* have done the like, upon Judgments given by the Court of Articles, authorizing the ſame.

Your Petitioner therefore moſt humbly prays,

I. That thoſe memorable Acts of Juſtice which have been done by your noble Anceſtors in former Times, as well as thoſe by the late Parliament of a later Date, may be thought worthy of your Conſideration; and that in purſuance of them, the Names of *John Stawell*, and *Edward Stawell* (your Petitioner's two Sons) together with his own, may be blotted out of the ſaid Act of Sale; and that all Entries and Records, that mention him either a Felon, or Traitor, may be ſo cancelled, as to be had no more in Remembrance.

II. That he may be reſtored by Act of Parliament to the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, freed and diſcharged from all Sequeſtrations, Sales, Seizures, Grants, Preſentations, Augmentations, Incumbrances, or other Diſpoſitions whatſoever, made either of the Whole or any Part thereof, ſince the Time his Articles were firſt granted unto him; and that his Eſtate may be excepted out of any general Act which ſhall be paſſed for the Confirmation of Sales.

III. That he may have Liberty and Indemnity for his Perſon; That his Articles, together with the Judgment given thereupon the 15th of *Auguſt*, 1653, may in all Reſpects be made good unto him; and that, according to the ſame, a proportionable Sum, agreeable with his Fine due by his Articles, may be deducted out of 25,000 *l.* mentioned in, and found as Damages by the ſaid Judgment, in lieu of the ſaid Fine for his Compoſition; and that the aforeſaid Judgments recovered againſt him may be nulled and vacated.

IV. That himſelf, and ſuch as he ſhall employ, may (for your clearer Satisfaction touching the whole Matter of his Petition) have Liberty to take a View, and Copies of all Papers, Entries and Records in *Drury-Houſe*, *Gurney-Houſe*, *Haberdaſhers-Hall*, or elſewhere, and of the Treaſurer's Accounts touching the ſame; for that your Petitioner believes a very inconſiderable Sum will appear to have been given (in ready Money) to the Uſe of the Public for his Eſtate, if compared to 63,882 *l.* 18 *s.* 9 *d.* wherewith the Truſtees of *Drury-Houſe* have charged themſelves upon Sale thereof; and that his Cauſe (being more than of a private Concernment) may have the Honour to be heard at your Bar.

V. And laſtly, Foraſmuch as the aforeſaid Offences being in themſelves heinous, are conſidered by the Laws of this Kingdom under a twofold Reſpect; the one, as they relate unto the Public; the other, as they concern the Party grieved; and for that your Petitioner having been noways negligent in the Proſecution of his Right and Relief, hath notwithſtanding had the Profits of his Eſtate ſo many Years detained from him, that according to the Computation of Years, and the exceeding great Waſtes that have been lately made by the Inhabitants of *Taunton*, by plucking down his principal Houſe, deſtroying his Park, Woods, and Timber, and by ſome other Perſons on other Parts of his Eſtate, the Damages, together with the mean Profits thereof, will, upon a true Account, amount to a greater Sum than his Eſtate is now worth, were

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it to be ſold. Your Petitioner therefore moſt humbly prays your Honours, That (ſince his Caſe is the only Caſe that hath met with ſo many unavoidable Evils, as have been formerly mentioned) you would be pleaſed, by your honourable Judgment upon the whole Matter, to afford unto him anſwerable Reparations; and ſecure the Kingdom, for the future, from ſuch Truſtees and Miniſters of Juſtice, as have not known (in your Petitioner's Caſe) how to diſcharge their Oaths and Duties: Or if your more weighty Affairs ſhall not admit a particular Examination of the aforeſaid Offences, whereby his Damages may be the better aſcertained, he humbly prays it may be provided, That no Act of Oblivion, General Pardon, or other Thing, may extend to the freeing of any Perſon or Perſons guilty of the Breach of the ſaid Articles: But that the Perſons aforeſaid, and (in caſe any of them be dead) their Heirs, Executors, and Adminiſtrators, may be liable to ſuch Damages, to be recovered at the Common-Law, as may fully recompence your Petitioner for his very great Loſſes and Sufferings occaſioned by the Breach of them, any Act, Law, Ordinance, or other Thing to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And your Petitioner ſhall ever pray, &c.

JOHN STAWELL.

A BRIEF of the CASE and Title of *George Porter* of *London*, Eſq; unto a Deputation and Management of both the Letter-Offices, together with the Profits thereunto belonging, derived from the Right Honourable *Charles* Lord *Stanhope* Baron of *Harrington*.

THAT the Office of Poſtmaſter-General of the Dominions of *England*, is one of the ancienteſt Offices of *England*.

That the nominating of all Poſtmaſters, and Carriage of all Letters, both Inland and Foreign, both of his Majeſty's and of his Subjects, are Members of, and incident and belonging unto the ſaid Office, together with the Profits and Perquiſites thereby accruing, as appears by ancient Deeds and Cuſtom beyond the Memory of Man.

That *John* Lord *Stanhope* had a Grant of the ſaid Office in the 30th of *Elizabeth*, 1588, under the Broad Seal of *England*; and by himſelf, his Deputy, and Agents, enjoyed the Carriage of all Letters by Poſt, both Foreign and Inland, both of his Majeſty's and of his Subjects, for about forty Years, until he died.

That *Charles* Lord *Stanhope*, who is now living, had a Reverſion of the ſaid Office, and by himſelf, his Deputies, and Agents, enjoyed the Carriage of all Letters

Letters, until he was illegally disturbed by one *Matthew Dequester*, who having been the Lord *Stanhope*'s Deputy for the Carriage of Foreign and *Irish* Letters about twenty Years together, under Pretence of a Grant of a new Office by him obtained, upon untrue Suggestions, *for Services to be done out of the King's Dominions* (a Reversion whereof Mr. *William Witherings* now claims by) by Authority thereof took upon him the Carriage of Foreign Letters.

That in the Year 1624, the said *Charles* Lord *Stanhope* brought his Action against the said *Dequester* for taking upon him the Carriage of Merchants Letters, and receiving Moneys for the Postage thereof from *London* to *Antwerp*, without the Licence, and against the Will of him the said Lord *Stanhope*, who is Postmaster-General, and recovered a Verdict against the said *Dequester*.

That the Parliament, in the 4th of the late King, upon Report of a select Committee, taking Notice of the said *Dequester*'s undue Suggestion for the gaining of the said Patent, *for Services to be done in foreign Parts, out of the King's Dominions*, and of the Lord *Stanhope*'s Verdict again *Dequester*, did declare, and give Judgment against *Dequester*'s said Patent, in favour of the Lord *Stanhope*'s Patent.

That the said *George Porter* hath the Deputation, Management, and Profits of the said Offices during the Life of the said *Charles* Lord *Stanhope*, in due Form of Law settled and confirmed upon him.

That the said *George Porter* his Agent was in Possession of the said Offices at the first assembling of the long Parliament.

That Mr. *Thomas Witherings*, who procured a Reversion of *Dequester*'s Patent, *for Services to be done out of the King's Dominions*, well knowing the Invalidity thereof, made over his Interest unto the Right Honourable *Robert* late Earl of *Warwick*; upon which one Mr. *Pulley* and others, found Means to have a Mail of foreign Letters to be betrayed into their Hands, whereby the said Earl of *Warwick* came to get the Possession of the foreign Letter Office.

Hereupon the said *George Porter* his Agent, was prevailed upon to call in *Edmund Prideaux*, Esq; then a Parliament-man, to protect him in the more sure keeping of the Inland Letter Office, and Recovery of the Foreign from the Earl of *Warwick*; but instead thereof, the said *Edmund Prideaux* removed the Inland Office unto a sequestered House, and took the Profits to himself, saying that he did it by the Liberty of the Subject.

Thereupon the said *George Porter*'s Agent (far before any Undertakers thought thereon) through the Insight he had in the said Offices, being well assured, *That if he undertook to carry Letters thrice a-week, whereas the said* Edmund Prideaux *carried but once*; *and if he did require but* 3 d. *for a single Letter, whereas the said* Edmund Prideaux *took* 6 d. *that there would be sent, for time to come, above six Three-penny Letters for every Six-penny Letter, which had been sent in the said* Prideaux *his Time, resolved upon sending thrice a-week, and instead of* 6 d. *to take but* 3 d. *for a single Letter at the most, and for* Scotland, Ireland, *and foreign Parts accordingly*; with an Intention to have reduced the Rates to 2 *d.* or 1 *d.* a Letter, for the Benefit of Trade and other Correspondencies: And to make more sure Work (as he had Cause to hope) did take the Subscriptions of most considerable Merchants and others, in and about

London, *York*, *Hull*, *Newcaſtle*, *Exeter*, *Plymouth*, *Briſtol*, and other Parts of *Englaad*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and Foreign Parts (which are yet extant to be ſeen) thereby obliging themſelves, ſo far as the Laws of the Land did permit, to ſend all their Letters, both Inland and Foreign, unto the ſaid *George Porter*'s Agent, whenſoever he would undertake the Conveyance of them upon the Terms aforeſaid; and in order thereunto the ſaid *George Porter*'s Agent ſettled Poſtages up and down, from one End of *England* unto the other, provided with ſufficient Number of Poſt-Horſes for this Purpoſe, and made ſeveral Journies into *France*, *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and the *United Provinces*, for treating with his Agents, and ſettling his Correſpondents in Foreign Parts, all at his and their own proper Coſts and Charges; and juſt as he was ready to publiſh the ſame, and give Notice to all Perſons, when, and to what Places they ſhould begin to bring their Letters, the ſaid *Edmund Prideaux* prevailed with the then Convention, by paſſing certain Reſolves to prevent the ſame; but the Improvement of the ſaid Offices being thus diſcovered, and the late Uſurper *Oliver* being informed thereof, did then, and not till then, without ſo much as any pretended Courſe of Law, ſeize both the ſaid Offices into his own Hands.

Object. 1. But if it be ſaid, that the Lord *Stanhope*, in Conſideration of a Sum of Money, hath ſurrendered his Patent, and that in ſuch Caſe, the King or Parliament may appoint another Comptroller or Poſtmaſter-General.

Anſw. It is anſwered, that the Lord *Stanhope* hath often denied to have made any ſuch Surrender; and it doth not appear in Fact that there is ſuch a Surrender, much leſs that there is any Judgment or Verdict in the Caſe, for evidencing that there ever was any ſuch pretended Surrender.

Object. 2. If it be ſaid, that it can be no Prejudice for the Parliament to paſs an Act for his Majeſty's conſtituting of another Comptroller or Poſtmaſter-General, with a Proviſoe for ſaving of all Right and Title unto the ſaid Lord *Stanhope*, and unto all Perſons claiming under him.

Anſw. It is for Anſwer humbly conceived, that ſcarce any Perſon will apprehend it to be agreeable, either to Juſtice or Equity, to have his Office ſettled in the King by Act of Parliament, and by Proviſoe to be put to ſuit to recover the ſame back again; or that any Perſon will be found, who holding either Land or Office from the Crown, whether for Life or Term of Years, will be content to have his Poſſeſſion taken or with-held from him, becauſe he hath improved the ſame, before the ſaid Term of Years or Lives be expired.

Object. 3. If it be ſaid, that the Parliament may now firſt hear and adjudge the Lord *Stanhope*'s Surrender to be real and good, and then diſpoſe of the ſaid Offices, referring the ſaid *George Porter* to take his Remedy at Law againſt the Lord *Stanhope* for having ſo ſurrendered.

Anſw. It is for Anſwer humbly conceived to be a hard Caſe for the ſaid *George Porter* and his Agents, who have done the Service of improving theſe Offices to a Revenue of 21500 *l.* a Year, and of ſaving 5000 *l.* a Year, which till then the Crown was at, to be defeated (by the Lord *Stanhope*'s undue Surrender) of their Labours, Induſtry, and Charges, and not to be relieved

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by a Parliament; eſpecially ſince it is poſſible that another Court may find it to be no good Surrender in Law, or in Equity at leaſt: And laſt of all, although the ſaid Surrender, upon a Trial or Hearing, ſhould prove real, and the ſaid *George Porter* recover Damages, it may poſſibly prove ſo long firſt, through the Lord *Stanhope*'s Peerage, and ſuch other Delays as may be made, as that his Lordſhip, being very aged and infirm, may poſſibly be dead firſt, or his Eſtate be found entailed, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as the ſaid *George Porter* and his Agents may ſtill be left remedileſs until they be relieved in Parliament.

The ſaid George Porter *therefore humbly hopeth and prayeth, that neither himſelf, nor his Agents, may fare the worſe for their having been ingenuous in contriving, and at great Charge in compaſſing ſo great an Improvement of the ſaid Offices, which will come clear unto his Majeſty after the Deceaſe of the ſaid Lord* Stanhope, *who is very aged and infirm; but that either the whole Matter may be heard and determined in Parliament, and that the ſaid* George Porter, *if there be juſt Cauſe, may be relieved by the Juſtice of this Parliament againſt the Lord* Stanhope; *or that the whole Matter be referred to the Law; and that in the mean time it may be permitted unto the ſaid* George Porter, *and his Agents, to enjoy the Benefit of their Labours, Charges, Contrivance, and Improvement; or that they may be otherwiſe ſatisfied for the ſame, before the ſaid Offices be farmed out, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of by Act of Parliament.*

George Porter.

A View of the Fallacies contained in a late printed Paper, intitled, *The Lord* Stanhope's *Caſe and Title to the Office of Poſtmaſter of the Poſts and Meſſengers.*

Hereby alſo may be anſwered Mr. Henry Robinſon's *pretended Claim to the Poſt-Offices, the ſaid Claim being (as he alledgeth) under the Lord* Stanhope.

HOW eaſy a Thing it is for a Man to make his own Caſe ſeem fair and plauſible, and to traduce and caſt a Prejudice upon another Man's; eſpecially where both Parties are Competitors for the ſame Thing, it is no hard Matter to determine.

The Skill and Scope in framing the Lord *Stanhope*'s Caſe, was to prepoſſeſs Men's Belief with this Prejudice, that Mr. *Witherings*, to whom, and to one Mr. *Frizel*, the late Sovereign Lord King *Charles* granted the Office of Poſtage in Foreign Parts, not being within his Majeſty's Dominions, had no Title thereunto, but that the ſame was an Encroachment upon the Lord *Stanhope*'s Patent; and that nothing was granted to Mr. *Witherings* and Mr.

Frizel, but what was before granted to the Lord *Stanhope*; but whether this be ſo or no, is the Queſtion. The Truth of the Lord *Stanhope*'s Caſe, upon View of the ſeveral Patents therein alledged, appears to be no other than as followeth:

Queen *Elizabeth* (20 *Junii*, 32 *Eliz.*) granted the Office of Maſter of the Poſts and Meſſengers, as well within the Kingdom of *England*, as in foreign Parts beyond the Seas within her Dominions to *John* Lord *Stanhope*, Father of the now Lord *Stanhope*, for his Life, with the Fee of one hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and Power to make a Deputy.

John Lord *Stanhope* (25 *July*, 5 *Jac.*) procures a new Patent (upon Surrender of the old one) for the ſame Office unto himſelf and his Son *Charles*, now Lord *Stanhope* (then being an Infant) for their Lives, *viz.* To hold to the Father firſt for his Life, and after his Death, Surrender, or Forfeiture, then to *Charles* the Son, for his Life, with a Fee of one hundred Marks *per Annum*, and Power of Deputation.

Matthew Dequeſter (30 *April*, 17 *Jac.*) obtains a Patent from King *James* of the Poſtmaſter of *England*, for Foreign Parts being out of the King's Dominions, and this to be a ſole Office of itſelf, and not Part or Member of any other Place or Poſtmaſter.

Our late Sovereign Lord (15 *Martii*, 7 *Car.* I.) King *Charles* grants unto *Thomas Witherings* and *William Frizel* the ſame Office for their Lives, after the Determination of *Dequeſter*'s Patent.

Charles Lord *Stanhope*, after the Death of his Father *John* Lord *Stanhope*, complaining to King *James* that *Dequeſter*'s Grant did trench into his Office, his Majeſty referred the Conſideration thereof to *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Mr. Secretary *Calvert*, Mr. Attorney *Coventry*, and Mr. Sollicitor *Heath*, to certify their Opinions; who certified, that the Places and Employments were diſtinct (the Lord *Stanhope*'s) being within the Kingdom, and within his Majeſty's Dominions beyond the Seas, and Mr. *Dequeſter*'s being in Foreign Parts out of the King's Dominions, and that the Lord *Stanhope* had not ſhewed any thing to them to impeach *Dequeſter*'s Grant, but that both the Grants were conſiſtent; and thereupon King *James* confirmed *Dequeſter*'s Grant made 17 *Jacobi*, which Complaint, Reference and Certificate, are recited both in the Confirmation of *Dequeſter*'s Patent, and in the ſaid Patent to *Witherings* and *Frizel*.

Of the ſame Opinion that the Referees certified were divers other learned Lawyers (whereof Three were afterwards Judges) who further alſo declared their Opinions to be, that the Patent to the Lord *Stanhope*, and *Charles* his Son, of the ſaid Office, being an Office of Truſt, and granted to *Charles* Lord *Stanhope*, during his Minority, was void in Law at the Time of the Grant, albeit he attained his Age of one and twenty Years before his Father's Death.

And further it plainly appears by the Record at the Chapel at the Rolls, that the Lord *Stanhope*'s Patent was vacated upon his own Surrender thereof: And becauſe this Truth ſtares every Man in the Face, the ſaid printed Paper (not being able to contradict it) takes Liberty to inſinuate a ſcandalous Accuſation

ſation at once againſt the Lords of the Council, Secretary of State, Clerk of the Council, the King's Attorney, the antienteſt Clerk of the Rolls, and that of no leſs Crimes than Bribery, Forgery, and other ſtrange Practices. This Patent being ſurrendered and void, Mr. *Witherings* having with infinite Pains and Travel, and exceeding great Charge found out the true and exact Way of Correſpondency, not formerly underſtood, obtains a Grant of the Inland * Poſt-Office during his own Life, the Sequeſtration whereof, although it was voted by the Parliament to be illegal, and ought to be taken off; yet by the great Power of Mr. *Prideaux* (who ſlipt into the Execution thereof) the ſaid Mr. *Witherings* was by Force, during ſome Part of the latter End of his Life, deprived of the ſame.

It is true, that *Charles* Lord *Stanhope* ſuppoſing an Encroachment upon his Office, by *Dequeſter*'s Patent, had about the 18th of King *James* brought an Action at Law againſt *Dequeſter*, and by Surprize or other Miſcarriage at the Trial, got a Verdict; but it is as true, that the Plaintiff could never obtain Judgment upon that Trial, although endeavoured by all poſſible Means, admitting it to be true, that the King's Council at Law (upon a Reference to them) certified the Lord *Stanhope*'s Right to the Foreign Office, as is pretended in the ſaid printed Caſe of the Lord *Stanhope*; yet ſtill that is to be intended to extend only to the Foreign Parts within the King's Dominions, and not to the Foreign Parts without the King's Dominions. (24 *Jan.* 4 *Car.* I.) The like may be ſaid of the pretended Vote in Parliament, which was long Time before the Grant to *Witherings*.

By this which hath been ſaid, it will eaſily appear what Art was uſed in framing the Lord *Stanhope*'s ſaid printed Caſe: But further, to take away all Scruple and Pretence whatſoever, let the Patents themſelves ſpeak their own Language. It will be expedient therefore to ſet down the very Words of the ſeveral Grants.

And firſt the Words of the Grant made by the Queen (20 *Jan.* 32 *Eliz.*) are *Officium Magiſtri Nunciorum & Curſorum communiter vocatum Poſtarum noſtrarum tam infra Regnum noſtrum Angliæ, quam in quibuſcunque aliis partibus tranſmarinis in noſtro Domino exiſtentibus.* The very ſame Words are uſed in the Grant made to *John* Lord *Stanhope*, and *Charles* his Son, which Words (25 *Julii*, 5 *Jac.*) (as appears to every ſenſible Man) "extend not to all Foreign "Parts beyond the Seas (as is ſuggeſted by the ſaid printed Caſe) but do "reſtrain and limit the ſaid Grant to all ſuch Foreign Parts only as are within "the King's Dominions. Now the Words of the Grant made to † *Thomas* "*Witherings* and *William Frizel* are theſe, *viz. The Office or Place of Poſtmaſter* "*of* England, *for Foreign Parts, being out of the Dominions of us, our Heirs* "*and Succeſſors*;" which Words do in no wiſe trench upon the Grant to the Lord *Stanhope*, but do very clearly diſtinguiſh the ſeveral Grants, certainly this muſt needs be a wilful Miſtake, if the Compoſer of the printed Caſe had ever

* In *April*, 13 *Car.* I. the Inland Poſt-Office was then new erected, and called *The Letter Office of* England.

† 'Tis unneceſſary, otherwiſe much more might be ſaid upon ſearching Records, and tracing the Lord *Stanhope*'s ſeveral Proceedings in 1642 and 1645, and other Times before or ſince in Parliament, and other Places and Courts.

conſulted

conſulted with the Patents; but it may well be conjectured that he never ſaw them, but took the Matter up upon Truſt; and the rather, becauſe the Dates of all the ſaid Grants are quite miſtaken in the printed Caſe, beſides divers other Miſpriſions therein committed.

The continual Claim of the Lord *Stanhope* is by the printed Paper made to be a great Argument of the Truth of the pretended foul Practice therein alledged to be put in Execution againſt him: But ſurely it is a far better Argument againſt his Title, that notwithſtanding ſuch continual Claim, and all Endeavours uſed, the Lord *Stanhope* could never be thought fit to be reſtored upon any Addreſs, either to the Lords of the Council to his Majeſty, or to the Parliament and other Courts, before any of which it cannot (without great and bold Preſumption) be imagined he ſhould not (upon juſt Cauſe) have been relieved.

Now though *William Witherings* never claimed any Thing in the Inland Office, by reaſon the Intereſt thereof determined upon the Death of *Thomas Witherings*, and is now in the Diſpoſition of his Majeſty, yet he propoſeth theſe Lines to vindicate his own Right to the Foreign Poſt-Office, in regard the Inſinuations of the ſaid printed Paper have a Tendency to prejudice his Right, of which he humbly hopes there will be a juſt and tender Care had.

Thomas Lea, Rector of *Newton*, in the Iſle of *Ely*, his CASE.

THE ſaid Mr. *Lea* being undone by the horrid Rebellion in *Ireland*, came over into *England* with *Theophilus* late Biſhop of *Dromore*, and was ſettled Lecturer of *Wiſbech* in the Iſle of *Ely*.

March 14, 1643, by an Order from the Committee for the Aſſociation at *Cambridge*, he was ejected and baniſhed *Wiſbech* and the Iſle of *Ely* after nine Weeks Impriſonment, upon theſe Articles.

I. At the Battle of *Gainſborough* he ſpoke diſgracefully of Colonel *Cromwell*, that he turned his Horſe's Head, and bid every Man ſhift for himſelf.

II. That about a Month after he drank Prince *Rupert*'s Health.

III. That he procured a ſtrange Miniſter to preach, who prayed for the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Princely Iſſue.

IV. When he heard one *Stoneham*, in his Sermon there, ſay, The Common Prayer began with a Lye, he turned to the Text in *Ezekiel*, and ſhewed it to one Mr. *Buckworth*, and wreſted that Scripture.

V. When afterwards *Stoneham* preached and ſaid, It was now a lightſome Time, but the Times of the Biſhops were like a Candle of Twenty in the Pound, all weak; at which Mr. *Lea* laughed.

VI. Mr. *Lea* preaching at *Wiſbech* ſpoke againſt breaking down of Images in the Church Windows.

About

About ſeven Years ſince he was preſented to the Rectory of *Newton* in the Iſle of *Ely*, of which he is now in Poſſeſſion.

A Month before his Majeſty came into *England* laſt, and ever ſince, he hath conſtantly read and obſerved the Liturgy of the Church of *England* in the ſame Pariſh.

He is now Chaplain to the Lord *Townſhend* of *Lyn-Regis* in *Norfolk*, and hath made ſeveral Applications to the Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, by his Friends, and by ſeveral Petitions to be confirmed in the ſaid Rectory, which is refuſed.

He humbly prayeth, that by the Equity of this Honourable Houſe of Commons his Proviſo to the Act for confirming the Miniſters Bill now to paſs may be added.

The Long Parliament revived: or, An Act for Continuation, and the not diſſolving the Long Parliament (called by King *Charles* the Firſt, in the Year 1640) but by an Act of Parliament; with undeniable Reaſons deduced from the ſaid Act to prove that that Parliament is not yet diſſolved. Alſo Mr. *William Pryn* his five Arguments fully anſwered; whereby he endeavours to prove it to be diſſolved by the King's Death, *&c.*

By Tho. Philips, *Gentleman, a ſincere Lover of his King and Country.*

Printed in the Year 1660.

Anno 17 Caroli Regis.

An Act to prevent Inconveniencies which may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or diſſolving of this preſent Parliament.

WHereas great Sums of Money muſt of Neceſſity be ſpeedily advanced and provided for Relief of his Majeſty's Army and People in the Northern Parts of this Realm, and for preventing the imminent Danger this Kingdom is in, and for Supply of other his Majeſty's preſent and urgent Occaſions, which cannot be ſo timely effected as is requiſite, without Credit for raiſing the ſaid Moneys; which Credit cannot be obtained until ſuch Obſtacles be firſt removed, as are occaſioned by Fears, Jealouſies, and Apprehenſions of divers his Majeſty's loyal Subjects; that this preſent Parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved before Juſtice ſhall be duly executed upon Delinquents; public Grievances redreſſed; a firm Peace between

between the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland* concluded; and before, ſufficient Proviſion be made for the Re-payment of the ſaid Monies ſo to be raiſed. All which the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled having duly conſidered, do therefore humbly beſeech your moſt excellent Majeſty, that it may be declared and enacted.

And be it declared and enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the Aſſent of the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, that this preſent Parliament, now aſſembled, ſhall not be diſſolved, unleſs it be by Act of Parliament to be paſſed for that Purpoſe: Nor ſhall be at any Time or Times, during the Continuance thereof, prorogued, or adjourned, unleſs it be by Act of Parliament to be likewiſe paſſed for that Purpoſe. And that the Houſe of Peers ſhall not at any Time or Times, during this preſent Parliament, be adjourned, unleſs it be by themſelves, or by their own Order: And in like manner, that the Houſe of Commons ſhall not at any Time, or Times, during this preſent Parliament, be adjourned, unleſs it be by themſelves, or by their own Order. And that all, and every Thing, and Things, whatſoever done, or to be done, for the Adjournment, Proroguing, or Diſſolving of this preſent Parliament, contrary to this Act, ſhall be utterly void, and of none Effect.

The Long Parliament revived.

TO the end the Peace of this Nation may be eſtabliſhed upon a firm and laſting Foundation, and that after one Shipwreck, hardly eſcaped, we run not blindfold again upon a more fatal and irrecoverable Rock of Confuſion; the Author of this ſmall Paper (out of tender Compaſſion to his native Country, and with all humble Reſpects of due Allegiance and Honour to his Royal Majeſty that now is) hath thought fit (with the premiſed Act of Parliament) to offer ſome few Arguments to the World, naturally flowing from the Authority and Reaſon of it; which, if timouſly hearkened to, may yet prove a healing Remedy againſt the ſad Breaches of this ſhattered Kingdom, and prevent thoſe other Miſchiefs, which the Obſtinacy of injudicious and ſelf-willed Perſons will inevitably bring upon themſelves and us: And if convincing Reaſon may bear the Sway in this perverſe Age, wherein every Man would make his petty private Deſigns to be his Law, rather than common Equity, or the eſtabliſhed Law of the Nation, he doubts not of the deſired Succeſs he aims at, with God's Bleſſing, in this enſuing Diſcourſe.

That the Safety and Happineſs of this Kingdom lies in Parliaments rightly conſtituted, and in the Preſervation of their juſt and lawful Privileges, I ſuppoſe there are none, of what different Judgments ſoever in other Things, who are Subjects of this Nation, and of ſober Principles, but will readily grant it; and if ſo, the contrary thereunto will then, without doubt, as eaſily be concluded.

Which Maxim being yielded in Reference to other Parliaments, it muſt, in Proportion, hold as true in relation to the Long Parliament, called by the late King *Charles* the Firſt, of bleſſed Memory, in the Year 1640; whoſe

Being

Being and Legal Authority is ſtill ſo viſibly exiſtent, by Virtue of the foremen-tioned Act, that when the Subjects of this Nation have ſeriouſly conſidered of it, they will doubtleſs ſee they have no Reaſon to hold themſelves ſafe in their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, till it have made Proviſion in that behalf, and it be legally diſſolved according to the Tenor of the ſaid Act, by Act of Parliament for that Purpoſe.

And therefore, being that ſo great a Diſ-ſecurity to the Subjects, and the Peace of the Kingdom, is incumbent hereupon (as who doth not evidently perceive it, in caſe that Parliament is yet in its legal Force and Being) how much doth it concern every Subject of this Nation to be groundedly ſatisfied in this Particular, by a ſolid anſwering of thoſe Objections that ſeem to militate againſt the Verity of this Aſſertion: That Men's Minds may be ſettled, together with the Peace of the Nation, upon a ſure Foundation of Law and Righteouſneſs, and we may not, like the Waves of the Sea, be ſtill fluctuating to and fro in Doubts and Uncertainties, by the divers Winds of Men's contrary Judgments and Opinions, to the continual Hazard of our deareſt Concernments.

To evidence the ſtill legal Being of that foreſaid Parliament, the Act ſpeaks ſufficiently for itſelf, in plain and expreſs Terms; yet to make it more clear, theſe following Arguments, from the Act itſelf, and the Title of it, doth more apparently evince it.

1. To begin with the Title; which is, *An Act to prevent Inconveniencies that may happen by the untimely Adjourning, Proroguing, or Diſſolving of this preſent Parliament*; which Inconveniencies are ſpecified in the following Preamble of the ſaid Act, whereof chiefly one is this: *Leſt Credit ſhould not be obtained for raiſing of Monies for Relief of his Majeſty's Army, and People in the North, and for Supply of other his Majeſty's preſent and urgent Occaſions, through the continued Fears of the Subjects, leſt the Parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, before ſufficient Proviſion be made for Re payment of the ſaid Monies to be raiſed.* In which Words there are two Things principally to be conſidered, in Reference to the Intent and Meaning of this Act, why it was made.

Firſt, For the obtaining of Credit, in order to the raiſing of conſiderable Sums of Money for Supply of the King's, and Kingdom's great Neceſſities; which could never have been done (as by the Act itſelf is ſuppoſed) had not this Act been made, it being the only Ground and Foundation of Encouragement for the Credit which was to be given in order to the raiſing of the ſaid Monies, and did accordingly effect it.

Secondly, The Parliament could not without this be in any ſecure Condition to make Proviſion for the Re-payment of the ſaid Money ſo to be raiſed, in regard that through Defect of ſuch an Act, the Parliament might be in continual Danger to be untimely diſſolved, (and by the clear Scope of the Act, 'tis accounted an untimely Diſſolution, if diſſolved before the ſaid Proviſion be made) therefore the Diſſolution of the ſaid Parliament before ſuch Proviſion made for Re-payment of the ſaid Monies, which is not yet done, is expreſly contrary to the true Meaning and Intention of this Act.

And if this Act were made purpoſely to prevent the untimely Diſſolution of the Parliament (as it ſtands expreſs in the Title) then it cannot but have Reſpect to the King's Death, as well as to any other Means of untimely Diſſolution; the Parliament well knowing the King's Life was as uncertain, yea, in ſome reſpects more uncertain, than the Life of other Men, and therefore could not chuſe but ſo underſtand it, if they intend this Act to be any Security for the Monies borrowed, or to be borrowed upon their Credit.

Secondly, In the Subſtance and Body of the Act, 'tis delivered in expreſs Terms, *That this preſent Parliament ſhall not be diſſolved but by an Act of Parliament.* Whence it follows, that if not diſſolvable, unleſs by an Act of Parliament, then it is excluſive to all other Ways and Means of Diſſolution (as the Interruption by armed Violence, the forceable Omiſſion of Days of Adjournment, the violent, or natural Death of the King) or whatſoever elſe might be done, or have happened legally to diſſolve it, had not this Act been made or conſtituted.

Thirdly and *Laſtly*, To make all clear, without any Execution, in the Cloſe of the ſaid Act, it is expreſſed, *That all and every Thing and Things whatſoever done, or to be done, for the Adjourning, Proroguing, or Diſſolving of this preſent Parliament, contrary to this Act, ſhall be utterly void and of none Effect.* Which Clauſe you ſee looks backward and forwards in Reference to whatſoever had a legal Power and Tendency before this Act to diſſolve the Parliament. Againſt which, this Act hath fully provided, That neither what hath been done for the Time paſt, nor whatſoever ſhall be done for Time to come, ſhall diſſolve this Parliament, excepting an Act of the ſaid Parliament. Whence I argue, That all thoſe Things that otherwiſe legally would or might have diſſolved this Parliament, had not this Act been made, have no Force or Efficacy to diſſolve this, but only an Act of this preſent Parliament, all other Parliaments having no legal Capacity till this be legally diſſolved, unleſs it be granted, that two Parliaments may have both of them legal Capacity at one and the ſame Time; which I believe there are none ſo abſurd as to aver; no more than two Kings may have a legal Capacity at one Time in the ſame Kingdom.

But becauſe there are divers Objections that ſeem to oppoſe the Premiſes, and the legal Being and Capacity of the ſaid Parliament, I ſhall endeavour to anſwer them as ſtrongly, and yet as briefly as I may, to every ordinary Reader's Underſtanding.

The firſt and grand Objection of all is the Death of the late King that ſummoned this Parliament in the Year 1640, and is argued by Mr. * *William Pryn*; becauſe, ſaith he, *it had been frequently reſolved by Parliaments themſelves, the reverend Judges, and our Law-Books, by King* Charles's *own Declaration, and his Judges and Council, that the Depoſition and Death of the King doth actually diſſolve the Parliament*, &c.

To which I anſwer, by way of Conceſſion, that the Death of the King doth legally, or according to Cuſtom, diſſolve a Parliament that is only called

* See his true and perfect Narrative of what was done and ſpoken by and between Mr. *Pryn* and the old, and newly forcibly ſecluded Members, beginning fol. 24, and forwards. Printed in the Year 1659.

and

and conſtituted by the King's Writ; but not a Parliament conſtituted and confirmed by an Act of the three Eſtates. Let Mr. *Pryn*, or any other Lawyer, ſhew me any Law or Precedent to that Purpoſe, and I will preſently yield the Cauſe.

If Mr. *Pryn* would have ſpoken home to this Caſe, he ſhould have made it appear where, or when, it had been reſolved by Parliament, the Judges, and our Law Books, *&c.* that in caſe of an Act of Parliament made for the Seſſion, and Continuance of a Parliament, till they ſhould diſſolve themſelves by an Act, that ſuch a Parliament hath been, or ſhall nevertheleſs be diſſolved by the King's Death, which it is believed he will find a very hard Taſk to prove.

Secondly, he objects, *The Parliament is no ſtanding Court, ſitting at certain Seaſons by poſitive Laws, but ſummoned and conſtituted by the King's Writ of Summons and Royal Prerogative, when, and where he pleaſeth, and adjourned, prorogued, and diſſolved by his Writ alone in point of Law*, &c.

I anſwer again, by way of Conceſſion, that Parliaments, according to their wonted and by-paſt Cuſtoms, were no certain Courts, ſitting at certain Seaſons by poſitive Law; but yet may be made ſuch by Act of the three Eſtates. Witneſs the Triennial Parliament.

And further, by an extraordinary Grant of his late Majeſty, this Parliament was made a ſtanding Court to ſit conſtantly by a poſitive Law, till they ſhould pleaſe to diſſolve themſelves, he having been pleaſed by the ſaid Grant, for the better Security of his Subjects, to wave his Royal Prerogative and Power of Diſſolution, and to give his Conſent for the nulling of all other Means tending thereunto.

And for what Mr. *Pryn* intimates further in the ſaid Objection, *That becauſe all Writs of Summons are actually abated by the King's Death, as well as all other Commiſſions and Patents of all Judges, Juſtices*, &c. *that therefore this Parliament muſt needs be diſſolved.*

I anſwer, That doth not at all follow, till he can make it appear, that there is no more Validity in an Act of Parliament of the three Eſtates, than there is in a meer Writ of Summons, or a Commiſſion or Patent granted only by the King; for though this Parliament was ſummoned by the King's Writ, yet 'tis manifeſt its Continuance and Confirmation did not at all depend upon that (for then he might ſtill have diſſolved it when he pleaſed) but upon the Act of the three Eſtates, who had eſtabliſhed it by Law, and ſo was no more diſſolveable by the King's Death, than any other Statute Law, or Act of Parliament whatſoever; and therefore is not depending on ſo fickle a Thing as a Writ of Summons or a Patent, or a Commiſſion given the Judges, and which the King may take away and repeal again at his own Pleaſure.

And to illuſtrate this more by an Inſtance, I ſhall deſire to aſk Mr. *Pryn* this Queſtion: Put the Caſe that there are certain urgent Neceſſities (as before ſpecified in the Act) that the Parliament hath Occaſion for great Sums of Money for preſerving the Peace of the Kingdom; this Money they muſt take up upon their Credits; but they ſee no Ways how to raiſe or to repay it, unleſs their Seſſion be continued for ſeven Years; therefore to get Credit for

raiſing the ſaid Money, and Time to reimburſe, or give Security to the Lenders, they obtain the King's Conſent to an Act for their Continuance during the ſaid Term (with this Proviſo inſerted) though the King by any Accident ſhould happen to die before the ſaid Security were given, or the Monies paid; whether doth the Parliament in this Caſe continue in Force and Efficacy after the King's Death, or is it then actually diſſolved?

If Mr. *Pryn* grant it a Parliament in force after the King's Death, upon this Conſideration (as I conceive he cannot deny it) then 'tis apparent that 'tis not the King's Death barely that doth of itſelf diſſolve a Parliament, *viz.* I ſay a Parliament eſtabliſhed by a Law; and conſequently then not this Parliament, the Reaſon being alike for the one as for the other.

But if he ſhall aver (which to me is incredible) that notwithſtanding ſuch an Act, yet by the King's Death 'tis legally diſſolved, then it will neceſſary follow that Parliament Security (which was ever looked upon till now as inviolable) is moſt dangerous, and of all others leaſt to be truſted, and the Subjects had need be warned to take Heed of it, ſeeing it muſt wholly depend upon ſo uncertain a Thing as the King's Life; which as it throws no ſmall Diſhonour upon that High Court, ſo it will be no little Prejudice to public Emergencies; for if the King die half a Year after the Monies borrowed, and before the Security be given (and he hath no ſurer or longer a Leaſe of his Life than other Men) all the ſaid Monies muſt abſolutely be loſt, and ſo the Subject defrauded; no future Parliament being bound to make good the Acts and Deeds of a Former, further than they will or pleaſe themſelves: And it is to be wiſhed, that the Kingdom may not now too ſadly have Experience of it.

Thirdly, Mr. *Pryn* objects, *the King's Name in which the Writs for Election are iſſued forth; that becauſe they go out in the Name of the King reigning, and ſo calls the Perſons elected to adviſe with him perſonally; and the Parliament to be convened is called his Parliament, and is to conſult of the arduous Buſineſſes of the Kingdom concerning him*, &c. *therefore when the King dies, who called the Parliament to adviſe and conſult with himſelf, the Parliament muſt neceſſarily be diſſolved, unleſs they could be ſuppoſed to conſult and adviſe with him of the weighty Affairs of his Kingdom after his Deceaſe.*

To this I anſwer firſt, That though the Writs of Summons runs, to conſult with the King perſonally, or by Name, yet they ſay not, to conſult with him only, and ſo are not ſo excluſive (having reſpect to the Reaſon and Equity of the Law) but that the ſame Parliament may alſo conſult with the Succeſſor, if the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom do require; granting this Maxim to be undeniably true, that the Safety of the People is the ſupreme Law.

And though the Parliament ſummoned by the King's Writ he called his Parliament, yet his Death doth no more vacate it (being eſtabliſhed by Law) than it doth other Laws by the ſame King made, which are moſt properly called his Laws, becauſe enacted with his perſonal Conſent; and yet we know that they are not ſo his, but that they are alſo the Laws of his Succeſſors, and are ſo commonly called.

Beſides, by conſtituting the Parliament to dure till they diſſolve themſelves by an Act, the King virtually waved the Authority of his Writs of Summons,

in

in which Writs the Parliament is expreſſed to be called to conſult with him by Name;- no ſuch Thing being in the leaſt ſaid or expreſſed in the Act by which this Parliament is now confirmed to continue, *&c.* therefore it matters not, neither is it at all to the Purpoſe in this Caſe, how, or in what Name the Writs of Summons, whereby this Parliament was firſt called, were iſſued forth; for as much as this Parliament conſiſts no longer by any Authority derivative from thoſe Writs (that Foundation being wholly taken away) but only by Act of the three Eſtates, as is evident in that the King could not now diſſolve it by his perſonal Authority any more; and if his perſonal Authority he being living (which is affirmative) could not diſſolve it, then his Death, which is but negative, or a Ceſſation of the Influence of his perſonal Authority, can much leſs do it.

And farther, by way of Interrogation, I would aſk Mr. *Pryn*, whether he will grant any more Privilege (in the Caſe of the King's Death) to a Parliament eſtabliſhed by a Law, than he will do to a Parliament only called and conſtituted by the King's Writs? (between which he cannot ſurely but ſay there is a wide Difference;) and if he yields, the Privilege doth excel (as he muſt needs) on the Side of the Parliament that is eſtabliſhed by a Law. In what Senſe can he conceive it to be, as the Caſe here put, unleſs by the Duration of its Authority after the King's Death who called it; of which Privilege the Parliament only conſtituted by the King's Writs comes ſhort, and fails, as before acknowledged, by the King's Death.

And I would fain know what Reaſon there is, that a ſtrained Expoſition of the Statute Law, as this is (that this Parliament ſhould be diſſolved by the King's Death) ſhould take place againſt the expreſs literal Senſe of it, which is, (that it ſhall not be diſſolved but by an Act) when as the ſtrained Senſe alſo is evidently dangerous, unſafe, and prejudicial to the Public, but the literal exceeding beneficial.

The Calling of Parliaments in this or that King's Name, to conſult or adviſe with this or that King, theſe are but circumſtantial Things, and done for Order Sake, and nothing of the Subſtantials and Eſſence of the Government and Kingdoms Welfare; and therefore, if Parliaments, called in this or that King's Name, to adviſe with this or that King, ſhould continue in force (though there were no Act for it) after this or that King's Death, there were no Danger or Inconvenience in it (how much leſs when an Act, as now, implicitly paſſed to that Purpoſe) but rather the contrary, they may conſult with as much Safety and Advantage to the Kingdom with the Succeſſor as they did with the deceaſed King.

But to diſſolve Parliaments raſhly and untimely, may throw a well-ſettled Kingdom into very great and hazardous Difficulties; and how ſad a Thing were it, and how contrary to the general Rule of the People's Safety (which in the Government of a Nation ought to be valued before any thing, and is the End of Government) if for Circumſtances the general Welfare and Peace of the Kingdom muſt be hazarded.

Fourthly, As to what Mr. *Pryn* objects, concerning *a Man by his Will or Deed, or the King by his Commiſſion, or the Parliament by ſpecial Act and Order, authorizing*

authorizing and impowering any three Perſons jointly to ſell Land, give Livery and Seiſin, execute any Commiſſion, &c. *And that in caſe any of them die, the two Survivors jointly, or ſeverally, can do nothing; becauſe their Authority and Truſt was joint and not ſeveral*, &c. Applying this to the Parliament, *which being* (as he now expreſſeth it) *a Corporation compacted jointly of the King, Lords, and Commons Houſe, and three Eſtates, that therefore the Death of the King neceſſarily diſſolves it, notwithſtanding this Act.*

I anſwer, This doth no more prove it, than any of his former Arguments; for this Similitude doth not hold Proportion, nor come up to our preſent Caſe.

For we have not here to do with one Eſtate or more, that hath abſolute Power in itſelf (and intends to execute it) to conſtitute other Perſons for any Office or Truſt, as a ſingle Perſon, *&c.* that makes a Will or Deed doth conſtitute three or more Perſons in Truſt for the Execution of his Will or Deed, whoſe joint Power being expreſſed in the ſaid Will or Deed, it neceſſarily fails upon the Death of any one of them, becauſe jointly and not ſeverally intruſted.

But with a Parliament who have voluntarily engaged themſelves upon a Truſt and Credit received from the People for their Security, with the Conſent of the King, making a Law to preſerve their Seſſion, and eſtabliſh their own Authority againſt all Means of their untimely Diſſolution, till they had honourably diſcharged their Truſt, and given Security and Satisfaction to thoſe that gave them Credit; which nothing concerns any Power or Authority to be given to others, whether three or more Perſons (according to Mr. *Pryn*'s Inſtance) to be executed jointly, wherein a Failer may be through any one of their Deaths.

But becauſe there ſeems ſomething ſtill to be unanſwered to this Objection, in Reference to the conjunctive Power of the Parliament, conſiſting of three Eſtates, therefore this alſo is fully reſolved in the following Anſwer to what Mr. *Pryn* intimates concerning the King's being a Part of the Parliament, who ſaith, *That becauſe the King is a Part of the Parliament, therefore if the King dies the Parliament muſt needs be diſſolved.*

To which I anſwer, That the King is rather a Part of the Parliament in his politic than in his perſonal Capacity, which is always ſubject to Death, but his politic never. With this agrees that famous Lawyer Sir *Edward Cook* (ſee the third Part of his Inſtitutes, Chapter the firſt) where ſpeaking of the High Court of Parliament, and of what Perſons it conſiſteth, ſaith in the firſt Place, and in expreſs Words, That it conſiſts of the King's Majeſty ſitting there, as in his Royal Politic Capacity, *&c.* and if ſo, then the Parliament dies not in all Caſes when the King dies; (and if this holds good in any Caſe, then ſurely in caſe of an Act to that Purpoſe) for though his Perſon be dead, yet his Royal Authority lives, as is ſufficiently evident by the Force and Authority of all our Laws, till repealed by Act of Parliament.

But beſides, it may thus farther be argued clearly: The Members of the two Houſes of Parliament, though many of them die (as often-times it comes to paſs, and 'tis poſſible they may all die by Degrees before the Parliament riſe) yet the Parliament is not diſſolved, becauſe they are not now the very ſame

individual

individual Perſons that were choſen firſt by the King's Writs of Summons. 'Tis ſufficient that there have been new Writs iſſued forth from that Houſe, or Eſtate of Parliament whereof they were Members, whereby new Elections, *&c.* have been made, and ſo other Members returned to ſupply the Places of the dead ones: And if this be good in the Caſe of the two Houſes of Parliament, *&c.* (which no Man that underſtands Law, and the Uſage of Parliament, will deny) then it is much more good in the Caſe of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, whoſe Royal Eſtate and Authority is ſo evident, that it is a declared undeniable Maxim in our Laws, He never dies; ſo that what new Writs do legally for ſupply of the Places of the dead Members to continue the Eſtate and Authority of the two Houſes of Parliament; that, and much more eminently the King's immediate Succeſſion to the Crown, after his Father's or Predeceſſor's Death doth do, by Virtue of his Royal Birth-right and Title of Inheritance, there being this grand Difference between Members of Parliament dying, and the King: They ſo die, that their Authority cannot be revived but by new Elections, or Writs of Summons; but the King ſo dies that his Authority ſtill lives by immediate Succeſſion: Whence it is that the Royal Seat is never vacant, that there ſhould be a Failure, to make good the Royal Actions of the Predeceſſor: And thus the third Eſtate in Parliament always living, the joint Power ſtill continues, and ſo there is no Neceſſity the Parliament ſhould diſſolve, as Mr. *Pryn* affirms, due Circumſtances and Actions being weighed, and the Neceſſities of the Kingdom well conſidered.

Fifthly, Therefore by what hath been ſaid already, Mr. *Pryn*'s fifth and laſt Argument muſt needs be out of Doors, which is this, *That becauſe the End of Parliament is to enact new Laws, and repeal others*, &c. *which cannot be done but by the King's Aſſent; and this Parliament being to be diſſolved by an Act, and an Act being now impoſſible to be made by that King for the Diſſolution of it, he being dead, therefore his Death muſt needs diſſolve the Parliament, notwithſtanding this Act.*

I anſwer in the Negative, In no wiſe; for though he be dead, as aforeſaid, in his perſonal (which Mr. *Pryn* ſeems to anſwer too weakly in his following Objection) yet not in his politic Capacity; and therefore if the dead King cannot enact Laws by the Parliament, yet his Succeſſor can, who comes immediately to the Crown after his Father's Death: And as hath been ſhewed, 'tis no ways inconvenient, but may many ways be advantageous to the Public: That ſhould the King chance any ways untimely to be taken away, the Parliament ſhould continue after the King's Death; whoſe Death, if it ſhould neceſſarily, as Mr. *Pryn* affirms, diſſolve the Parliament, ſo untimely a Diſſolution, as the Caſe might ſtand, might prove very dangerous and pernicious to the Kingdom.

Beſides, the Act doth not limit the Parliament's Diſſolution as lawful only, if it be done by an Act of that King then living when the Act was made; but in the general it limits it to an Act of Parliament, that it ſhall not be diſſolved but by an Act of Parliament: And why the Predeceſſor's Authority and Conſent ſhould not be as binding to his Succeſſor in this Caſe, till ſo diſſolved, as in caſe of any other Law made with his Conſent, I would very gladly know a ſolid Reaſon for it; being that to all Intents and Purpoſes, an

Act

Act for Confirmation, or Diſſolution, may be as virtual and efficacious, without any Prejudice, by the Conſent and Authority of the Succeſſor, as of the Father.

And further, the Act is alſo herein expreſſed, that by no other Way or Means, *but by an Act of Parliament it ſhall be diſſolved*; which being it cannot be done by the dead King, but may be done by the Succeſſor, it ought ſo to be diſſolved, or elſe it muſt and doth, by Virtue of this Act, ſtill remain legally in full Being and Authority.

Sixthly, As to what may be objected concerning the Diſſolution of this Parliament by an Act, when the ſecluded Members were lately admitted, the Argument is ſo weak, that I thought wholly to have omitted the leaſt Mention of it: Yet in regard it is objected by ſome, who ſeem to receive Satisfaction by it, and there to acquieſce, I ſhall give this Anſwer in brief to it.

Firſt, That at the beſt that that was but an Act (ſo called) of the Houſe of Commons, and ſo conſequently far ſhort of the Authority of an Act of Parliament, or any legal Pretence of it, which only conſiſts of King, Lords, and Commons; and therefore by any ſuch appellative Act, this Parliament can no ways be diſſolveable.

And further, the utmoſt Authority that the Houſe of Commons hath given them by the aforeſaid Act (for the Continuation of this Parliament, till they diſſolve themſelves by an Act) is but to adjourn themſelves by an Order of their own Houſe, as is expreſſed in the ſaid Act; by which 'tis evident, that they have no Power to diſſolve themſelves, much leſs by any Act they can do to diſſolve the Parliament.

And here it is worth the obſerving (before I paſs over this Act of the Houſe of Commons, whereby it is endeavoured to diſſolve the Parliament) that in their Judgments and Conſciences there was Need of an Act to diſſolve the Parliament; and therefore by this Act of theirs they did implicitly grant, that before the paſſing of the ſaid Act the Parliament was not then diſſolved; (and ſo conſequently did acknowledge it not to be diſſolved by the King's Death, which happened many Years before) and if not diſſolved by the King's Death, then much leſs by the ſaid Act of the Houſe of Commons (which carries not the leaſt Shadow of legal Authority with it, as aforeſaid, for the Diſſolution of it) and therefore by the Judgment of the ſaid Houſe, rightly underſtood, it is ſtill legally in Force and Being.

But becauſe ſome do object, that in regard the Lords Spiritual (to wit) the Biſhops, were outed the Houſe of Peers before the paſſing this Act for Continuation of the Parliament, whereby their Votes and Conſents were never had in the Caſe, that therefore it was an illegal Act, and ſo fell void in itſelf.

I anſwer briefly, That the Abbots and Priors (Twenty-nine in Number, who were formerly Lords of Parliament, and held * *per Baronium* from the King, and had their Seats and Votes in the Houſe of Peers, as well as the Temporal Lords) were diſſolved in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. and yet all

* See Sir *Edw. Cook*, in his third Part of Inſtit. of the High Court of Parliament, how the Lords give their Voice, p. 35.

Parliaments

Parliaments ſince, with all their Acts, have been held for legal and authentic, without the leaſt Queſtion or Contradiction of their Authority, and therefore is as little to be ſcrupled here in our preſent Caſe, which is the ſame; the Biſhops Privilege and Right to ſit in Parliament being alſo null, and made void, as well as theirs by Act of Parliament: Whereunto much more might here be ſaid to this Purpoſe, but that I would not be too tedious.

Seventhly, I have but one Word more, which anſwers moſt fully and unqueſtionable all Mr. *Pryn*'s Objections at once, or what elſe may be ſaid for the Diſſolution of this Parliament by the King's Death; and that is taken from the ſupreme Legiſlative Authority under God, that the three Eſtates, *viz.* King, Lords, and Commons, legally called, have over all Perſons and Cauſes in the whole Nation: By Virtue whereof they have Power to do the higheſt * Actions the Nation is capable of, though it be even to the diſmembring of the Parliament itſelf, and diſſolving a conſiderable Part of it, or altering any other fundamental Conſtitutions they pleaſe, ſo they ſee it neceſſary for the public Good (as particularly in the Caſe of the Biſhops, called the Spiritual Lords, and by ſome affirmed to be the third Eſtate in Parliament, who nevertheleſs have been excluded by an Act of the King, Lords, and Commons, from their antient Right of Sitting and Voting in Parliament, when in their Wiſdom their Seſſion there appeared hurtful to Church and State); for who may queſtion or controul the Actions of a lawful Parliament, while none in the Kingdom can ſo much as pretend to be above them: And if their Authority be of ſo large an Extent, even in Matters of greateſt Weight and Moment, then much more in Things of far inferior, and much leſs Concernment, as is the Confirmation of a Parliament to continue after the King's Death who called it, if the three Eſtates ſhall ſee good to paſs an Act, as now they have done to that Purpoſe (implicitly, though not in expreſs Terms) the King happening to die before it hath been diſſolved by an Act of Parliament, as by the three Eſtates hath been firmly enacted, it ſhould be ſo diſſolved, and no otherwiſe.

By this Time it may be hoped the legal Being and Authority of the Long Parliament is ſufficiently evident; the Truth whereof being ſo clearly proved, both by Law and Reaſon, how much doth it unfold to us the ſad and dangerous Eſtate of the Kingdom, whilſt under the Conſtitution of ſuch Powers as neither in Eſtate, Liberty, or Life, (though otherwiſe of good Inclination to the Public) can give the Nation any legal Security.

For though many excellent Things have been done by the ſingular Wiſdom of this preſent Parliament, now ſitting, that are of ſpecial Tendency in themſelves, for the Good and Safety of the Nation, through his Majeſty's moſt gracious Condeſcenſion, for which we have infinite Cauſe to bleſs God; yet † herein the great Unhappineſs, that whilſt their Authority is not legally

* See Sir *Edw. Cook*, the third Part of his Inſtitutes of the High Court of Parliament, of the Power and Juriſdiction of the Parlialiament, fol. 36, who ſaith, That the Power and Juriſdiction of the Parliament for making of Laws, in proceeding by Bill, is ſo tranſcendant and abſolute, as it cannot be confined either for Cauſes or Perſons within any Bounds, *&c.*

† *Vide* Poſtſcript.

founded, the Nation can promiſe themſelves no Aſſurance for the laſting Enjoyments of thoſe Benefits and Securities they have given it, being, 'tis to be feared, and too juſtly, they fall void of themſelves by Virtue of the ſaid Parliament's illegal Policy and Conſtitution.

Therefore how much were it to be wiſhed, that the ſupreme Legiſlative Authority of the Nation might again revert into that Channel, by which the Peace and Settlement of the Nation, through his Majeſty's moſt gracious Influence, might durably, and without queſtion, be provided for and preſerved.

In reference to which, I ſhall humbly take the Boldneſs to offer it as a weighty and ſerious Conſideration to this preſent Parliament, now ſitting, whether they ſhould not do well (for their own Safety as well as the Nation's) to adviſe his Majeſty in this particular, (they only having the Privilege and Opportunity now effectually to do it) their Caſe in point of Safety or Danger being the ſame with the reſt of the People's, when once they ſhall come to be diſſolved.

But now here, becauſe the Fears and Scruples which at firſt Apprehenſion are apt to ariſe in the Hearts of the Generality of the Kingdom, may ſeem a great Obſtruction in Prudence againſt the Return of that Parliament to ſit again, in reference to the Danger of perpetuating of it, who therefore may be ready to ſay, By ſo doing we may enſlave King and Kingdom to ſuch a Yoke of Bondage as we may never be able to break off our own Necks, or the Necks of our Poſterity any more.

I ſhall give hereunto this cloſing Anſwer, That the Scruple is very rational; and though ſuch a Thing, there is a Poſſibility they might do or attempt (though very improbably effect) if they ſhould ſo wickedly abuſe their Truſt; yet thoſe Fears will ſoon be removed from wiſe and diſcreet Perſons, if we do but ſeriouſly conſider, that the far greater Number of the Members ſurviving are of the *Secluded Party*, who were thruſt and forced out of the Houſe for their Loyalty to the King, or of thoſe that withdrew themſelves upon the Offence given by occaſion of the Army's Violence againſt King and Parliament, and have been the chief Inſtruments of his preſent Majeſty's happy Reſtoration; and therefore being Perſons ſo qualified, we may eaſily believe they will not be very willing to draw ſuch an Odium upon their unſtained Credits, as will inevitably follow, (beſides the further Miſchiefs will be apt to enſue to themſelves and the Nation, by renewed Diſcontents) ſhould they go about to ingroſs the Authority of the Nation any longer in their own Hands, than will be neceſſary for public Safety, with his preſent Majeſty's Approbation; who, for further Security againſt thoſe Fears, may eaſily ſummon them together by his Proclamation to *Whitehall*, or where elſe he pleaſeth before their Seſſion again in Parliament, and there receive their perſonal Promiſe and Engagement, to confirm the Acts of this preſent Parliament, and to prepare a Bill the firſt thing they do, at a certain Time to be agreed on betwixt his Majeſty and them, to diſſolve themſelves, and for his Majeſty's iſſuing out Writs for the Summoning of a new Parliament, that ſo Things may ſweetly return again without Violence or Injury done either to his Majeſty's

ſty's Prerogative, or his People's Liberties into a regular and legal Way of proceeding to the general Security and Satisfaction of the Whole.

POSTSCRIPT.

BEcauſe there are great and general Diſſatisfactions concerning this preſent Parliament, ſo called, now ſitting, in queſtion of its legal Right and Authority (being the Author's Deſign is nothing elſe but the Peace and Security of his native Country, and a thorough healing of our Wounds and Breaches) he humbly deſires further to offer theſe few following Particulars to the grave and ſerious Conſideration of thoſe that are more learned in the Laws, in hopes that ſome eminent Perſon of that Profeſſion will give a ſolid and judicious Reſolution to them.

Firſt, Sir *Edward Cook*, in the third Part of his Inſtitutes, writing of the High Court of Parliament, and of what Perſons that Court conſiſts, ſpeaking of the Temporal Lords, as Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Viſcounts, and Barons, who ſit there by reaſon of their Dignities which they hold by Deſcent or Creation, ſaith, That every one of theſe, being of full Age, ought to have a Writ of Summons *ex debito Juſtitiæ*.

Where note, two Things are required to the Legality of their Seſſion in Parliament.

Firſt, That they be of full Age; and if that be a Qualification legally required of Peers (for it will eaſily be granted to be moſt abſurd and unjuſt, that they that have not Power by Law (as all Infants under Age have not) to diſpoſe of any Part of their own Eſtates, or to make one legal Act to that Purpoſe (that ſuch ſhould have a Share in the ſupreme Power, to judge, vote, and diſpoſe of the Eſtate and Authority of the whole Kingdom;) I ſay then by Rule of Proportion, that it is a Qualification as neceſſarily required of the Commons upon the ſaid Conſideration: And it were happy for this Nation therefore, that it were better looked after for the future, that ſo thoſe Miſchiefs may be prevented, which too often enſue to the Public, by bringing ſuch green Heads into ſo wiſe and grave a Council.

Secondly, 'Tis required to their legal Seſſion in Parliament, that the ſaid Lords have Writs of Summons, which theſe now ſitting in this preſent Parliament never had.

Next, the ſaid Sir *Edward Cook*, in the forecited Place, ſaith, That the Commons, which he calls there the Third Eſtate of the Realm, conſiſting of Knights of Shires for Counties, Citizens of Cities, and Burgeſſes of Boroughs; they all are reſpectively to be elected by the Shires or Counties, Cities and Boroughs, by Force of the King's Writ *ex debito Juſtitiæ*; but the Commons of this preſent Parliament were not ſo choſen, but by Force of a Writ in the Name of the *Keepers of the Liberties of* England.

Thirdly, he ſaith, That at the Return of the Writs, the Parliament cannot begin but by the Royal Preſence of the King, either in Perſon, or by Repreſentation: By Repreſentation, two Ways; either by a Guardian of *England* by Letters Patents under the Great Seal, when the King is in remote Parts

out of the Realm, or by Commiſſion, under the Great Seal of *England*, to certain Lords of Parliament, repreſenting the Perſon of the King, he being within the Realm in reſpect of ſome Infirmity: (See Sir *Edward Cook* in his third Part of Inſtitutes of the High Court of Parliament, concerning the Beginnings of Parliaments, Page 6.) But this Parliament began without the Royal Preſence of the King, either in Perſon or by Repreſentation.

Fourthly, That the Subſtance of the Writs of Summons muſt continue in their original Eſſence without any Alteration or Addition, unleſs it be by Act of Parliament. (See the ſame Sir *Edward Cook* in his third Part of Inſtitutes of the High Court of Parliament, concerning Writs of Summons in Parliament, P. 10.) But how great an Alteration and Addition to the Subſtance of the Writs of Summons is this, to iſſue them forth in the Name of the *Keepers of the Liberties of England*, with the leaſt Authority of Parliament, which by the expreſs Statute ought only to be iſſued forth in the Name of the King.

And therefore, if there be any Weight in Mr. *Pryn*'s aforeſaid Argument, to null a Parliament, becauſe of the King's Death who called it, in regard the Writs of Summons were iſſued forth in the Name of that King deceaſed, with whom by Name the Members of Parliament were called to conſult and adviſe, but now cannot; it will, I conceive, be no hard Queſtion to reſolve, (and it were good Mr. *Pryn* would undertake it without Partiality or Affection) whether the Parliament doth not *ipſo facto* fall void, and all the Acts of it, further than they ſhall be confirmed by a lawful Parliament which is not called by any Writs of the King's at all, but only by Writs, as aforeſaid, in the Name of the *Keepers of the Liberties of England*, (and by thoſe Writs, none but the Commons) with whom they are ſummoned to conſult too about the Buſineſſes of a Commonwealth (which theſe Times have ſufficiently taught us the Meaning of) and not with the King about the arduous Buſineſſes of his Kingdom.

Theſe premiſed Illegalities conſidered, in reference to this preſent Parliament (the legal Being and Capacity, as premiſed, of the *Long Parliament*, being ſuppoſed to be here totally waved) whether is this a lawful Parliament, and capable to make legal and binding Acts? or having been declared a lawful Parliament by an Act by themſelves made ſince their Seſſion, with the King's Conſent, whether can the King's Conſent make them ſuch, though otherwiſe unlawful in their Call, Principle, and Foundation?

For I would put the Caſe, the King ſhould have come in while *Oliver* or *Richard*'s Parliament had been ſitting (to which the Lords, as now, ſhould have preſented themſelves without Writs of Summons) and his Majeſty, under that Conſtitution, ſhould have conſented to a Bill to grant them a lawful Parliament, Would that at all have made them ſo, under ſuch a Conſtitution? Can that which is unlawful in itſelf, and contrary to the fundamental Conſtitutions of the Nation, be made lawful barely by the King's Conſent.

Which, if it ſhall be pleaded in the Affirmative (though I very much queſtion, whether any underſtanding Lawyer will venture his Reputation on it) I ſhall deſire then to be inſtructed in a better Argument, to make good the lawful Being and Authority of the *Long Parliament*; for ſurely if a Parliament be

lawful,

lawful, meerly becauſe of the King's Conſent, paſſing an Act to that Purpoſe, though otherwiſe utterly unlawful in its Call and Foundation, then doubtleſs that Parliament is much more lawful, and in its legal Being that was founded upon a lawful Call, and had the King's Conſent to an Act to authorize it to continue till they diſſolve themſelves by an Act; and if that be ſtill a lawful Parliament, then I am ſure, upon that Account, this can be none, nor no other, till that be legally diſſolved.

To which there is this further to be added concerning the Intentions generally of the whole Nation, in reference to this Parliament, by the beſt Information I can gather, that it was never in the leaſt meant, that theſe ſhould ſit to paſs Acts as a lawful Parliament (which was only like to prove a Snare to the People, as other Parliaments of the like Nature, ſo called, have done, through the Diſputeableneſs and Unwarrantableneſs of their Authority) but only, that for the preſent Neceſſity they might bear the Face of parliamentary Authority, for preſerving the Peace of the Nation, till his Royal Majeſty, that now is, might be happily reſtored (the Kingdom panting after him as their only Means of Settlement) and ſo ſoon as that was effected, then to diſſolve, in order to the ſending forth his Majeſty's Royal Writ of Summons for calling a Parliament, according to the ancient Cuſtom and fundamental Conſtitution (the old Parliament being firſt legally diſſolved) that ſo all Things might return again into a legal and uncontrovertable Way of Proceedings, to the Quiet of all Men's Minds, and Satisfaction of the whole Kingdom, who are ſufficiently weary of the Miſchiefs of irregular Actings by illegal Authorities.

CONCLUSION.

IF the Power of the Sword, or other arbitrary Proceedings, do not interpoſe to interrupt free Debates, and the Courſe of Law and Juſtice, which the Author hopes there is now no Cauſe to fear as formerly (all Eſtates and Degrees in the Nation having ſufficiently ſeen the Inconvenience, and taſted the Smart of ſuch unrighteous Actings) he doubts not (upon a ſerious Conſideration of the foregoing Arguments, if Men will lay aſide Paſſion and Self-intereſt) but that right Foundations will ſhortly again be reſtored, that knowing our Ground-work to be ſure and unqueſtionable, the Subjects of all ſorts in the Kingdom may with all Safety and Chearfulneſs ſubmit to, and act under the lawful Powers in being, every one ſitting in Peace under his own Vine and Fig-tree, bleſſing the God of his Salvation; which is daily the Author's earneſt and moſt happy Prayer.

The

The long Parliament is not revived by *Thomas Philips*: Or, an Anſwer to *Thomas Philips* his *Long Parliament revived*, by *R. C.*

Printed in the Year 1660.

Anno 17. *Caroli Regis.*

An ACT to prevent Inconveniencies which may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or diſſolving of this preſent Parliament.

WHereas great Sums of Money muſt, of Neceſſity, be ſpeedily advanced and provided for Relief of his Majeſty's Army and People in the northern Parts of this Realm, and for preventing the imminent Danger this Kingdom is in, and for Supply of other of his Majeſty's preſent and urgent Occaſions, which cannot be ſo timely effected as is requiſite, without Credit for raiſing the ſaid Moneys: Which Credit cannot be obtained until ſuch Obſtacles be firſt removed, as are occaſioned by Fears, Jealouſies, and Apprehenſions of divers his Majeſty's loyal Subjects, that this preſent Parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, before Juſtice ſhall be duly executed upon Delinquents; public Grievances redreſſed; a firm Peace between the two Nations of England *and* Scotland *concluded, and before ſufficient Proviſion be made for the Repayment, of the ſaid Moneys ſo to be raiſed: All which the Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, having duly conſidered, do therefore humbly beſeech your moſt excellent Majeſty that it may be declared, and enacted,*

And be it declared and enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the Aſſent of the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, that this preſent Parliament now aſſembled ſhall not be diſſolved unleſs it be by Act of Parliament to be paſſed for that Purpoſe: Nor ſhall be at any Time or Times, during the Continuance thereof, prorogued or adjourned, unleſs it be by Act of Parliament to be likewiſe paſſed for that Purpoſe: And that the Houſe of Peers ſhall not at any Time or Times, during this preſent Parliament, be adjourned, unleſs it be by themſelves, or by their own Order: And in like Manner, that the Houſe of Commons ſhall not, at any Time or Times, during this preſent Parliament, be adjourned, unleſs it be by themſelves, or by their own Order: And that all, and every Thing and Things whatſoever, done or to be done, for the Adjournment, Proroguing, or diſſolving of this preſent Parliament, contrary to this Act, ſhall be utterly void, and of none Effect.

The Long Parliament is not revived.

THE Author's Introduction is in the firſt Paragraph, an Apology for the Peace of the Nation upon a laſting Foundation, which in the next Paragraph he does not doubt but lies in Parliaments rightly conſtituted, and in their juſt and lawful Privileges: And this, in the third Paragraph, he ſays muſt hold true in relation to the *Long Parliament*, called by the late King *Charles* of bleſſed Memory, which being conſtituted legally, and indiſſolvable but by Act of Parliament, and not diſſolved by Act of Parliament, is yet in Force. To evidence which he brings in three Arguments:

1. The Title, or End of the Act, *viz. That it was an Act to prevent Inconveniencies that may happen by the untimely Adjourning, Proroguing, or Diſſolving this preſent Parliament*, viz. *Want of Credit to raiſe Money to maintain his Majeſty's Army and People in the North*, &c.

The ſecond is, *That this preſent Parliament ſhall not be diſſolved but by Act of Parliament.*

The third is, *That all and every Thing and Things whatſoever, done, or to be done, for Adjourning, Proroguing, or Diſſolving this preſent Parliament, contrary to this Act, ſhall be utterly void, and of none Effect*; and therefore this Parliament wanting theſe Formalities, is yet in being, and no Parliament can be hereafter convened, before this be thus formally diſſolved, or it muſt needs follow, two Parliaments may be exiſtent at the ſame time, which he believes to be ſo abſurd as none will aver. The reſt is an Anſwer to Mr. *Pryn*, and againſt the Authority of this Convention, which his Majeſty has owned a Parliament. What the Author's Diſpoſition is to the Peace of this Nation, upon a right Foundation, I know not; what Peace he hopes to find by reviving the Long Parliament, few can tell, but none have found. That it does not follow, that the Long Parliament is not diſſolved, or revived, from any of his three Arguments, we will ſhew.

For firſt, his firſt Argument is drawn from the End, or Title of the Act, *To prevent the Inconveniencies which may ariſe by the untimely Proroguing, Adjourning, or Diſſolving the Parliament, for want of Money to maintain his Majeſty's Army and People in the North.* If the Force of the Continuance of the Long Parliament be drawn from hence, then muſt the Parliament be diſſolved (or at leaſt diſſolvable without Act of Parliament) upon the Payment of his Majeſty's Army and People in the North; for *ceſſante ratione legis, ceſſat lex:* But it muſt needs be irrational, and moſt abſurd, to aver, that any Law can create a contrary, or different Obligation from the firſt Reaſon and End of it, *viz.* Becauſe they might be a Parliament until they had relieved his Majeſty's Army and People in the North, therefore they might deſtroy his Majeſty's Army and People in the North.

The ſecond is, *That this preſent Parliament ſhall not be diſſolved but by Act of Parliament.* If the Act had ſaid, the Parliament ſhall not be legally diſſolved but by Act of Parliament, then this Author might have diſputed againſt the Legality of that Act, which ſhould otherwiſe have diſſolved it; but

but if this Author ſhall affirm this Parliament to be in being, becauſe not legally diſſolved, is all one as to ſay, no Man is killed or oppreſſed, becauſe Subjects ought to be preſerved in their Lives and Eſtates by Laws and Acts of Parliament; and this Parliament might as well have made an Act that none of their Members ſhould die but by Act of Parliament, as that they ſhould not be diſſolved but by Act of Parliament.

The third is, *That all and every Thing or Things whatſoever done, or to be done for the Adjourning, Proroguing, or Diſſolving of this preſent Parliament contrary to this Act, ſhall be utterly void, and of none Effect.* Such was the Omnipotency of theſe Men in their Beginning, that they believed all Things, how impoſſible ſoever, to be very feaſible to eſtabliſh their Greatneſs and Reign: For Things ſimply impoſſible are impoſſible even to God himſelf; as, that Contradictions ſhould be true, or that any Thing ſhould be and not be at the ſame Inſtant. Yet ſuch was the Omnipotency of theſe Members, that contradictory and impoſſible Things muſt not be repugnant, but ſubſiſt in order to their Perpetuity and Greatneſs. For if Things be done, they muſt neceſſarily be done, and ſo cannot be void and of non-effect, whatſoever they may be in Law.

I pray Reader take Notice, that the Author of this Pamphlet, not only inſiſts upon impoſſible Things to prove the Continuance of the Parliament, but his very Title is contradictory and abſurd, which revives the Long Parliament, and yet affirms it not diſſolved; whereas if it had not been diſſolved, it could never be revived; and a Man may as well diſpute thus as our Author does: No Man ought to do Violence upon, or kill himſelf but by his own Conſent; and that if a Man does violate or kill himſelf, or be violated or killed by another, contrary hereunto, ſuch Force ſhall be utterly void, and of non-effect; therefore every Man ſhall live, though he kill himſelf, or be killed by another; which I think no Man in his Wits will affirm.

The Long Parliament diſſolved and dead, and never to be revived.

IT is not worth, upon ſo mean an Occaſion, to declare the Principles of Power, from whence human Laws are derived, and what creates them Obligation: Or whether Effects or Accidents of Power can create any Alteration or Obligation upon that Power: As if Laws made be derogatory to the Power that made them. For Example, if by an Act of Parliament the Crown of *England* were aliened againſt the Right of Succeſſion; or that it ſhould hold of the Pope or any one elſe; or that there be not ſufficient Means left to the King to protect his Subjects; for *Salus Populi ſuprema Lex:* Neither will I diſpute at what Time Laws and Acts of Parliament take Place: But that Civil Laws take not Place always, is evident; for *inter Arma ſilent Leges:* Or who ſhall plead the Benefit of them, as whether any Man can plead the Benefit of Law for Treaſon, Felony or Breach of Peace: And whether (ſince no Subject can levy Arms without Treaſon, but by Authority of the King) the Long Parliament's raiſing Arms againſt the King, did not juſtly invalidate all Benefit they could claim by virtue of this Act, or any other Law? I ſhall endeavour

to

to ſhew three Things: 1. Whether the Long Parliament be totally diſſolved? 2. Whether in the ordinary nature of Things it can be revived? And laſtly, Whether the Members have any juſt Cauſe to complain? But that we no not loſe ourſelves in Obſcurity, as our Author does, we will firſt define our Terms, and ſo ſet down our Notions, as to be ſo underſtood, as any Man may reject or deny any Thing herein.

Firſt then, a Parliament is a politic Body, compounded (not of three States, as our Author would, of King, Lords and Commons, but) of heterogenial or diſſimilar Parts, *viz.* the King, the *Principium, Caput & Finis* of it, and of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, one diſtinct Houſe, and the Houſe of Commons another diſtinct Houſe; both which Houſes are convened and created by the King's Writ. Sir *Edward Cook* calls them *Conventus Sapientum*, Inſt. 4. p. 2. Now all Conventions and Aſſemblies whatſoever, are either regular or irregular: All regular Conventions and Aſſemblies do proceed from, and may be reduced into, one juſt and certain Principle, which cauſes and creates thoſe Aſſemblies; but all other Conventions and Aſſemblies which do not proceed from one certain juſt Principle, are rather Commotions or Routs, than Aſſemblies: Theſe regular Conventions and Aſſemblies are ſo either potentially or actually; potentially, two Ways, either when a rightful Power conſtitutes any Company of Men to meet at a Time and Place; theſe Men thus impowered, have by Right a Power of Convention and Aſſembling at ſuch Time and Place; or elſe after they be convened, either by the Power which firſt convened, or by themſelves, they adjourn or prorogue to ſome certain Time or Place; and for want of ſuch Proroguing, Adjourning, or Convening, all ſuch Conventions are totally diſſolved, becauſe their Conventions did not proceed from a certain and juſt Principle, which might create them; or actually, when ſuch regular Aſſemblies are actually convened, by Virtue of a juſt Authority, impowering them; the two Houſes therefore being the Convention and Aſſembly, which united to the King, the Head of them, rightly convened by Virtue of the King's Writ, and after prorogued or adjourned, either by the King or themſelves, to meet at a certain Time and Place, do continue ſuch Conventions; otherwiſe they may meet in Riots and Routs, in regular Aſſemblies they cannot.

1. Now would I fain know, when the two worthy Speakers deſerted their Speakerſhips, and run from the Houſe to the Army, and joined with them againſt the remaining Part of the Members, they did prorogue to a certain Time and Place, wherein they did convene, by Virtue of ſuch Adjournment? or whether there were then two Parliaments in being, which our Author ſo abominates, one at *Weſtminſter*, another in the Army? and whether, when the Lower Houſe retained nothing but the Rump, and having turned the remaining Part of the Lords (who had before excluded, by the like Means, three times the Number of themſelves, who had as good Title as themſelves to ſit there, and four times their own Number out of themſelves) were a rightful Aſſembly, duly convened in Time and Place? If they were, then may a Part be equal to the Whole; and the Speaker, joined with *Henry Martin*, and *Titchburn*, and his Majeſty's Sergeants, *Glin* and *Maynard*, ſince knighted,

may yet be a rightful Parliament: But if it be true, that *Formæ rerum ſicut numeri conſiſtunt indiviſibili*, and that the aggregate Body of a Parliament conſiſts of both Houſes duly convened in Time and Place, then if either be not rightly aſſembled, actually or potentially, the Whole is utterly diſſolved, much more when neither are ſo, as the Caſe now ſtands with us.

2. The Houſes thus diſſolved, I would now know what Power can revive them; it muſt be either they themſelves, or the King; if it be themſelves, what hinders them from convening (yet I believe our Author will hardly perſuade the Speaker and Lord *St. John* to make two) if they and the World be ſatisfied ſuch Convention be juſt and regular? If it be by the King, it muſt be either legally or arbitrarily; if legally, the King muſt revive it by Virtue of ſome Act of Parliament, or by Common Law; if by Act of Parliament, it muſt be revived, let our Author, or any one elſe ſhew it; if by Common Law, then let him or any one elſe ſhew any Precedent for a King's reviving a Parliament, and I will preſently yield the Cauſe; ſo I am quit with him for his Anſwer to Mr. *Pryn*'s firſt Objection; but if the King do it, and yet neither by Act of Parliament nor Common Law, then muſt it be done by an arbitrary Power, which is every whit as dangerous as his Concluſion. King *Charles*, upon the Death of King *James*, aſked Sir *Edward Cook*, whether he might not continue (or rather revive) the Parliament diſſolved by his Father's Death? He anſwered negatively, becauſe Parliaments could not be convened but by the ancient and uſual Form, which this was not.

3. But becauſe it is objected, that though the Houſes be diſſolved, yet are they not legally diſſolved, and ſo violently done; and great Crime is this! I pray who did, or who may complain? Did not the Members (all but the firſt perſecuted) from the firſt Beginning, abuſe all the King's Grants and Favours to his own and loyal Subjects Prejudice? Did not they themſelves turn out one another, from the Contents unto the End of the Chapter, until there was ſcarce any of either Houſe (none of the Lords) to turn out? And if no Fool or Madman, ſhall in Law complain againſt his own Act; for *volenti non fit injuria*, then the Members have no Reaſon to complain of their Uſage to one another, and of diſſolving of themſelves; and the Nation is ſo far from complaining, that I believe, with a bitter Senſe, they wiſh they had never been.

But ſuppoſe the King might revive them; yet if he might do it, then he might not, and might chuſe whether he would or not: And, can any Man in his Wits believe, the bitter Senſe of his Father's Death, and his own, his Mother's, and Brother's and Siſter's Suffering by them, would not divert him from ſuch an Intention, unleſs he did deſire to have the Tragedy revived again upon himſelf and Family, and all his loyal Subjects, who after ſo many Storms of their unjuſt Suffering for their Conſcience, may reaſonably hope, through God's Bleſſing, for the future, to be protected by his Majeſty's peaceable Government, from them, which upon the reviving of the Long Parliament, they could not reaſonably hope.

An humble Repreſentation of the ſad Condition of many of the King's Party, who ſince his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration have no Relief, and but languiſhing Hopes: Together with Propoſals how ſome of them may be ſpeedily relieved, and others aſſured thereof, within a reaſonable Time.

Printed in the Year 1661.

WHAT Miſeries and Perſecutions we Royaliſts have ſuffered for nineteen Years paſt, none I preſume is a Stranger to, that could ſee or hear. The War began with the Plunder of our Goods, and Seizure of our Rents, and it ended with the Sale of our Eſtates, or (at beſt) a Compoſition, which engaged us in Debts; the Burthen whereof, where the Parties were either indebted before, or had Families to provide for, could not but be ruinous to them; ſuch of us as had no Lands, but lived by their honeſt Endeavours, were not only thruſt out of their proper Employments, but made uncapable of any other that could afford them a tolerable Subſiſtance, ſo as many (the moſt deſerving of their Country) have been forced to part with their Inheritances to buy them Bread, others (of free and generous Minds) have languiſhed in tedious Impriſonments, few in Compariſon of the reſt, by ſingular Providence and Frugality, have preſerved themſelves.

With what Courage and Conſtancy of Affection we have owned our Cauſe and Party, even then when but to name them civilly, was Treaſon and worſe (if worſe could be!) With what Faith and Perſeverance we have expected our King's Return! With what inviſible Comforts we have ſupported our feeble Hopes, at their loweſt Ebbs of outward Poſſibility, whilſt all the Politicians derided us, as fond and credulous Perſons, who, with the Purgatory of wiſe Men, purchaſed only the Paradiſe of Fools; a kind of *Alchymiſts*, or *Jews*, who looked for a Meſſiah that would never come; and this Confidence (grounded chiefly on our Integrity) how it engaged us in Attempts, which perhaps were more honeſt than prudent, by oppoſing Plots to Counſels, and Tumults to the beſt Armies, will not, I truſt, be forgotten by *Engliſhmen* in our Days.

Let it not be once objected, That our Endeavours were not ſucceſsful; rather let be conſtrued to our Advantage, that though our Valour was at firſt unfortunate, yet, through God's Bleſſing, our chearful Patience hath at length fulfilled our Hopes, by Degrees inclining the Hearts of the moſt obſtinate to a Relenting; wherein as our Trials were, ſo our Triumphs are now the greater; for to prevail by loyal Sufferings, is the Prerogative of true Deſert.

We joyfully, indeed, partake in the Glory of his Majeſty's Reſtitution; the Peace of our Country, the Security of Laws, and the Proſpect of future

Settlement, is moſt pleaſant to us: But, alas! we are ſtill expoſed to the ſame Neceſſities; nay, many of us are in worſe Condition, as to Livelihood, than ever; partly by exhauſting ourſelves with unuſual Expences, that we might appear, like our ſelves, concerned in his Majeſty's Welcome and Coronation; partly by proſecuting honeſt but fruitleſs Pretences, chiefly by the Fate of Poverty, which ſeldom continues without encreaſing, and (for Accompliſhment of our Miſery) Hope, (which hitherto alone befriended and ſupported) hath now forſaken us.

Were our Preſſures moderate, or common, we ſhould never mention them, but wait yet further upon Providence; for we reckon our Martyrdom ſo honourable, and our Cauſe ſo dear, that none but extreme Exigents would be ſenſible on that behalf, ſuch Poverty being, we are ſure, without Reproach. Had we complied with any of the late Uſurpers, otherwiſe than as Priſoners muſt comply with Gaolers, we ſhould not have dared to look backward, nor preſumed to look forward; but Innocency and Extremity together embolden, or rather compel us to utter our Complaints where we think we may challenge, at leaſt, a favourable Audience.

For ſince the Cauſe we ſo earneſtly contended for was, indeed, leaſt of all, our own (who might eaſily have ſaved our Stakes, as many others of the ſame Perſuaſion did) and but in part the King's, principally our Country's, whoſe Liberty, and even its Being, was at Stake, it may ſeem a hard Piece of Juſtice, that the Price of public Freedom, when reſtored, ſhould be the Ruin only of ſuch as with their utmoſt Perils chiefly aſſerted it; and the Nation will appear, at leaſt equally with his Majeſty, concerned in an Expedient, leſt if the Martyrs and Champions of their Country be now by it forſaken, they being diſabled by their Sufferings, and others by their ill Succeſs diſcouraged, hereafter, in the like Exigent, which God prevent, our Liberties ſhould find neither Champions nor Martyrs.

It grieves us, in all ſerious Companies, to meet with theſe and the like Reflections: How will it diſcourage our tender Plants of Loyalty, to be the Spectators of its Ruin! How will it multiply Neuters, to obſerve noble Families extirpated, and their Eſtates poſſeſſed (as many will be apt enough to collect) by wiſer Men, *viz.* ſuch as took the ſtrongeſt Side! And may not the next Generation, from ſuch Premiſſes, draw this Concluſion, *He loves Danger too well, that loves it for its own Sake?*

Certainly, it were too much Ignorance in us to ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty is able to contribute, in any Proportion, to our Relief; rather we are ſenſible, that ſhould he impoveriſh himſelf to gratify us, he would ſoon be in a Condition neither to ſupport us nor himſelf; beſides, we are ſatisfied of his Kindneſs towards us; but our Recourſe is properly to the Parliament, who, being equally concerned, can relieve us more powerfully, and with leſs Exception, wherein we doubt not of his Majeſty's gracious Concurrence and Furtherance.

Wherefore, not to importune his Majeſty (who no doubt hath a real and tender Sympathy for us) we do, with much Freedom, but with all Submiſſion, declare to our Repreſentatives, as good *Engliſhmen*, That as we, on our Part,

Part, ſhall for public Good, as chearfully ſubſcribe to the general Indemnity, (when by their Wiſdoms confirmed) as any that have Benefit thereby; ſo if they on their Part ſhall, by confirming it, intercept thoſe Remedies which the Law (our great Birth-right) would afford us, we conceive, they oblige themſelves to ſtudy ſomewhat of Recompence, leſt they give us Subject of Complaint, That (in ſuch an Oblivion) they did but too well remember our Enemies, and only forget us.

And in truth, we hope, that the People in general, whoſe Peace is thereby eſtabliſhed, our Friends in particular, whoſe Honour is thereby aſſerted, but eſpecially our late Adverſaries, whoſe Intereſts are thereby redeemed at our Expence, will frankly approve of ſuch moderate Satisfaction to us, as the Parliament in their Wiſdom ſhall think reaſonable.

The rather, for that the Arrears of the late Army and Navy (though contracted moſt of them in Times of Uſurpation) being in effect diſcharged; thoſe of his Majeſty's Party in *Ireland*, provided for by ſpecial Allotments, in his Majeſty's late gracious Declaration concerning that Kingdom; the Purchaſers of the Crown and Church Lands protected by his Majeſty's Commiſſion in their Favours; the Clergy, not only reſtored to their improved Poſſeſſions, but to Fines of twenty Years Growth, many private Perſons rewarded with great Gifts, Offices, and Honours; we only ſhall ſeem abandoned as worthy of nothing but Pity from thoſe that will vouchſafe it, unleſs our Condition may be conſidered by our Country in this Parliament.

Wherein, for their Encouragement, we aſſure them our Pretences are not lofty, we covet not to engroſs the Plenty of the Nation, by purchaſing Palaces and Parks with our Debentures, No. The Sum of our Misfortune is, That in this Eſtate we are not only burthenſome to our ſelves and Friends, but uſeleſs to our King and Country. Alas! we have too long converſed with Ruin, to conceive vaſt Hopes; and if, upon ſerious Scrutiny, greater Difficulties ſhould appear, than we imagine, it is our known Fundamental to acquieſce in the Judgment of our Superiors; only we beg, that our Caſe may be judged to deſerve ſome public Conſideration; for, however, it will much enliven us to find our ſelves not wholly deſpiſed, but that Expedients to relieve us are at leaſt debated; for which we humbly offer theſe our Propoſals.

I. That the greateſt Services may be moſt rewarded, but the greateſt Neceſſities firſt relieved.

II. That his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to take an Account of all his Gifts and Grants, and ſuſpend the conferring of any more, till Perſons of the higheſt Sufferings and Deſerts be, in ſome ſort, accommodated.

III. That the Sufferings, Wants, and Merits of Pretenders, may be examined by ſelect Committees, and certified to his Majeſty, and that his Majeſty would accordingly provide for their Relief, by giving expreſs Order for their Admittance to ſuch vacant Employments as they are capable of, without referring them to ſubordinate Officers, whereby they may be wearied with Attendance, and his Majeſty's Grace unto them fruſtrated.

IV. In caſe Vacancies be not found competent, that then Reverſions may be aſſured to others.

V. That

V. That ſuch as have plentiful Eſtates, or have already obtained any conſiderable Grant from the King's Bounty, may be poſtponed, in his Majeſty's and the Parliament's Conſideration.

VI. That ſuch as ſhall appear to have unworthily betrayed, or any ways deſerted his Majeſty's Party, may be, from thence wholly excluded.

VII. That deſerving Tenants of Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, *&c.* may be generally and effectually recommended to the Church's Favour, in their great Plenty, to accept of moderate Fines from them.

VIII. That the like public Recommendation may be to all his Majeſty's chief Miniſters, Officers and Commanders, for the employing, countenancing, and encouraging, (by all lawful Means) ſuch as have eminently deſerved or ſuffered for his Majeſty.

IX. That for ſuch Soldiers and Sufferers of his Majeſty's Party as are old, maimed, without Callings, or Stocks to exerciſe them, Proviſion may be made, according to their Conditions, *viz.* for ſome of them good Hoſpitals, the Founders whereof, doubtleſs, (could they ſpeak out of their Graves) would ſo direct; for others reaſonable Sums, or ſmall Annuities, but duly paid, that they may no more depend on private Alms, which many cannot find, and ſome cannot ſeek; this, we ſuppoſe, will prove rather Matter of Care than much Charge.

That the Parliament would lay ſome public Aſſeſſment, ſuch as they ſhall think reaſonable (our Country's Poverty being conſidered as well as ours) to be diſtributed by his Majeſty's Direction, amongſt the ſurviving Officers and Soldiers of his Majeſty's Armies, and thoſe of the late King, of bleſſed Memory, who never received any Recompence of their Service, whoſe Number being much contracted by Time, and other Accidents, the Bulk will not prove ſo great as perhaps it ſeems.

XI. That the Children of ſuch as have been ſacrificed, or died in the Bed of Honour, and in memorable Action for his Majeſty (whoſe Caralogue is eaſily known) may, in due Time, reap the Fruits of their Fathers Martyrdom, and for the preſent, receive ſome Character of ſignal Favour from their Country, to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, for the Encouragement of them and theirs, to follow the Footſteps of their noble Progenitors, to ſtir up in others an Emulation of ſuch Loyalty and Virtue, and leave the Juſtice of his Majeſty's Arms ſufficiently vindicated to future Ages.

The

The humble ADDRESSES of ſeveral cloſe Priſoners in the *Gatehouſe, Weſtminſter*, to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty and Council, to the Lord High Chancellor, and the Lord Chief Juſtice, and Judges of the King's Bench; to manifeſt their Innocency, and to obtain their Liberty.

Pſal. xxxvii. 12, 13. *The Wicked plotteth againſt the Juſt, and gnaſheth upon him with his Teeth. The Lord ſhall laugh at him: for he ſeeth his Day is coming.*

Pſal. lxxxviii. 8, 9, 10. *Thou haſt put away mine Acquaintance far from me;— I am ſhut up, and I cannot come forth,* &c.

Printed in the Year 1662.

ALBEIT, our illegal apprehending, and cruel cloſe Detainer, adminiſtred to us and our Families juſt Occaſion of Sorrow, yet that which aggravated our Miſery, was the odious Infamy caſt upon us and our Relations, both in City and Country, as if we, amongſt others, were Actors or Contrivers of ſome horrid Plot, and being publickly aſperſed as thoſe who neceſſitated the loading the Nation with more Taxes, by which our Credits and Reputations were not a little wounded; and even our Friends in many Places blaming our Silence, as if we had neglected our humble Addreſſes to his Majeſty, or Applications to the honourable Judges of the Law, for the Vindication of our Innocency and Fidelity; for whoſe better Information and Satisfaction we have cauſed our Proceedings to be publiſhed, whereby it may appear that the Circumſtances of our Condition conſidered, there hath been no Means left unattempted.

We ſhall forbear to mention the Addreſſes of our Wives apart to his Majeſty and Council, taking no Pleaſure to remember how many Weeks, ſome coming from far, and continuing here to no little Charge, they attended the Council every Day of their Sitting, reaping no other Benefit thereby to this Day, than Order for ſome of them, in the Preſence of the Keeper, to ſee their Huſbands; by Converſe with whom, being fully confirmed of what before they were not in the leaſt ſuſpicious (*viz.* their Innocency and Integrity) were further encouraged to preſent their joint Petition to his Majeſty and Council, as followeth.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, and to the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council,

The humble Petition of the Wives of ſeveral Perſons cloſe Priſoners in the Gate-houſe,

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT your Petitioners Huſbands were apprehended by Meſſengers at their own Houſes, about twelve Weeks ſince, and carried to the *Gate-houſe*, where with all Patience they have endured a cloſe and chargeable Impriſonment, not knowing any Accuſer or Accuſation; nor can they by any means addreſs themſelves to this honourable Council, being denied Pen, Ink, and Paper: Some of your Petitioners, by Order, have obtained Leave to viſit them, and do find that they are altogether ignorant of any Plot or Deſign againſt his Majeſty's Perſon or Government, and that if any Thing of that Nature be charged on them, they would be glad that they might be brought to a legal Trial, that ſo their Innocency might be vindicated. And foraſmuch as your Petitioners Huſbands, for the moſt Part, are very poor, having nothing left but their own Induſtry to maintain themſelves and Families; and that as it hath been their Care, ſo we are confident ſhall be, to live peaceably under his Majeſty's Government.

Therefore your Petitioners do moſt humbly pray, That your Majeſty, and this honourable Council, would be pleaſed to grant your Petitioners Huſbands their Liberty, or otherwiſe, that they might be brought to a ſpeedy Trial according to Law, that ſo them and their Families may not utterly be deſtroyed, and that for the future they may have the Protection of the Law, to encourage them to follow their Callings. And your Petitioners ſhall pray, *&c.*

Suſanna Lytcott,	*Sarah Wilkes,*	*Elizabeth Packer,*
Alice Reade,	*Martha Kenwrick,*	*Jane Maſon,*
Mary Gladman,	*Sarah Wanſey,*	*Suſanna Newman;*
Anne Chaffin,		

Which Petition being read, Anſwer was returned by one of the Clerks attending the Council, That a Committee would be appointed to give their Huſbands a ſpeedy Diſpatch, which cauſed their further conſtant Attendance; but not hearing of any ſuch Committee, they about a Month after humbly preſented to ſeveral of the Lords, as they were going to ſit in Council, the following Memorial.

Right Honourable,

BE pleaſed to remember the ſad and deplorable Condition of our Huſbands, cloſe Priſoners in the *Gate houſe*, preſented by our Petition to his Majeſty and Council about a Month ſince; they having been near ſixteen Weeks under a ſevere Confinement, and not conſcious of any Crime; ſo that except your Honours,

Honours, out of tender Compaſſion, give a ſpeedy Anſwer to our humble and juſt Deſires, they and their Families muſt ſuffer inevitable Ruin.

And upon their Attendance that Council Day, Anſwer was given, that nothing would be done at the Council, the Buſineſs being referred to the Lord Chief Juſtice; but hearing nothing further thereof, the Term alſo near the End, we did humbly conceive, by the Advice of our Friends, it might be moſt ſatisfactory to his Majeſty, and expeditious for ourſelves, to be brought before his Lordſhip by the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, which being ſued forth and made returnable immediately, was alſo ſerved upon the Keeper, Sir *Edward Broughton*, on *Saturday* the 8th of *February*, 1661, our Solicitor having acquainted the Attorney General with this Proceeding, deſiring there might be no Delay, but if any Thing were againſt the Priſoners, the Court might be acquainted therewith on their appearing at the Bar, which they expected ſhould be the *Monday* following, the Deputy-keepers having told them the Writs would be obeyed, unleſs their Maſter, Sir *Edward Broughton*, received Orders from the Secretary to the contrary; who notwithſtanding diſobeyed his Majeſty's Writs, and injuriouſly broke his Promiſe with us, which loſt our Opportunity of taking out ſecond Writs, and occaſioned our humble Addreſs to the honourable the Judges by the following Letters preſented to, and read by them, the Court ſitting.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench at Weſtminſter, *theſe humbly preſent.*

MAY it pleaſe your Honour to be informed, That ourſelves, and divers others within this Priſon, have, by our Wives and Friends petitioned and ſolicited his Majeſty and Council theſe ſixteen Weeks and more to procure our Enlargement, but can neither obtain that, nor ſo much as Knowledge wherefore we are committed, nor a Copy of our *Mittimus*; but were ſome few Days ſince informed by a Clerk of the Council, that we and our Caſe were referred to your Lordſhip, the which hath invited our Friends to procure an *Habeas Corpus* to bring us this Day before your Bar; but our Keeper, Sir *Edward Broughton*, having abuſed us, by exacting of Fees and Chamber-rent, refuſeth to bring us before your Lordſhip.

We therefore humbly deſire, that a Tipſtaff may be ſent to-morrow for ſuch of us as have ſued out our *Habeas Corpus*, ſo that your Honour may not only be informed of the Cauſe of our cloſe Impriſonment (the which we are ignorant of) but alſo of the cruel Uſage we have and do daily ſuffer in our Perſons, Eſtates and Names, even to the utter Ruin of ſome, and almoſt Undoing of the reſt, as the incloſed Caſe of one of our Number will more particularly manifeſt, who was forced thus to preſent it, fearing the Keeper will not bring him to your Bar with the reſt. The Truth of all which will be made good, if we ſhall have the Happineſs to be

brought before your Lordſhip; which is the humble Petition and Deſires of your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servants.

From the *Gate-houſe, Weſtminſter, Feb.* 11. 1661.

William Kenwrick,
John Maſon,
Henry Wanſey,
Leonard Lytcott,
Timothy Wilkes,
William Newman,
John Chaffin.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench at Weſtminſter, *theſe humbly preſent.*

Right Honourable,

UPON the 26th of *October* laſt, being in my Shop in *Threadneedle-ſtreet, London*, I was taken by Purſuivants, or Meſſengers, who ſaid they had Orders to carry me before one of the Secretaries of State at *Whitehall*, to anſwer the Breach of a Bond I had formerly given when diſcharged from my Impriſonment in the Tower of *London*; but they, without carrying me before the ſaid Secretaries, or any other Magiſtrate, had me to Sir *Edward Broughton* the Keeper of the *Gate-houſe* Priſon, who ſaid to me, *You are my Priſoner, and to be kept cloſe.* I aſked him by what Authority, and deſired a Sight and Copy of my Commitment: He read me the firſt Line of the Warrant, and ſaid, *It was enough for me to know it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure I ſhould be ſo kept.* I then told him, that my Eſtate was taken from me, and but little left beſides my Watch-making Trade to keep me alive, and that if I had my Tools and Accommodation to work, I could both pay him my Chamber-rent, and maintain myſelf, and otherwiſe I could not do it. Sir *Edward Broughton* then promiſed me upon his Honour, that, except my Impriſonment, I ſhould have all the Civility I could deſire, and wiſhed me to ſend my Mind to the Secretary. To which I replied, Sir, how can I do that, which am immediately to be your cloſe Priſoner? He then promiſed me to acquaint the Secretary *Nicholas* with my Deſires: Notwithſtanding he ſent me to lodge upon a very hard Flock-bed, much worſe than are ſome Mats, whereon, after I had tired my Body for ſome Nights, I deſired a Truſs of Straw rather than ſuch a Bed, and offered him Payment for it, yet could not obtain the ſame; and becauſe I could not comply with his Exactions, to pay ten Shillings a-week for a Bed; twenty Shillings for turning the Key; five Shillings for the Uſe of a Pair of Sheets; five Shillings Garniſh; and five Pounds for Iron Fees, at nine Days End (although in all that Time, neither Wife, Children, nor Friends were permitted to ſee or come near me) I was carried down two Pair of Stairs into a very ſtrait Room, not above two Steps wide, without a Fire-place, and there locked up for ten Days, not permitting me to come forth to eaſe Nature in fifteen or ſixteen Hours together; and often when I called for Ale, either the Bottom of ſome old Barrel, or Ale and Urine mingled, they brought me to drink, which after taſted by two Priſoners Wives, I was enforced to throw it away, and for divers Days to drink fair Water: But at length, when they underſtood I was about to petition his Majeſty for Relief, I was put into another

Room

Room for twelve Days Time, whoſe Windows were ſore broken, and no Means by Glaſs, Paper, or otherwiſe afforded to ſtop them, although daily promiſed; all which ill Uſage had ſo much diſtempered my Body, that my Life was thereby endangered; and becauſe I could not comply to anſwer their Exactions, I was often threatened to be put into the Hole, when as I had neither Money to buy myſelf or Family Bread; and by their own Defaults in keeping me without my Tools, I was diſabled to pay the Premiſes: And, to manifeſt their further Cruelty, when as my Wife by Petition obtained his Majeſty's Order to have my Tools into the Priſon, and be continued in the Room I was then placed in, for the better Accommodation of my Trade, Sir *Edward Broughton*, by his Deputy, took from my Children my Tools, not only depriving me of the Uſe of them for theſe fifteen Weeks paſt, but doth yet detain them in his Hands, and will not reſtore them to my Wife or Children; ſo that herein by the Keeper I have ſuffered the Loſs of fifteen Pounds that I could have gotten by my Labour, and my Tools are of Value near five Pounds, which he hath in his Hands or Poſſeſſion, and further demands ſeven Shillings a-week for a Bed, in a Room heretofore ſet but for ſeven Groats, with the aforeſaid Fees; whoſe Due, and much more than the Law doth direct, for Quietneſs ſake I have often offered to pay, ſo as he would but reſtore my Goods, and give a Receipt under his Hand to manifeſt a full Diſcharge (becauſe 'tis uſual to demand Chamber-rent there after it hath been once paid) or elſe refer himſelf (as I deſire) to any Magiſtrate that he ſhall chuſe: But this my Keeper refuſeth to agree to, and twenty-four Days ago, notwithſtanding the King's Order, he cauſed my Bed, Bedding, and Mats, to be all taken from me, and refuſed to permit me to have in a Bed of mine own, or ſo much as a Truſs of Straw to lodge on; and his Deputy the 18th of *February* laſt, openly ſaid, *That whereas all the cloſe Priſoners Wives had petitioned his Majeſty, deſiring their Huſbands Liberty, or that they might be brought to a ſpeedy Trial according to Law*, he ſaid, *their Petition ſhould be ſpoiled, and that Sir* Edward Broughton *was gone to* Whitehall *for that Purpoſe*. And two Days after they had taken from me my Bed, four of his Officers and Soldiers, his Deputy-turnkey, Attendants, and the very Tapſter (being Soldiers) took me up, being upon a Mat I had procured to lodge on, and by Force carried me out of my Room through the Gallery to a cloſe Room in the remoteſt Part of the Houſe, called the *Troploft*, allowing me but the Boards to lodge on for theſe twenty-four Nights paſt; nor would the Keeper permit my Son to bring me a Bolſter of Straw, but doth threaten often to board up my Window, ſo as then I ſhall have no Air to breathe in. My Lords, it was the Biſhop of *Worceſter*'s good Counſel to his Majeſty at his Coronation, *A Prince ſhould ſay, as* Nehemiah, *Should ſuch a one as I, repreſenting God in Greatneſs and Goodneſs, rewarding ſuch as do well, and puniſhing ſuch as do evil; ſhall I do any Thing that is mean, baſe, ſinful, unjuſt, cruel, or diſhonourable to him whom I repreſent?* Now, my Lords, ſhall you the Judges of the Law know theſe Cruelties to be exerciſed on me under his Majeſty's Government, and not relieve me? God forbid. Examine the Truth of my Complaint: Once I have ſworn; twice I have given Security; four Times I have been impriſoned by malicious Con-

trivances; I have my *Habeas Corpus* granted, but cannot be brought forth; I desire your Lordships to release me, or remove me from this wretched Place of Torment; and if I must be detained, after above fifteen Weeks Imprisonment, not knowing any Cause thereof, let me be dealt with as a Man, and used and provided for as the King's Prisoner ought to be by Law, during my Restraint: Which is all at present from your Lordship's most humble oppressed Prisoner,

Henry Wansey.

From my close Captivity in the abominable
Prison of the *Gate-house*, *Westminster*,
February 11, 1661.

Which Letters being read by the Judges, the Lord Chief Justice demanded who was the Presenter of them, and being owned by our Friend, he also humbly prayed that his Lordship would be pleased to hear a Motion upon them; which being granted, Mr. Sergeant *Bearmould* seeing the said Keeper of the *Gate house* had not only disobeyed the first Writ, but also an Order of Court made the Day before for bringing the Prisoners to the Bar, under the Penalty of forty Pounds, that an Attachment might be granted against the said Keeper, or that the Prisoners might be brought before the Lord Chief Justice (this being the last Day of the Term) at his Chamber, that Bail might be put in before him there; but could not be obtained: But the Court did agree that it was fit to grant an *aliis Habeas Corpus*, returnable fifteen Days after *Easter*, with a lusty Fine, because that Keeper usually disobeyeth the Orders of the Court; which was done accordingly, under the Penalty of one hundred Pounds: And the Prisoners doubting that their Usage was like to be worse from their Keeper than before, by Mr. Sergeant *Newdigate* moved the same Day, That an Order might be made for their Solicitors, Attorneys and Friends to come to them, and to allow them the Liberty of the Prison-house: Which was granted, as desired, and being translated into *English*, is as followeth.

Wednesday, *eight Days after the Purification of the blessed* Mary, *in the fourteenth Year of King* Charles *the Second, our Lord the King*; *against the Keeper of the Prison of the* Gate-house,

IT is ordered, That the Keeper of the said Prison permit the Solicitors, Attorneys and Friends of *William Kenwrick*, and the other Prisoners in his Custody, to come and speak with the aforesaid Prisoners; and to allow them the Liberty of the Prison-house, upon the Motion of Mr. Serjeant *Newdigate*.

By the Court.

Which said Order being the next Day served on Sir *Edward Broughton* the Keeper, he seemed to yield Obedience to it, affording the Benefit of it for one Day; but, by his Deputies the Day following, exercised as much Strictness as formerly, locking us up from the Liberty of the House, denying our nearest Relations and Servants with Necessaries, Access to us; our Solicitor also being then with us, was uncivilly commanded away, and threatened to be made

made a Priſoner the enſuing Morning: For all which, when we demanded a Reaſon, urging the Judge's Order to the contrary, they replied, *The Secretary would bear them out, and that the Keys for locking them up in the Day-time was their Order.*

Being thus, after all our Expences and Endeavours to be brought forth to Trial, and for obtaining our Liberties, through the injurious Dealing of our Keeper, and his high Contempt of Authority, fruſtrated in our Expectations; and our taking this legal Courſe, after other humble ſubmiſſive Means failed, made rather as an Aggravation of a Crime againſt us by our mercenary Keepers, who are all Soldiers in Pay, and in their own Eſteem out of the Reach of the Law; we were neceſſitated to repreſent our ſad Condition to the Right Honourable the Lord High Chancellor, and to the Honourable the Lord Chief Juſtice, and other the Judges of the King's Bench in theſe following Addreſſes.

To the Right Honourable the Lord High Chancellor of England, *theſe humbly preſent.*

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

WE take the Boldneſs, being not a little oppreſſed, humbly to ſpread before your Lordſhip our Complaint, who have been kept (as we conceive) through Miſinformation, four Months cloſe Priſoners in the *Gate-houſe*, and more ſeverely dealt with than thoſe taken in open Hoſtility, or guilty of the higheſt Treaſons. And, my Lord, to clear ourſelves, and make our Innocency appear, we have (by our Wives) uſed all imaginable ſubmiſſive petitionary Means to his Majeſty and Council, who, through their weighty Affairs, neither admitted us a Hearing, nor afforded us Relief, or ſo much as Anſwer; but only his Majeſty's Secretary acquainted our Wives, that we and our Caſe were referred to my Lord Chief Juſtice *Foſter*, the which neceſſitated our Relations to endeavour by Writ to bring us laſt Term to the King's Bench Bar, that his Lordſhip and the whole Nation might publickly know that we are faithful, peaceable, and obedient Subjects. But, my Lord, the Writ being diſobeyed by our Keeper Sir *Edward Broughton*, we have no Means left us to endeavour our Enlargement till the next Term, ſave only by our Addreſſes to your Lordſhip, the Seat of Equity, being much encouraged thereunto by the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, and your Honour's many favourable Speeches thereupon.

Now, foraſmuch as we are innocent Perſons, and not guilty of the Breach of any known Law, having been lately, in like manner impriſoned (ſome of us three or four Times), and that my Lord Chief Juſtice (to whom we apprehended ourſelves referred) is prevented at preſent (through the wilful and injurious Neglect of Sir *Edward Broughton*) to afford us Relief, other than ordering us the legal Favour of Converſe with our Friends, and the Liberty of the Priſon-houſe to breathe in; the which, by our Keepers was, after one Day, denied us with more Strictneſs than before.

We therefore humbly pray, that your Lordſhip will, in tender Compaſſion, repreſent our ſad Condition to his Majeſty, minding his Majeſty of his gracious Act of Indemnity, and mediating for our preſent Liberty and future

future Protection, ſo that ſudden and ſpeedy Deſtruction do not utterly ruin thoſe, who through their many late great Loſſes and Impriſonments have hardly left wherewith to buy Bread: Thus craving your Honours charitable and favourable Aſpect on our Condition, we are your Lordſhips moſt humble Servants.

William Kenwrick, *Henry Wanſey,*
Leonard Lycott, *William Newman,*
Feb. 15, 1661. *Timothy Wilkes,* *John Chaffin.*
John Maſon,

To the Honourable the Lord Chief Juſtice, and other the Judges of the King's-Bench, theſe humbly preſent.

My Lords,

WE cannot but with much Thankfulneſs acknowledge your juſt Favour, upon our Motion made by Mr. Sergeant *Newdigate* upon the laſt Day of the Term, ordering the Keeper to ſuffer our Sollicitors, Attornies, and Friends to come to us, and allowing us the Liberty of the Priſon-houſe, after ſixteen Weeks cloſe Impriſonment; in which Time our Friends have been detained from us, to our great Impoveriſhment, and almoſt utter undoing; only one Day the Gaoler yielded Obedience to your Order, but the next Day they pretended Order for our cloſe Confinement, as formerly, which they put in Practice, not ſhewing, upon our Demand, any Order for the ſame. Might we but obtain Leave to make our juſt Grievances known to your Lordſhips, we believe they are unparalleled. Endeavours are uſed (as is privately intimated to us) to prevail with your Honour to make a new Rule, which if once done, will extend to a Confirmation of our cloſe Impriſonment, as if done by Law: This we are not eaſily induced to believe, that your Lordſhips ſhould ſuffer our Bonds to be made ſtronger by any Proceedings from that Court from whom we expect Relief. Whilſt we were preparing to preſent theſe few Lines to your Lordſhips, by our Sollicitor, the Under-keeper forceth him from us, and openly declared before Witneſs, *That your Lordſhip, with the reſt of the Judges, denied you made any ſuch Order*, although the Sollicitor proved before his Face he delivered it to Sir *Edward Broughton*; and the Under-keeper had confeſſed the Day after the Term it was delivered to Sir *Edward*; and further ſaid, *He was as glad as if he had an hundred Pounds given him, it would not rejoyce him more than that we had ſuch Liberty granted, as our Freedom from cloſe Impriſonment:* Yet ſince our Servants are denied to bring us Neceſſaries, or to let us know, whether our Wives and Children are dead or alive, ſome of them being very ſick; the which Uſage doth not only encreaſe the Afflictions of all our Relations, but much aggravate our own Sufferings, who are your Honours moſt humble Servants,

William Kenwrick, *Henry Wanſey,*
From the *Gate-houſe,* *Leonard Lytcott,* *William Newman,*
Weſtminſter, Feb. *John Maſon,* *John Chaffin.*
15, 1661. *Timothy Wilkes,*

It

It was our Intention to have inſerted the Anſwer to theſe laſt Addreſſes; but hearing it was the Deſign of ſome great Perſons, inſtead of making us Reparations, to ſend us to remote Places, we are diſappointed; only our Friend that preſented them, conceives the Lord Chancellor diſapproved of this injurious dealing with his Majeſty's peaceable Subjects, and that the Judges diſcovered a Purpoſe not to recede from the Order for taking off our cloſe Impriſonment, both in reſpect of the Juſtice and Legality thereof, and likewiſe, being granted the laſt Day of the Term, it could not be duly altered; and until we ſee a better Order than this granted by his Majeſty's Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall* to the contrary, we hope to be excuſed in our daily continuing to demand our Liberty therein allowed us, though the Inſolency of thoſe Soldiers (our Under-keepers) is ſuch, as ſtill to debar our Friends, Sollicitors, and Attornies Acceſs to us, ſhewing us (when demanded) the Keys for their Order; and in a provoking manner, ſnatched a Pen out of the Hand of one of our Number, whilſt writing out ſome Part of our former Addreſſes, the Benefit and Supply of Pen, Ink, and Paper being gained upon the Order for taking off our cloſe Impriſonment, and whereof we are unwilling (but by Violence) to be deprived, which we could little have expected from thoſe Hands, remembring, that when we made known to them our Purpoſe of endeavouring our Liberty this Way, they not only profeſſed how glad they ſhould be, if we might attain it; but one of them brought us Word, that after the firſt Writ was ſerved upon Sir *Edward Broughton*, he was ſent from him to the Secretary, from whom (if his Maſter received not Orders to the contrary) we ſhould be brought to the Bar; and both at that Time, and formerly, told us his Maſter cared not if we were diſcharged, knowing where to find others to fill up his Priſon.

Thus having in all Reality diſcharged our Conſcience, and humbly endeavoured to manifeſt to his Majeſty and Council, the Lord Chancellor, and the honourable Judges, our Innocency and Faithfulneſs, and alſo, in part, the cauſeleſs Sufferings of his Majeſty's peaceable and quiet Subjects, we ſhall in all Chriſtian Patience wait till the Lord in his Mercy ſhall graciouſly ſend Deliverance, being encouraged, both from his Word and Promiſes, to hope and expect ſeaſonable Supports; as alſo by the Experiences of ſome, our next Chamber-fellows, who have lain more than thirteen Months cloſe Priſoners in this wretched *Houſe of Bondage*, under the Threats and Menaces of our Gaolers, having for ſome Seaſon worn very weighty Iron Chains on both Legs, Day and Night, and to this time knowing no more than we, either Accuſer or Crime laid to their Charge.

Yet if, by the good Providence of God, our Happineſs ſhall be made ſo great by ſome charitable Hand, as to preſent this our ſuffering Condition to his Majeſty's View, with this Aſſurance, That neither directly nor indirectly we have acted any thing againſt the preſent Government, but have lived in all peaceable Submiſſion thereunto; as alſo acquainting his Majeſty the great Diſſervice done by thoſe Perſons that make and continue Diſtinctions amongſt his Majeſty's good Subjects, or endeavour to withdraw his Majeſty's Affections from them; we cannot then but hope his Majeſty will no longer ſuffer us to be thus ſeverely

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uſed, but will afford us Liberty and Protection, according to our native Right, and the good old Laws of this Kingdom.

Feb. 20, 1661.

Truth's Diſcovery; or the CAVALIERS Caſe clearly ſtated by Conſcience and Plain-dealing. Preſented to the honourable Commiſſioners, and all the truly loyal and indigent Officers and Soldiers. Publiſhed for the Satisfaction of all his Majeſty's faithful Subjects.

Written by Captain CHARLES HAMMOND, *one of the truly loyal and indigent Officers.*

Printed in the Year 1664.

To the Courteous READER.

I *Know not into whoſe Hands this Pamphlet may come, nor indeed do I much care: The Proverb ſaith,* Truth may be blamed, but not ſhamed. *For my own Part,* I fear God and honour my King: *I hope, at this Time I ſhall diſpleaſe neither: I will here uſe my Pen, as I ever uſed my Sword; which was more out of Love and Duty to my Prince, than Lucre of Pay, Honour, or Preferment. As I ever hated to inſinuate into any one's Favour; ſo I hope in this Book I ſhall incur no one's Diſpleaſure.*

Here is no particular Perſon rubbed; but if any be gauled, perhaps they may wince, who will be but laughed at by honeſt Men; for my Part, I fear not their Kicking, but ſhall defend myſelf (I hope) with Honour, having Truth, Conſcience, and Plain-dealing to defend me; Juſtice and Equity to ſecond me. I ſhall have the Cenſures of many, in reading of this Book; all my Deſire is, that they would peruſe it all over; I will own it is no Baſtard, decked with borrowed Habit: If it wants Learning or Language to ſet it forth, pray conſider it came from a Soldier, and an indigent Officer, who can dreſs it no better than he is able; confeſſing himſelf very poor in his Pen, as (I believe) we are all left in our Purſes: Therefore, it may be better accepted amongſt ſome of you. However, being once paſt the Preſs, let it ſhift (as we muſt) for the preſent, to the Grief of our Friends, and Deriſion of our Enemies; which God, the King, and Parliament, in Time (I hope) will conſider; to the Comfort and Relief of thoſe that can clearly make themſelves out to be the truly loyal and indigent Party.

Which is the humble Deſire of him that loves and honours a faithful and conſtant Sufferer, a loyal and civil Subject, a gallant and deſerving Soldier.

Charles Hammond.

Truth's

Truth's Diſcovery; or, the Cavaliers Caſe clearly ſtated by Conſcience and Plain-dealing.

Laid open in theſe four Heads:

I. *Their Grievances made manifeſt, impartially.*
II. *Their Faults laid open, without Flattery.*
III. *The Cauſes that produceth their Faults, diſcovered in reality.*
IV. *The Remedies deſcribed in Good-will, out of true Loyalty and Fidelity.*

And, Firſt, *The Cavaliers Grievances made manifeſt.*

I Believe we have been a Table-talk in moſt Parts of Chriſtendom theſe three Years paſt; but much more ſince our Dividend of *Indigent Money* hath been allotted us; not ſix Weeks Pay for ſix Years Service, and ſixteen Years Sufferings; many Cenſures and Judgments hath been caſt upon many Men in the Handling of this Buſineſs: For my Part, I ſhall reflect upon none, but declare the Truth of what I have ſeen, and heard, and know in it. The King and Parliament did intend a better Gratuity than it fell out to be. And ſo it would have proved, had it been ſhared to none but thoſe that were truly qualified according to the Act; but who would not lay Claim to have an Intereſt in the Act, when there was neither Penalty nor Puniſhment for the Breakers of it? If any could procure a Certificate from any Colonel or Captain, that he was a Commiſſion Officer, that Certificate (with the Aſſiſtance of ſome Friends, to any one or more of the Commiſſioners) would produce five of their Hands and Seals, they believing the Party qualified according to the Certificate that is ſo produced from the ſaid Officers, which Officers, it is poſſible, are to go Sharers with them they ſo certify for, when they receive their Money; as I believe too many hath (with Impudence) gone clearly off with that Cheat; others have rid up and down the Country, and for ſome Money in Hand, and ſo much in the Pound (when they receive their Dividend) they would ſecure their Buſineſs, and warrant them they ſhall ſtand right or wrong; and if they would but conceit themſelves Officers, they would perſuade them they were ſo; and let the Royal Party (that knew they were no ſuch Men) prove it, and by Oath maintain it, and turned them out; yet thoſe Men were brought in again, and have received Part of this Money, and it is not known which Way; and if it were, we cannot help it: It hath been proved that ſome had been dead ſix Years, ſome ten Years, and ſome ſixteen Years; yet thoſe Men have been raiſed again, not to receive their Money, becauſe they are inviſible and not to be ſeen, but to make over Letters of Attorney, to have their Moneys received for them by ſuch as are not to learn

to cheat us now, as well as they could the King formerly, by their dead Muſters, and ſo make him a great Army of Officers now, as they did Soldiers then; but when they were to do him Service, there could not the fourth Part be found, no more there will be of theſe *Indigent Officers* if the King ſhould call them for his Service, or to have a ſtrict Account whether they be qualified according to the Act.

Another Sort there is of *Indigent Officers* that carried their Commiſſions in their Pockets, that either could not raiſe their Regiments, Companies, or Troops, or elſe would not; yet theſe made all or moſt Part of their Officers, eſpecially Quarter-Maſters, which muſt provide their Captains Quarter for a Troop, though he had never a Man beſides his Officers, and their Pedees and Baggage-Horſes: Theſe would lye upon the Out-quarters of the Army, if there were no Danger; elſe in one Regiment or other: Theſe would ſerve themſelves, being under no Command; never venturing their Lives, unleſs it were to plunder, making the Army odious by their Actions; ſo that civil and gallant Fighting-men were looked upon by the Country where they marched, as our indigent Party is here in the City, all alike; ſo that a truly loyal and indigent Officer now is aſhamed to own himſelf, in regard of ſo many Counterfeits which hath abuſed both the King and Country, and is ranked in amongſt us, and received as much as any of the beſt of us; whether it be their Due or no, I leave that to thoſe in Time may pleaſe to conſider of it, if this Book come to their Hands; which I hope it will.

Others there are (that have had a great Share in this Money) that may be termed *Indigent Officers*, but whether qualified according to the Act, that I ſhall not judge of; and they are ſuch as never ſerved the King (if they did) not as Commiſſion Officers till after 1646, which was at the Riſing in *Kent*, about a Week ſtanding; or at *Colcheſter*, or in Duke *Hamilton*'s Engagements, two or three Months ſtanding; or in Sir *George Booth*'s Buſineſs; and all theſe petty Riſings and Train-band Officers, that never went out of their own County or Gariſons where they lived, that were only in a Readineſs to help to ſave themſelves, not being able to endure the Scent of a light Match upon Service; yet theſe are brought in for indigent Officers too.

And then for Colonels, to make their Serving-men and Grooms Officers, to put in for the Money; and Captains to appoint Lieutenants, Cornets, Enſigns and Quarter-maſters (in a Tavern or an Alehouſe) and go half Snips with them; this they counted no Cheat if the Officers were dead: Others, if they ſerved the Parliament (after the King was murdered) till the Reſtoration of the King that now is: Nay, ſome of them proved great Trapanners to the King's Friends now in theſe Times; yet theſe are ranked with the truly loyal and indigent Officers, ſuch as were in Pay when we were in Priſon, and could march the Streets when we were forced to hide our Heads: If theſe be not Grievances (which we have Cauſe to lay open) let Friends and Enemies both be our Judges; when it was proved upon Oath before Commiſſioners, that ſome never had Command in their Lives: And againſt others, that there was no ſuch Men known, not ſo much as Troopers or Soldiers, which claimed to be Captains and Commiſſion Officers, and many of them never appeared to

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anſwer for themſelves, if there were any ſuch, as I believe it will be made appear there was not: To be ſhort, when we thought there had been 1500 at leaſt turned out by Inſpection, there was 300 more than the firſt Number taken in; ſo that we were ſenſible it was but a Folly to ſtrive againſt the Stream, being driven more and more backward.

As for thoſe *Indigent Officers*, that leaped from Corporals to Quarter-maſters, and from Cornets to Captains, Majors, and Lieutenant-Colonels, to put themſelves in Colonels; and to make their Brothers or Kindred Lieutenant-Colonels and Majors under them, that was accounted nothing, though it were within a Week or a Fortnight before the laying down of Arms; and ſome too that never did the King Service ſince, nor I believe will ever be chronicled for their Service they did his Father formerly; for their Loyalty, it may be they are clear; for I believe they were like a Chip in Pottage, never did Hurt nor good, neither for the King nor his Friends, but all for their own Ends: Indigent they may be termed, but by their inſinuating, they have gotten good Gifts and Rewards that hath been given by the King (and others) intended for thoſe that were deſerving, and poor; but the Proverb ſaith, *Kiſſing goes by Favour*; and Rewards beſtowed upon them that can make beſt Friends, when Service and Deſerts either lies in Priſon, or dare not peep out for Fear; as by ſome 'tis too openly known, that through Want and Grief together, being aſhamed to make their Wants known, eſpecially ſince the King came in, have broke their Hearts to ſee ſome of their Friends ſlighting them for their Poverty; and others that would willingly relieve them and not able, the more is their Grief, and to be pitied.

Now, there are another Sort of truly loyal, but not indigent; which ſome of them I much honour, having been much impoveriſhed in Eſtate by their Service for the King, and never yet had any Reward, that hath put in for a Part of this Money, that are not ſo indigent; but if they had thought to what a pitiful Sum it would amount to, they would have left it to them that had more Need: But there are ſome again that hath had good Rewards and Offices (under the King) given them, ſome more than their Commands, their Service, or their Sufferings ever merited, yet hath put in, and taken Share of this Money too, being ſo covetous as to rob the Spittle (as I may term it) being ungrateful to his Majeſty for his Favour to them formerly, and abuſing his Charity in this which was now intended for them that were really in Want for the preſent: I believe there are ſome that hath taken of this Money, that if the Truth were known (as it may be made appear) that they have gotten (beſides their Places) near a thouſand Pounds a Man, and ſome have threeſcore, ſome an hundred, nay, five hundred a-year; yet all theſe have put in for *Indigent Officers*; ſo what I have here related concerning our Grievances, is nothing but Truth; and much more can be proved by the truly loyal and indigent Party, to the Shame of ſome Perſons (that ſhall be nameleſs) if once called to an Account: Our Wants and Neceſſities have been ſo great, that it is not unknown upon what Rates ſome Men have been fain to borrow Money, as at five Shillings in the Pound, and a Gratuity to ſome to help them to it: Some indeed borrowing ſo much, I believe they will never come to look for more, know-

ing they have no Right to any of our Money, if all Things had been rightly carried: Beſides, there hath been Abundance of honeſt Tradeſmen and Houſekeepers undone by truſting and helping us in the Time we waited for this Money, not any of them thinking but it would have amounted, in ſome Meaſure, to have ſatisfied every moderate Man's Debts; but falling out as it hath done, it hath undone them and us too; for ſome of them are not able to relieve themſelves now, that formerly relieved us, that of Neceſſity, if God doth not raiſe Friends for ſome, they muſt want Lodging, Food, and Raiment, unleſs it be provided them in a Priſon, as too many can witneſs ſince they have received this Indigent Money; many being caſt into Priſon already, others, having neither Money nor Credit, muſt of Neceſſity either beg, ſteal, or ſtarve, unleſs God be pleaſed to raiſe them Friends, to move his Majeſty and the Parliament to provide for them, as they out of their Mercy and Wiſdom ſhall think fit; which will not be (of the truly loyal and indigent Party, that can prove themſelves qualified according to the Act, not) the fifth Part of thoſe that have gotten their Share of this laſt Money, which I ſhall more clearly make out how they may be proved at the latter End of this Book.

So having ſhewed you our Grievances in Part, I will now ſhew you the Faults our indigent Party are branded with, and not without a Cauſe.

The Faults of the indigent Party laid open without Flattery.

AS the Complaints are great of the indigent Party, to the Grief of many civil Men (their Friends) ſo their Griefs hath been as great to hear the Complaints againſt them, which I confeſs is not without a Cauſe: And give me leave to lay open to you thoſe Faults which are too openly ſeen, and heard, to our Shame in the World; that makes many ſay, we can ſee the Motes in others Eyes, but perceive not the Beams that are in our own. Our Sufferings were great before his Majeſty was reſtored; you will ſay 'tis greater now: 'Tis true our Sins were great before, they are far greater now; God hath reſtored us to our Peace and Liberty, which we ſo long prayed for, and wiſhed for, what Returns have we made to him for that Mercy? Inſtead of ſending new Praiſes and Thankſgivings to preſent him from our Hearts and Lips for thoſe Mercies, we have invented new Oaths and Curſes to ſend him: He that cannot ſwear and ſwagger, drink, rant and rogue, is looked upon (by ſome) as a pitiful Fellow, and not worth their keeping Company; and if he cannot vapour, he is not looked upon to have any Valour: Theſe Vices have got ſuch a Cuſtom of late, that they are looked upon to be the only Badge to diſtinguiſh a Cavalier from a Sectary, that you ſhall find in Court and Camp, in City and Country, that thoſe that are crept into Places of Profit and Preferment by their Purſes (which I believe ſerve the King more for Lucre of Pay than Love to his Perſon) theſe are now become as abſolute *Dam-me Boys* as the beſt (or the worſt I may ſay) which formerly would as ſoon cut a Cavalier's Throat as ſwear an Oath, and eſteemed it a leſs Sin, unleſs it had been the Covenant or Engagement; but I have no more to ſay to them. But how can we look for Mercies from God, or Favour from the King, when we (who

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ſhould ſhew ſuch good Examples for the Glory of God who hath delivered us, and the Honour of our King, whoſe Cauſe we fought for) are now ſo accuſtomed to theſe odious Sins, that we neither fear God's Judgments, nor the King's Laws, which are both Enemies to ſuch counterfeit Cavaliers (I can term them no other, nor ever did) who hath done the King more Harm by their Debauchedneſs, than ever they can do him good by their Service, if he ſhould have Occaſion to uſe them; therefore, you that make your Service and Sufferings out for his Majeſty, ſhew it in your Carriage and Behaviour, for your future Happineſs and his Majeſty's Honour: We have Enemies enough, we had need make God our Friend, and that can never be with ſuch Courſes: I believe, if ſome thought there was a God, they would not call upon him to damn them ſo often as they do; it is an Oath ſo common, it is grown a Cuſtom by Rich and Poor, Men and Women, Old and Young; we can talk againſt the Pride of the Gentry, the Covetouſneſs of the Clergy, the Deceit of the Citizens, and the Corruption of the Lawyer; but Swearing, Curſing, Lying, Back-biting, and Inſinuating are counted no Sins amongſt us; and that I muſt be bold to tell you, that thoſe that profeſs themſelves the *Indigent Party*, are greatly guilty in this, and by jarring and quarrelling one with another, every one thinking his own Wit beſt, till at laſt ſome outwitted all thoſe that are truly indigent; and well they may, having four to one againſt us, and good Backers to ſecond them: Theſe, and ſuch like, are the Faults of the indigent Party, which I have here declared, not out of Envy or Hypocriſy, but out of the Love to them that are of the right Party, hoping you will better accept of it from a Friend than from an Enemy: For others, let them think what they will, and ſpeak what they liſt, I have done what I can to make it appear who are the *truly loyal and indigent Party*, and who the Counterfeit, that the Cheat may be found (though the Gameſters be hid) for the Satisfaction of our Friends, which are grieved for us; and likewiſe for our Enemies, which rejoiceth at our Poverty, and would work upon our Neceſſity if they could; but I hope they ſhall find us more contented with our Rags of Loyalty, with a quiet Conſcience, than they can be in their Robes of Sedition, which they have gained by our Ruin, not doubting but God's Mercy, and the King's Clemency in Time may relieve us, when it is clearly known who hath faithfully ſerved and ſuffered for him; in the mean time, I deſire all them that fear God and honour the King, not to let their Grievances and Poverty move their Paſſion ſo much by their Curſing and Swearing, which makes us ſtink in the Noſtrils of God, and odious in the Company of civil Perſons, and become a laughing Stock to our Enemies, that hath nothing elſe to look for, but the Judgments of God to fall upon us, ſuch like Sins, which are too much uſed by thoſe that profeſs themſelves the King's Friends.

So having now ſhewed you the Faults of our Party, I ſhall ſhew you the Cauſes, which are many; I will inſtance a few, and though they be great, I deſire to remove them, that our Faults may be mended.

The Cauſes that produceth their Faults diſcovered in reality.

WE can plead no Cauſe we have for our Sins, or Faults, but what produceth them, we may; and that I ſhall declare, which is Pride, Poverty, and Paſſion. You will ſay, 'Tis ſtrange that the indigent Party ſhould be tainted with Pride, for they have Cauſe enough to be humbled; yes, but the Counterfeits are proud in Conceit, that they have out-witted, out-vapoured, and can out-ſwear the truly loyal and indigent Party, as by woful Experience we have found. I muſt tell you, that they take ſuch Pride in their Swearing, that they think they are not looked upon as Gentlemen and Cavaliers, unleſs they can ſwear to all they ſpeak, whether it be Truth or Lies; nay, I dare ſay, that there are many Hundreds that have received their Portion of this indigent Money (with the beſt) that have diſcharged more Vollies of Oaths in the Faces of the King's Friends, than ever they diſcharged Corns of Powder gallantly in the Faces of his Enemies. If the greateſt Swearers and Vapourers could prove themſelves the beſt Soldiers and the greateſt Sufferers for his Majeſty, they then may be proud of their Loyalty to the King; but they cannot boaſt of their good Service to God. I muſt tell you, 'tis the greateſt Honour that can redound to a Soldier to be counted religious, as well as valorous; and Humility is the trueſt Badge of Gentility. You muſt not blaze every Man's Arms now by the Coat he wears on his Back; if you ſhould, Poverty procured by Loyalty, would be a great Blot in the Scutcheons of many a gallant Soul, and well-bred Gentleman, which can patiently ſee every Day rich Coats worn by ſuch as cannot find a Coat of Arms to blaze, unleſs they fetch it from the Heraldry of Rebellion, or buy it, as many hath done Places of Honour and Preferment, with the Purſes they have gained by the Plunder, Purchaſe, and utter Ruin of ſome of his Majeſty's beſt Subjects, which in their Eyes, and in their Hearts, they think and will ſpeak a-far off, that our Poverty is a juſt Reward for our Loyalty, terming us Fools that we did not turn Knaves as they did, and then face about with them, having but Money in our Purſes they ſay it would have procured us Friends enough at Court. I hope every rational Man may clearly ſee that I have ſpoken nothing but Truth, and you may give Loſers leave to ſpeak, having nothing more to loſe now but our Lives; for few of us can boaſt of being ſure of our Liberty, not daring to walk the Streets in the City for fear of a Compter Scuffle, nor out of the City for fear of a worſe Party, which hath taken many of our indigent Officers, and conveyed them to ſuch Garriſons, where they muſt lie till God in his Mercy take them away, or the King in his Clemency find Exchanges for them, which ſome of their hard-hearted Creditors had rather ſee ſtarved to Death, than relieved or releaſed by them; and this is the Poverty that hath cauſed many a civil Soul to fall into Paſſion to ſee his Fellow-ſufferer ready to ſtarve, and not able to relieve him, to ſee him carried to Priſon and cannot help him, to hear him laughed at, ſcorned and derided by others, and dare not vindicate him without the venturing your Life, or flying your Country, or ſuffer yourſelf to be vilified in taking his Part, by ſuch as with their

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inſinuating into ſome Men's Favours that are in Authority, ſhall ſmite you ſecretly (if it be poſſible) and you ſhall never know who hurts you, and ſhall ruin you in your Credit, as they have done in your Eſtate, if their Tongue or their Purſe can do it. Are not theſe ſufficient Cauſes to move Paſſion in civil Men, to break out beyond Reaſon ſometimes? when our Poverty for our Fidelity ſhall make us ridiculous, our Inferiors predominating over us, our Superiors more countenancing our Enemies than hearkening to us, and our own Party not able to help one another, our Complaints being kept from his Majeſty's Ear, as our Perſons, by our Poverty, are kept from his Preſence; ſo that I believe ſome of us may compare with *Job* for Patience, and outſtrip him too in ſome Points, as I ſhall take a little Leave to parallel. *Job* was a rich Man, had Wife and Children, God ſuffered Satan to afflict him in Body and Eſtate to try his Patience, he endured to the End, and was reſtored. We cannot read, that ever *Job* wanted Bread, nor was forced to fly from his own Houſe and Home, or ever ſtood in Danger of his Life every Hour by the Hands of the Rebels, in his own Country: He had his Liberty (though in Sores and Miſery) no debarring of any Friends that would come and viſit him: How many of the King's Friends have loſt all, many have been ſtarved for Want, and at this Time wants Bread, having neither Houſe nor Habitation of their own to go to, and now when the Time of Reſtoration was expected. How many hath been forced formerly to fly their own Country, every Day in danger of a Gaol, if not their Life; their Friends not daring to viſit them without being in danger of being undone for them, being plundered and robbed by their own native Country, their Kindred (not *Chaldeans*) profeſſed Enemies to our Country, as *Job*'s was to him; yet induring to the End with Patience, never curſing the Day of our Nativity, nor the Cauſe that brought us this Miſery, as willing ſtill to venture our Lives for his Majeſty that now is, as we hazarded our Lives and Eſtates formerly for his Father of bleſſed Memory. Give me Leave to think, if *Job* had lived in theſe Times to have been an indigent Officer, and endured ſo much Slavery and Poverty, and afterwards been delivered to his former Liberty, and a reaſonable Proviſion provided by King and Parliament for his preſent Neceſſity, and that being ordered and handled ſo that it produceth him to more Miſery, by the cloſe ſiniſter Ends of thoſe that profeſs to be his Friends, and of his own Party, I believe it would have urged his Patience, and with ſome us, think that (if it were to be ſearched out) they would find in it much Partiality, and that the main Ends of ſome covetous Parties hath brought many to Miſery, and highly abuſed the King and Parliament's Clemency, which was never intended for ſuch as hath received it, which are above three Thouſand not qualified according to the Act, which hath formerly declared, and can be clearly made out by civil rational Men, that are neither Vapourers nor Flatterers, and will prove it the greateſt Cheat that ever was acted againſt ſo needful an Act of Charity as this was.

So having ſhewed you our Grievances, our Faults, and the Cauſes, I ſhall now propound ſome Remedies, which being applied to theſe Sores, may open

abundance

abundance of Corruption to the Sight of thoſe (in time) may pity our Condition, and uſe ſome Remedies to cure our lingering Diſeaſe.

Remedies deſcribed in good Will (out of true Loyalty) for the Recovery of the truly loyal and indigent Party.

THE Remedies that I ſhall produce are but few; yet being applied with the Help of theſe, we look for Relief and Redreſs from, which are theſe honourable Perſons (the Parliament I mean) that (under God) hath already, and will heal, I hope, our tottered and once almoſt ruined Kingdom, which we may juſtly claim to be Members of; though ſome, by Age and Wounds, and others by Poverty, are not able to do as they have done, yet are willing ſtill, and I daae boldly ſay (in the Behalf of ſome) if tried, are as able now (by their Knowledge and Courage) to do the King as good Service (if there were Occaſion to uſe them) as they did formerly for his Father of ever-bleſſed Memory: But for the Remedies in hand; ſome Things that are paſt I ſhall not propound, which were to recover a Thing unpoſſible, which is the Money that was allotted among us, it being diſperſed into ſo many greedy and needy Hands, which I believe (and 'tis thought, by not raſh, but rational, Men) that a good handſome Part of the three-ſcore thouſand Pounds will fall into the Hands of but a few Perſons that will be made by our undoing; but the Letters of Attorney will ſkin over that Sore, and it can hardly be remedied; for the Office-Money, how that hath been handled, none can juſtly tell, though give a ſhrewd Gueſs; but if the Raters and Receivers were but thoroughly purged and ſearched, that Corruption may be fetched out, and a Remedy in time may be procured; but I muſt confeſs it is but a Folly in me (or any other of our poor Party) to propound any Remedies for ſuch old Sores that are too deep for us to ſearch into; therefore I ſhall leave thoſe Things that is paſt my finding out, and preſcribe a few Remedies that may do well for the future, to help thoſe that are the truly loyal and indigent Party, that if ever the King or Parliament, or any other, ſhould be willing to help heal us, that thoſe may be looked on, whoſe Service, Sufferings, and Deſerts, deſerve Pity; and that ſhould be made appear by a new Certificate, from the Hand or Hands of the chiefeſt Officer of the Regiment now living, that is known himſelf to be a deſerving gallant Man, and it was a compleat fighting Regiment, and then to certify that he knew ſuch a Man, and he had a real Command ſo long, as he can teſtify of his own Knowledge, and of his Behaviour and Carriage while he was under his Command, and thus to certify the Truth according to his Deſerts upon his Credit; and likewiſe to get another Certificate from the Hands of crnditable Men where he lived, or from others that knew him where he had been ſince the Wars, and would teſtify for his Loyalty after he left the King's Army to the Reſtoration of our now gracious Sovereign. I believe if none but thoſe that could produce ſuch a Certificate ſhould have had a Share of this indigent Money, we ſhould have had no Cauſe to declare our Grievances; but I believe then it would have been a great

Grief

Grief to ſome to have ſeen none but honeſt Men provided for; for then they ſhould not have been ſo well provided for, as they are now, with our Money. Next Remedy is, if for the future there ſhould any Proviſion be made, either by Offices or Places, either Martial or Civil, or any Money given by his Majeſty, or any others, that it may be put into the Hands of impartial Men to be diſtributed, ſuch as *Jethro* preſcribed to *Moſes*, *Men fearing God and hateing Covetouſneſs*; that Rewards intended for deſerving Men and Sufferers that wants, may not be diſtributed to particular Perſons in private, by Letters from Ladies, or great Men, to their Serving-men, Footmen, or Porters, or to ſuch as hath had more already than ever their Service deſerved; being a Cluſter of inſinuating, impudent, more-than indigent, Officers, that runs up and down, hearkening after ſuch Gifts, either fawning with the Favourites, or feeing them (and the Clerks that belongs to ſuch Perſons that hath the diſtributing of ſuch Gifts) that when their own Turn is ſerved, if there be any thing left (giving them a Part with you) they will make you acquainted with it. This hath been the Courſe of moſt Gifts that hath been beſtowed ſince his Majeſty came in; that if it were openly known upon whom it hath been beſtowed, it could not be made appear that it hath been half diſtributed according to the Intentions it was given for; ſo that a few particular Perſons hath, and doth, get a Share in every thing, and moſt of them deſerves nothing, and ſome wants nothing; when ſome Gentlemen, to my Knowledge, that had done the King good Service, hath been great Sufferers, gallant Soldiers, and no Deſerters, that could not get a Penny of all this Money to relieve them, not hearing of it till it was all diſtributed, ſome being brought to that Condition thro' Want, that now they are paſt Want; ſuch as could not make their Caſe known to none but ſuch as could not help themſelves, but only with Hopes, which keeps their Hearts from breaking, thinking they are now at the worſt, therefore in hopes it will mend. Another Remedy would be deſired for the truly loyal and indigent Soldiers that ſerved his Majeſty, as well as Officers, which are or ſhould be provided for by Penſion, according to the Act, which I believe if they were clearly purged, and none to have it but ſuch as could produce (from their Officers, and the Places where they have lived or been ſince the Wars) ſuch Certificates as I preſcribed for ſuch indigent Officers before, I believe then there would be a good Subſiſtance for all true Penſioners, Widows, or others, which I believe is not many more than they have made indigent Officers, if they were carefully examined; but there is as great Complaints from them as there is juſtly from us; ſome that never ſerved the King, ſome that ſerved a while and run home, others that ſerved the Rebels here in *England* till the King came in; yes, and received their Wounds in their Service againſt the King, ſome of them, and had a Penſion for it from them; yet making Friends, and getting ſome Officer's Hand, like themſelves, or to keep them from the Pariſh Charge, hath gotten in to be Penſioners, when, to my Knowledge, there are thoſe that hath been ſtout Soldiers, and ſerved as Corporals and Serjeants, and continued till the End of the Wars, lame and wounded too, and have been faithful ever ſince; ſome can get nothing, ſome forty Shillings or three Pounds a Year, when four Pounds or more, ſhall be

allotted ſome that can be proved as unworthy Raſcals againſt the King's Friends (in the Time of Rebellion) as thoſe that were always againſt us, and worſe too, and would be as ready ſtill to ſtand for Rebellion, if they thought it would prove the ſtronger Side: Thus hath the King's and Parliament's Clemency in the Act been abuſed, which I hope God will put into the Hearts of ſome of the Nobility and Clergy to move his Majeſty in our behalf, that he would appoint ſome noble Perſons to hear our Grieveances, and in ſome Way relieve us, that ſuch whom God in his Mercy hath preſerved their Lives, and ſhifted for their Liberty and Livelihood in the worſt of Times as we thought, ſhould not now complain for want of Food and Raiment, and Liberty, and to ſee, both in Court and Camp, Sea and Land, Places of Profit and Preferment beſtowed upon them that hath enough to live on beſides, which they gained when we loſt all, when able Men, and civil Men as ever ſerved his Majeſty, only branded with Poverty, muſt be looked upon by theſe Perſons as unworthy Men, and not fit to have any Employment, by reaſon of the Deboyſtneſs of ſome that hath made themſelves the Cavalier Party.

I muſt of Neceſſity conclude, and leave theſe Remedies (and what elſe is wanting) to be remedied by thoſe whom God directs and appoints, not only to hear us, but what they ſhall ſee, in their Wiſdom, is wanting for the Advancement of his Majeſty, the Peace and Preſervation both of Church and People under his Majeſty's Dominions, which ſhall be the Prayers of him, which for this Time takes his Leave, deſiring what you ſee in this Book writ out of Ignorance or Paſſion, judge favourably of it, and let that real Intention which I aim at, without ſiniſter Ends, plead for my Infirmities, which you diſcover here, reflecting upon yourſelves, knowing there is none free from ſome or other.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Know there is many will wonder, that I ſhould preſume to take upon me to write this Book, being there is many of our Party that were far more able to have undertook the handling of it. I muſt confeſs it might have come from a better Pen, but not a truer Heart. It grieved me to ſee what Confuſion there hath been amongſt us from the Beginning; ſome drawing up Remonſtrances, and Grievances, and ſetting of Hands to this Thing and that Thing; then chuſing of Truſtees, appointing of Meetings at ſeveral Places, and ſo ſpend our Time and Money too (them that had it) ſome ſiding for one Party, ſome for another; every one crying out they are wronged, when ſome of them are as much tainted themſelves as the worſt, yet take upon them to right others, when they have done the moſt Wrong, and think their pretended high Commands that they have had will bear them out.

Some of thoſe Gentlemen that we choſe for Truſtees, I much honour, whoſe Aim and Intentions I believe were right; but for ſome amongſt them, I cannot underſtand that how they can be clearly for our Good, that cannot clear themſelves. Muſt not they wink at others, for fear themſelves ſhould be brought to Light? I ſhould deſire every one to reſt themſelves contented, and not hearken after the

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of every ſiniſter-ended Party, that are more for their own Ends, than for the general Good of us (if they ſhould bring their Purpoſes to paſs.) For my part, the Writing of this Book was intended (from me) only to give Satisfaction to all loyal Subjects, how his Majeſty's and the Parliament's Clemency have been abuſed, and we wronged and diſgraced, having ſuch a Company of pitiful Fellows lay claim to be Commiſſion-Officers; ſome I believe knows not a Rank from a File, nor a Counter-march from a Wheel; that never looked as if they had either Wit or Valour in them, and wanting both, they were very unfit to command; for I believe the King was never in ſuch Need of Officers; and ſome that were more fit for a Rod, than wear a Sword, in his late Majeſty's Service, being twenty-ſix or thirty Years of Age, hath had this Dividend too; ſo that what long of ſuch, and your roaring, dam-me, counterfeit Cavaliers, hath rendered our Party ſo ridiculous in the Eyes of ſome People, that they ſlight and ſcorn all civil Cavaliers for their Sakes: But I muſt tell them, there was, and is, as gallant and as civil Men in the King's Army, which hated, and doth hate ſuch Courſes, as much as the greateſt Zealot of them all, not out of Hypocriſy, or Fear of the Law, but out of the Fear of God, which we ſhould all live in; perhaps ſome may cenſure 'tis out of Envy, or Vain-glory, that I have ſo often touched upon Swearing. It is ſo often in my Ears, againſt my Will, which makes me mind it ſo often to you, that you may bend your Mind to leave it.

For Envy and Vain-glory, how much I have been guilty of theſe two Sins, I leave thoſe to Cenſure that knows me now, or formerly, in the King's Service; which I was conſtantly in one Army, and in one Regiment, though under four Colonels, firſt the Lord Mohun's, *then Sir* Charles Mohun's, *afterwards Col.* John Digby's, *and laſt Sir* Chicheſter Wray's; *my Service being moſt in the Weſt, belonging to the* Corniſh *Army; and now, ſince his Majeſty's Reſtoration, I have ſerved in his Majeſty's Regiment of Guards, as a Soldier, in the Right Honourable Col.* John Ruſſel's *own Company: What my Service or Carriage hath been from the firſt to the laſt, I leave to the Cenſure of thoſe that are able to report of both, either for my Credit or Shame, deſiring them to give no better nor worſe a Character than I have deſerved, which I know can never redound to my Diſhonour for my Service (and I hope as little for my Carriage and Behaviour to every Man) which I ſhall endeavour to continue with the utmoſt of my Power, hoping in time to ſee ſuch Men countenanced, if not provided for, whoſe Service and Carriage hath never diſhonoured that juſt Cauſe they ever fought for, which was for God's Glory, and his Majeſty's juſt Rights; which is the Deſire of him that for the preſent leaves you, and remains your Friend to the utmoſt of his Power, ſo far forth as you are loyal Subjects; hoping this Book may light into the Hands of ſome near the King, that may reflect upon their own Sufferings formerly, and to do now as they would be done unto, if they were in our Condition.*

His Majeſty's gracious SPEECH to both Houſes of Parliament, on *Monday*, *July* 8, 1661. Together with the Speech of Sir *Edward Turner*, Knight, Speaker of the Honourable Houſe of Commons.

Printed in the Year 1661.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is a good Time ſince I heard of your paſſing this Bill of Money, and I am ſure you would have preſented it to me ſooner, if you had thought I had deſired it; but the Truth is, though I have Need enough of it, I had no Mind to receive it from you, till I might, at the ſame time, give my Aſſent to this other very good Bill that accompanies it, for which I longed very impatiently: I thank you for both with all my Heart. And though there are other good Bills ready, with which you will eaſily believe I am very well pleaſed, and in which I am indeed enough concerned, yet I chooſe rather to paſs theſe two Bills together, and to paſs them by themſelves without any other, that you may all ſee, and in you the whole Kingdom, that I am at leaſt equally concerned for you and them, as for myſelf; and, in Truth, it will be want of Judgment in me, if I ever deſire any thing for myſelf, that is not equally good for you and them: I am confident you all believe that my Well-being is of ſome Uſe and Benefit to you; and I am ſure your Well-being, and being well pleaſed, is the greateſt Comfort and Bleſſing I can receive in this World: I hope you will be ready within few Days to diſpatch thoſe other public Bills which are ſtill depending before you, that I may come hither and paſs all together, and then adjourn till Winter, when what remains may be provided for; and I would be very glad that you would be ready by the twentieth of this Month, or thereabouts, for the Adjournment; which methinks you might eaſily be, if you ſuſpended all private Buſineſs till the Receſs: The laſt Parliament, by God's Bleſſing, laid the Foundation of the Happineſs we all enjoy; and therefore I thought it but Juſtice to the Memory of it, to ſend you Bills for the Confirmation of what was enacted then; and I cannot doubt, but you will diſpatch what remains of that Kind with all convenient Speed; and that you will think, that what was then thought neceſſary or fit for the public Peace to be enacted, ought not to be ſhaken now, or any good Man leſs ſecure of what he poſſeſſes, than he was when you came together: It is to put myſelf in Mind, as well as you, that I ſo often (I think as often as I come to you) mention to you my Declaration from *Breda*; and let me put you in Mind of another Declaration publiſhed by yourſelves about the ſame time, and which I am perſuaded made mine the more effectual, an honeſt, generous, and Chriſtian Declaration, ſigned by the moſt eminent Perſons, who had been the moſt eminent Sufferers, in which you renounced all former

former Animosities, all Memory of former Unkindnesses, vowed all imaginable Good-will to, and all Confidence in, each other.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Let it be in no Man's Power to charge me or you with Breach of our Word or Promise, which can never be a good Ingredient to our future Security: Let us look forward and not backward, and never think of what is past, except Men put us in Mind of it, by repeating Faults we had forgot, and then let us remember no more, than what concerns those very Persons.

God hath wrought a wonderful Miracle in settling us as he hath done; I pray let us do all we can to get the Reputation at home and abroad of being well settled. We have Enemies and Enviers enough, who labour to have it thought otherwise; and if we would indeed have our Enemies fear us, and our Neighbours love and respect us, and fear us enough to love us, let us take all the Ways we can, that as the World cannot but take Notice of your extraordinary Affection to me, and of the Comfort I take in that Affection, so that it may likewise take Notice of your Affection to, and Confidence in, each other, which will disappoint all Designs against the public Peace, and fully establish our joint Security.

The SPEECH of Sir *Edward Turner*, Knight, Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons, to the King's Most excellent Majesty, delivered on *Monday* the eighth Day of *July*, 1661.

May it please your Most excellent Majesty,

THE Writ of Summons whereby your Majesty was pleased to call together the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament, gave us to understand that your Majesty had divers weighty and urgent Matters to communicate to us: Such as did concern your Royal Person, your State and Dignity, the Defence of the Kingdom, and the Church of *England:* And in the same Method propounded to us by your Majesty, we have applied ourselves to offer you our best Counsel and Advice.

We found your Majesty miraculously preserved by the Hand of God from the Hands of your Enemies; we found you peaceably seated in the Throne of your Ancestors; we found the Hereditary Imperial Crown of these Nations auspiciously set upon your Royal Head; and all this after a sharp and a bloody Civil War.

We held it our Duties, in the first Place, to endeavour the Safety and Preservation of your Majesty's Person and Government, and to that Purpose have prepared a Bill.

Next to the Safety of your Majesty, we took into Consideration the State and Power that is necessary for so great a Prince; and do hope, ere long, to settle your Militia so, that, by the Blessing of God, you need not fear Storms from abroad, or Earthquakes here at home.

Your

Your Majeſty was pleaſed, at the Opening of the Parliament, to recommend unto us two Bills; one for Confirmation of public Acts, another for the private Acts that paſſed the laſt Parliament; they were ſo many in Number, and great in Weight, that hitherto we could not conſider of them all, but ſome we have peruſed: The Act for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings; for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and Purveyance, and alſo all thoſe that do relate to your Majeſty's Cuſtoms and Exciſe: And that we might, with ſome Chearfulneſs ſee your Majeſty's Face, we have brought our Brother *Benjamin* with us, I mean your Act of Oblivion: I take the Boldneſs to call it yours, for ſo it is by many Titles; your Majeſty firſt conceived it at *Breda*, you helped to contrive and form it here in *England*, and we muſt all bear you Witneſs, you laboured and travelled till it was brought forth: And ſince it had a Being, ſome Queſtion being made of its Legitimation, your Royal Heart is not at Eaſe until it be confirmed. And now, Sir, give me Leave to ſay, by the Suffrage of a full, a free, and a legal Parliament, it is preſented to your Majeſty to be naturalized. Your Majeſty's Deſires are fully anſwered by all the Repreſentatives of the People; and their hearty Prayer to God is, that all your Subjects may be truly thankful to you; and that your Majeſty may long live to enjoy the Fruits of this unparalleled Mercy.

Your Majeſty was pleaſed to intimate to us on *Saturday* laſt, that you ſo valued the Quiet and Satisfaction of your People, and the keeping of your Royal Word with them, that although divers other Bills were made ready for you, you would vouchſafe the Honour to this Bill alone, your Favourite, to come and paſs it. Sir, hereby you have made this a great Holiday, and we ſhall obſerve it with Joy and Thankſgiving. Upon ſuch ſolemn Feſtivals, there uſeth to be a ſecond Service, an Anthem, and a Collect, or at leaſt an Offering; my Anthem ſhall be, *Quid tibi retribuam Domine?* and my Collect a ſhort Report of your Revenue. We know, great Sir, that Money is both the Sinews of War, and Bond of Peace; we have therefore taken Care of your Majeſty's Revenue, and do deſire to make it, in ſome good Proportion, ſuitable both to your Grandeur and your Merit.

We do believe the State of our King is the Honour of our State; and the beſt Way to preſerve our Peace, is to be well provided for War: Our Time hath not permitted us to finiſh this Work; but as an Earneſt of our good Affections, we deſire your Majeſty to accept an Offering from us.

We cannot enough admire your Majeſty's Patience, Providence, and Frugality abroad; you did not bring home a Debt for us to pay, great as a Prince's Ranſom. And ſince your Return, you have not, with King *Edward* the Third, after his Wars in *France*, or *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Seventh, or *Henry* the Eighth, deſired new and great Aids, and heavy Subſidies, from your People for your Supplies.

No, Sir, you have been ſo far from aſking that Part of the Money which was given you laſt Parliament for your Houſhold Proviſion, you have iſſued out towards Payment of our Debts, you have robbed your own Table (I had almoſt ſaid, given the Meat out of your own Belly) to feed the hungry Seamen.

Dear

Dear Sir, theſe Things have a juſt Influence upon the People, they fill our Hearts with Joy and Affection to your Majeſty.

I do not pretend much to Phyſiognomy; but, if I miſtake not greatly, the Faces of the People do promiſe great Frankneſs and Chearfulneſs in your preſent Supplies.

What would not your Majeſty's Friends have given within theſe eighteen Months, to have ſeen your Majeſty thus happily ſettled? And what can be too much for thoſe to return, who have received all they enjoy from your Majeſty's Mercy?

Great Sir, to conclude this ſolemn Service, The Commons of *England* do, by me their Servant, humbly preſent you with this Bill, intitled, *An Act for a free and voluntary Preſent*, and wiſh it a Succeſs anſwerable to your Royal Heart's Deſire.

The DECLARATION and Remonſtrance of the Earls, Lords, Viſcounts, Barons, Knights, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, and Gentlemen of the Roman Catholic Religion in the Kingdom of *Ireland*: With their Proteſtation to the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty; and a Liſt of the Names of the Subſcribers that have openly diſclaimed and renounced the Pope of *Rome*, and all other foreign Powers.

Printed in the Year 1662.

YOUR Majeſty's moſt faithful Subjects the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of your Majeſty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, out of a deep Senſe of thoſe prodigious Afflictions under which the Monarchy of *Great Britain* has, before your Majeſty's happy Reſtoration, groaned theſe twenty Years; and out of our ſad Thoughts, which daily bring more and more Sighs from our Breaſts, and Tears from our Eyes, for, not only, the ſtill as yet continued Miſeries and Sufferings of the Catholic Natives of that our unfortunate Country, even amidſt, and ever ſince, the ſo much famed Joys and Triumphs of your ſacred Majeſty's moſt auſpicious Inauguration, but alſo of the Cauſes, whereinto we have made the moſt narrow Search we could, of theſe our own peculiar unparalleled Calamities; and upon Reflection on that Allegiance we owe, and ought by all divine and human Laws, and which we are, and have been always ready to ſwear and perform to your Majeſty, our only Sovereign Lord on Earth, and on the Scandal (notwithſtanding) which ſome Perſons (who are unwilling to underſtand aright our Religion) caſt upon it, as if it were

were not conſiſtent with all dutiful Obedience and Faith to the ſupreme temporal Magiſtrate; and upon a Conſideration likewiſe, of a further Tie of Conſcience on us for endeavouring, as much as in us lies, to clear your Majeſty's Royal Breaſt from all Fears and Jealouſies whatſoever, if any peradventure your Majeſty entertain of us, through the Suggeſtion of ſuch as hate our Communion or Nation; and to wipe off that Scandal, and allay the Odium under which our Church hath lain this laſt Century of Years, among other Chriſtian People in theſe Nations, of a different Way from ours in the Word of God, we humbly crave your Majeſty's Pardon to vindicate both ourſelves and our holy Belief, in that Particular of our Allegiance, by the enſuing Proteſtation. Which (in Imitation of the late good Example given by our Clergy, and purſuant to the general Doctrine and Practice of the Catholic Church) we make in the Sight of Heaven, and in the Preſence of your Majeſty, ſincerely and truly, without Equivocation, or mental Reſervation.

We do acknowledge and confeſs your Majeſty to be our true and lawful King, ſupreme Lord, and rightful Sovereign of this Realm of *Ireland*, and of all other your Majeſty's Dominions. And therefore we acknowledge and confeſs ourſelves to be obliged, under Pain of Sin, to obey your Majeſty in all civil and temporal Affairs, as much as any other of your Majeſty's Subjects, and as the Laws and Rulers of Government in this Kingdom do require at our Hands. And that notwithſtanding any Power or Pretenſion of the Pope, or See of *Rome*, or any Sentence or Declaration of what Kind or Quality ſoever, given, or to be given, by the Pope, his Predeceſſors, or Succeſſors, or by any Authority ſpiritual or temporal, proceeding or derived from him, or his See, againſt your Majeſty or Royal Authority, we will ſtill acknowledge, and perform to the utmoſt of our Abilities, and our faithful Loyalty and true Allegiance to your Majeſty. And we openly diſclaim and renounce all foreign Power, be it either papal or princely, ſpiritual or temporal, inaſmuch as it may ſeem able, or ſhall pretend to free, diſcharge, or abſolve us from this Obligation, or ſhall any way give us Leave or Licence to raiſe Tumults, bear Arms, or offer any Violence to your Majeſty's Perſon, Royal Authority, or to the State or Government; being all of us ready, not only to diſcover and make known to your Majeſty, and to your Miniſters, all the Treaſons made againſt your Majeſty or them, which ſhall come to our Hearing; but alſo to loſe our Lives in the Defence of your Majeſty's Perſon and Royal Authority, and to reſiſt, with our beſt Endeavours, all Conſpiracies and Attempts againſt your Majeſty, be they framed or ſent under what Pretence, or patronized by what foreign Power or Authority ſoever. And further we profeſs, that all abſolute Princes and ſupreme Governors, of what Religion ſoever they be, are God's Lieutenants on Earth; and that Obedience is due to them, according to the Laws of each Commonwealth reſpectively, in all civil and temporal Affairs. And therefore we do here proteſt againſt all Doctrine and Authority to the contrary. And we do hold it impious, and againſt the Word of God, to maintain that any private Subject may kill, or murder the anointed of God,

God, his Prince, though of a different Belief and Religion from his. And we abhor and deteſt the Practice thereof as damnable and wicked.

Theſe being the Tenets of our Religion in Point of Loyalty and Submiſſion to your Majeſty's Authority, and our Obſervance and Veneration of, or Communion with the See of *Rome*, in Matters purely ſpiritual, no way entrenching on that perfect Obedience, which by our Birth, by the Laws of God and Man, we are bound to pay to your Majeſty our natural and lawful Sovereign,

Proſtrate at your Majeſty's Feet, we moſt humbly beg, That all your Majeſty's Roman Catholic Subjects of *Ireland*, who ſhall, by Subſcription or Conſent, concur to this public Proteſtation of Loyalty, be protected from Perſecution for the Profeſſion or Exerciſe of their Religion, and all former Laws, upon that Account againſt them repealed.

Luke Earl of *Fingal*,
Morrogh Earl of *Inchiquin*,
Donogh Earl of *Clancarty*,
Oliver Earl of *Tyrconel*,
Theobald Earl of *Carlingford*,
Edmund Viſcount *Mont-Garret*,
Thomas Viſcount *Dillon*,
Arthur Viſcount *Iveagh*,
William Viſcount *Clane*,
Charles Viſcount *Muſcry*,
William Viſcount *Taaf*,
Oliver Baron of *Lovith*,
William Baron of *Caſtle-Connel*,
Colonel *Charles Dillon*,
Matthew Plunket, Eſq;
Lieutenant-Colonel *Nugent*,
Edward Plunket, Eſq;
Nich. Plunket, Knight,
Matthew Plunket of *Dunſany*,
Chriſtopher Plunket,
James Dillon, Knight,
Colonel *Bryan*,
Robert Talbot, Bart.
Ullick Burk, Bart.
Ed. Fitz-Harris, Bart.
Valentine Brown, Bart.
Sir *Henry Slingſby*,
Sir *John Bellew*,
Colonel *William Burk*,
Colonel *John Fitz-Patrick*,
Colonel *Brian Mac-Mahun*,
Colonel *Miles Reilly*,
Colonel *Gilbert Talbot*,
Colonel *Milo Power*,
Lieutenant Colonel *Pierce Lacy*,
Lieutenant Colonel *Ullick Burk*,
Lieutenant Colonel *Scurlog*,
And above ſixty Eſquires and Gentlemen.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious SPEECH, together with the Lord Chancellor's, to the Two Houſes of Parliament, at their Prorogation, on *Monday* the 19th of *May*, 1662.

Printed in the Year 1662.

My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I Think there have been very few Seſſions of Parliament in which there have been ſo many Bills as I have paſſed this Day; I am confident, never ſo many Private Bills, which I hope you will not draw into Example. It is true, theſe late ill Times have driven Men into great Streights, and may have obliged them to make Conveyances colourably, to avoid Inconveniencies, and yet not afterwards to be avoided; and Men have gotten Eſtates by new and greater Frauds than have been heretofore practiſed; and therefore in this Conjuncture, extraordinary Remedies may be neceſſary, which hath induced me to comply with your Advice in paſſing theſe Bills; but I pray let this be very rarely done hereafter. The good old Rules of the Law are the beſt Security; and let not Men have too much Cauſe to fear, that the Settlements they make of their Eſtates ſhall be too eaſily unſettled, when they are dead, by the Power of Parliaments.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You have ſo much obliged me, not only in the Matter of thoſe Bills which concern my Revenue, but in the Manner of paſſing them, with ſo great Affection and Kindneſs to me, that I know not how to thank you enough. I do aſſure you, and I pray aſſure your Friends in the Country, that I will apply all you have given me to the utmoſt Improvement of the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom, and will, with the beſt Advice and good Huſbandry I can, bring my Expences within a narrower Compaſs. Now I am ſpeaking to you of my own good Huſbandry, I muſt tell you that will not be enough. I cannot but obſerve to you, that the whole Nation ſeems to me a little corrupted in their Exceſs of Living. Sure all Men ſpend much more in their Clothes, in their Diet, in all their Expences, than they have uſed to do. I hope it hath only been the Exceſs of Joy, after ſo long Sufferings, that hath tranſported us to thoſe other Exceſſes; but let us take Heed that the Continuance of them doth not indeed corrupt our Natures. I do believe I have been faulty that Way myſelf: I promiſe you I will reform; and if you will join with me in your ſeveral Capacities, we ſhall, by our Examples, do more Good, both in City and Country, than any new Laws would do. I tell you again, I will do my Part, and I will tell ſome of you, if you do not do yours. I hope the Laws I have paſſed this Day will produce ſome Reformation, with Reference to the Multitude of Beggars and poor People which infeſt the Kingdom. Great Severity muſt be uſed to thoſe who love Idleneſs, and refuſe to work, and great Care and Charity towards thoſe who

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are willing to work. I do very heartily recommend the Execution of thoſe good Laws to your utmoſt Diligence; and I am ſure I need not put you in mind ſo to ſettle the Militia, that all ſeditous Inſurrections may not only be prevented, to which the Minds of too many are inclined, but that the People may be without reaſonable Apprehenſion of ſuch Inſecurity. You will eaſily believe, that it is very neceſſary for the public Juſtice of the Kingdom, and even for the Preſervation of the Reverence due to Parliaments, that I make this a Seſſion; and it will be worthy of your Wiſdoms, when you come together again, to provide that there be not ſo great Clamour againſt the Multitude of Protections.

I will ſay no more, but renew my hearty Thanks to you all, and refer the reſt to the Chancellor.

His Majeſty's Speech being ended, the Lord Chancellor began as followeth:

The Lord Chancellor's SPEECH.

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons,

IT is now little more than a Year that the King firſt called you to attend him here, at the Opening of the Parliament; then you may remember he told you, That he thought there were not many of you who were not particularly known to him; that there were very of whom he had not heard ſo much good, that he was, he ſaid, as ſure as he could be of any thing that was to come; that you would all concur with him, and that he ſhould concur with you in all Things which might advance the Peace, Plenty, and Proſperity of the Nation; his Majeſty ſaid he ſhould be exceedingly deceived elſe.

It was a Princely Declaration, and a rare Confidence, which could flow from no other Fountain but the Sincerity and Purity of his own Conſcience; which admitting no other Deſigns or Thoughts into his Royal Breaſt, but ſuch as muſt tend to the unqueſtionable Proſperity and Greatneſs of his People, could not but be aſſured of your full Concurrence and Co-operation with him. It was a happy and bleſſed Omen, which at the Inſtant ſtruck a Terror into the Hearts of thoſe who promiſed themſelves ſome Advantages from the Differences and Diviſions in your Councils, and hoped from thence to create new Troubles and Moleſtations in the Kingdom; and, God be thanked, the King hath been ſo far from being exceedingly deceived, that he doth acknowledge he hath been exceedingly complied with, exceedingly gratified in all he hath deſired, and he hopes he hath not in the leaſt Degree diſappointed your Expectation.

Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

You have, like the richeſt and the nobleſt Soil, a Soil manured and enriched by the bountiful Hearts of the beſt Subjects in the World, yielded the King two full Harveſts in one Year; and therefore it is but good Huſbandry

to lie fallow for ſome time: You have not only ſupplied the Crown to a good Degree for diſcharging many Debts and Preſſures, under which it even groaned, and enabled it to ſtruggle with the preſent Streights and Neceſſities, Debts not contracted, and Neceſſities not run into by Improvidence and Exceſs; you may, when you pleaſe, receive ſuch an Accompt as will clear all ſuch Reproaches; but you have wiſely, very wiſely provided ſuch a conſtant growing Revenue as may, with God's Bleſſing, preſerve the Crown from thoſe ſcandalous Wants and Neceſſities as have heretofore expoſed it and the Kingdom to thoſe diſmal Miſeries, from which they are but even now buoyed up; for whatſoever other human Cauſes may be aſſigned, according to the ſeveral Fancies and Imaginations of Men, of our late miſerable Diſtractions, they cannot be ſo reaſonably imputed to any one Cauſe, as to the extream Poverty of the Crown: The want of Power could never have appeared, if it had not been for the want of Money.

You have, my Lords and Gentlemen, worthily provided for the Vindication and Manifeſtation of the one, by the Bill of the Militia, and for the Supply of the other, by the Act for the additional Revenue; and I am confident both the preſent and ſucceeding Ages will bleſs God, and celebrate your Memories for thoſe two Bills, as the Foundation of their Peace, Quiet, and Security, how froward and indiſpoſed ſoever many are at preſent, who finding ſuch Obſtructions laid in their Way to Mutiny and Sedition, uſe all the Artifice they can to perſuade the People that you have not been ſollicitous enough for their Profit, and wickedly labour to leſſen that Reverence towards you, which ſure was never more due to any Parliament.

It was a very natural and an ingenious Animadverſion and Reflection which the late imcomparable Lord Viſcount of St. *Albans* made upon that old Fable of the Giants, who were firſt overthrown in the War againſt the Gods, when the Earth, their Mother, in Revenge thereof, brought forth *Fame*, which he ſaid is the ſame when Princes and Monarchs have ſuppreſſed actual and open Rebellion, then the Malignity of the People, the Mother of Rebellion, doth bring forth Libels, Slanders, and Taxation of the State, which, he ſays, is of the ſame Kind with the Rebellion, but more feminine: And, without doubt, this ſeditious Daughter of the Earth, this Spirit of Libelling, was never more pregnant than it is now; nor King, nor Parliament, nor Church, nor State ever more expoſed to thoſe *Flagella linguæ*, thoſe Strokes of the Tongue, from which God Almighty can only preſerve the moſt innocent and moſt excellent Perſons; as if Repining and Murmuring were the peculiar Exerciſe of the Nation, to keep it in Health; as if *England* had ſo much of the Merchant, *Nunquam habendi fructu fœlix, ſemper autem quærendi cupiditate miſerrima.*

Men are in no Degree diſpoſed to imitate, or remember the general excellent Temper of the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, the bleſſed Condeſcenſion and Reſignation of the People then to the Crown; the awful Reverence they then had to the Government, and to the Governors, both in Church and State. This good and happy Spirit was in a Time beyond our Memory; but they remember, as if it were but yeſterday, how few Subſidies Parliaments

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then gave to that Queen; how ſmall Supplies the Crown then had from the People, and wonder that the ſame Meaſures ſhould not ſtill fill the Coffers, and give the ſame Reputation, and make the ſame Noiſe in Chriſtendom.

But, my Lords and Gentlemen, how bold ſoever ſome unquiet Spirits are with you, upon this Argument, you are much ſuperior to thoſe Reproaches. You know well, and you can make others know, without breaking the Act of Indemnity, how the Crown hath been uſed, how our Sovereign Lord the King found at his bleſſed Return to it; you can tell the World, that as ſoon as he came hither, beſides the Infinite that he forgave, he gave more, more Money to the People, than he hath ſince received from them: That at leaſt two Parts of three that they have ſince given him, have iſſued for the diſbanding Armies never raiſed by him, and for Payment of Fleets never ſent out by him, and of Debts never incurred by him. You will put them in mind of the vaſt Diſparity between the former Times, and theſe in which we live, and conſequently of the Diſproportion in the Expence the Crown is now at, for the Protection and Benefit of the Subject, to what it formerly underwent. How great a Difference there is in the preſent Greatneſs and Power of the two Crowns, and what they were then poſſeſſed of, is evident to all Men; and if the Greatneſs and Power of the Crown of *England* be not in ſome Proportion improved too, it may be liable to Inconveniencies it will not undergo alone. How our Neighbours and our Rivals, who court one and the ſame Miſtreſs, Trade and Commerce, with all the World, are advanced in Shiping, Power, and an immoderate Deſire to engroſs the whole Traffic of the Univerſe, is notorious enough; and this unruly Appetite will not be reſtrained, or diſappointed, nor the Trade of this Nation ſupported and maintained with the ſame Fleets and Forces which were maintained in the happy Times of Queen *Elizabeth*. Not to ſpeak of the Naval Power of the *Turks*, who inſtead of ſculking abroad in poor ſingle Ships as they were wont to do, domineer now on the Ocean in ſtrong Fleets, make Naval Fights, and have brought ſome Chriſtians to a better Correſpondence, and another Kind of Commerce and Traffic with them than was expected; inſomuch as they apprehend no Enemy upon the Sea, but what they find in the King of *England*'s Ships, which hath indeed brought no ſmall Damage upon them, with no ſmall Charge to the King, but a great Reputation to the Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You may, with a very good Conſcience, aſſure yourſelves and your Friends and Neighbours, that the Charge the Crown is now at by Sea and Land, for the Peace and Security, and Wealth and Honour of the Nation, amounts to no leſs than eight hundred thouſand Pounds a Year; all which did not coſt the Crown, before theſe Troubles, four-ſcore thouſand Pounds the Year; and therefore they will never blame you for any Supply you have given, or Addition you have made to the Revenue of the Crown; and whoſoever unſkilfully murmurs at the Expence of *Dunkirk*, and the other new Acquiſitions, which ought to be looked upon as Jewels of an immenſe Magnitude in the Royal Diadem, do not enough remember what we have loſt by *Dunkirk*, and ſhould always do, if it were in an Enemy's Hands; nor duly conſider

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the vaſt Advantages thoſe other Dominions are like, by God's Bleſſing, in a ſhort Time, to bring to the Trade, Navigation, Wealth and Honour of the King and Kingdom. His Majeſty hath enough expreſſed his Deſire to live in a perfect Peace and Amity with all his Neighbours; nor is it an ill Ingredient towards the Firmneſs and Stability of that Peace and Amity which his Royal Anceſtors have held and maintained with them, that he hath ſome Advantages in caſe of a War, which they were without.

It was a right Ground of Confidence, ſuch an one as ſeldom deceives Men, that the great Law-maker, the wiſe *Solon*, had, when he concluded, that Reverence and Obedience would be yielded to his Laws, becauſe he hath taken the Pains to make his Citizens know and underſtand, that it was more for their Profit to obey Law and Juſtice, than to contemn and break it. The extravagant Times of Licence, which I hope we have almoſt out-lived, have ſo far corrupted the Minds, and even the Nature of too many, that they do not return with that Alacrity they ought to do, into the Road and Paths of Order and Government, from which they have ſo long been led aſtray; nor, it may be, is there Pains enough taken to make them underſtand the Profit, Benefit, and Eaſe which always attends a chearful Obedience and Submiſſion to Laws and Government. I am perſuaded, a little Pains and Kindneſs, and Condeſcenſion in the Wiſe towards the Weak, half the Diligence and Dexterity in Converſation and Example, which hath been uſed to corrupt the People in their Loyalty and Underſtanding, will quickly reduce them to their primitive Temper, which is, to be the beſt Neighbours, and the beſt Friends, and the beſt Subjects of the World: And I make no queſtion, but the great Piety and Devotion, the Moderation, Wiſdom, Charity, and Hoſpitality of my Lords the Biſhops, in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, will, in a ſhort Time, recover the poor miſled People: And though the Frowardneſs and Pride of ſome of their Teachers may not be yet enough ſubdued, though ſome of the Clergy ſtill repeat their old Errors, for which they have been glad to receive Pardon, and do in truth diſcredit all their other Doctrine, with the Abſence of any viſible Repentance for what Miſchief they have formerly done; yet I hope the Laity will ſoon return into the Boſom of their dear Mother the Church, and eaſily diſcern the Fraud and Impoſture of their Seducers; and that all Diligence and Dexterity will be uſed, ſeriouſly and heartily, to reconcile both Clergy and Laity, by all Means which may prove effectual.

You have, my Lords and Gentlemen, like wiſe Patriots, upon your Obſervation, that the moſt ſignal Indulgence and Condeſcenſions, the temporary Suſpenſion of the Rigour of former Laws, hath not produced that Effect which was expected; that the Humours and Spirits of Men are too rough and boiſterous for thoſe ſoft Remedies, you have prepared ſharper Laws and Penalties to contend with thoſe refractory Perſons, and to break that Stubborneſs which will not bend to gentler Applications: And it is great Reaſon, that they upon whom Clemency cannot prevail, ſhould feel that Severity they have provoked. You have done your Parts, like good Phyſicians; made wholeſome Preſcriptions for the Conſtitution of your Patients, well knowing, that the Application of theſe Remedies, the Execution of theſe ſharp Laws, depends upon

upon the Wiſdom of the moſt diſcerning, generous and merciful Prince, who having had more Experience of the Nature and Humour of Mankind than any Prince living, can beſt diſtinguiſh between the Tenderneſs of Conſcience, and the Pride of Conſcience; between the real Effects of Conſcience, and the wicked Pretences to Conſcience; who having fought with Beaſts at *Epheſus*, knows how to guard himſelf and the Kingdom from the Aſſaults and Violence of a ſtrong, malicious, corrupted Underſtanding and Will; and how to ſecure himſelf and the Kingdom from the feeble Traps and Nets of deluded Fancies, and Imaginations: In a word, a Prince of ſo excellent a Nature, and ſo tender a Conſcience himſelf, that he hath the higheſt Compaſſion for all Errors of that Kind, and will never ſuffer the Weak to undergo the Puniſhment ordained for the Wicked, and knows, and underſtands better than any Man, that excellent Rule of *Quintilian*, *Eſt aliquid quod non oportet, etiamſi licet, & aliud eſt jura ſpectare, aliud juſtitiam.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Machiavel, who, they ſay, is an Author much ſtudied of late in this Kingdom, to extol his own excellent Judgment and Inſight in Hiſtory; in which indeed he was a Maſter, would perſuade Men to believe, that the true Reaſon why ſo many unexpected Accidents and Miſchiefs fall out, to the Deſtruction of States and Empires, is, becauſe their Governors have not obſerved the ſame Miſchiefs heretofore in Story, and from whence they proceeded, and what Progreſs they made, which, he ſays, if they had done, they might eaſily have preſerved themſelves from Ruin, and prevented the Inconveniencies which have fallen out. I am ſure you are all good Hiſtorians, and need only to reſort to the Records of your own Memories. Remember how your Peace hath been formerly diſturbed, by what Contrivance and Artifices the People have been alarmed, with unreaſonable and unnatural Fears and Jealouſies, and what diſmal Effects thoſe Fears and Jealouſies have produced. Remember how near Monarchy hath been diſſolved, and the Law ſubverted, under Pretence of reforming and ſupporting Government, Law, and Juſtice. And remember how many honeſt Perſons were miſled by not diſcerning Conſequences, who would as ſoon have renounced their Part in Heaven, as have concurred in the firſt unwarrantable Action, if they had ſuſpected what did follow: And if we ſuffer the ſame Enemy to break in upon us at the ſame Avenues, if we ſuffer our Peace to be blown up by the ſame Trains and Machinations, we ſhall be held very ill Hiſtorians, and worſe Politicians.

There is an Enemy amongſt us, of whom I doubt we are not jealous enough, and towards whom we cannot be too vigilant, and in Truth, in Compariſon of whom we may reaſonably undervalue all other Enemies; that is, the Republicans, the Commonwealthſmen, who are every Day calling in Aid of the Law, that they may overthrow and aboliſh the Law, which they know to be their irreconcileable Enemy. Indeed, my Lords and Gentlemen, there is a very great Party of thoſe Men in every Faction of Religion, who truly have no Religion, but as the Pretence ſerves to advance that Faction. You cannot be too ſollicitous, too inquiſitive after theſe Men, who are reſtleſs in their Councils,

Councils, and wonderfully punctual and induſtrious in their Correſpondences, which they maintain abroad as well as at home: And you cannot doubt they have Encouragement enough from abroad; few of our Neighbours love us ſo exceedingly well, but that they would be glad to ſee us intangled in domeſtic Broils. Theſe Men are worthy of your Care and Diligence, in your ſpeedy ſettling the Militia, which the King hath even now ſo particularly recommended to you.

I ſhall conclude with only putting you in mind, that there was ſcarce ever a more dangerous Sedition in the Republic of *Rome*, than in a Time of full Peace, when the Citizens were ſullen, when there was no Noiſe but in Whiſpers, when Men neglected their Trades, and ſtaid idle in their own Houſes, as if they cared not which Way the World went; from whence alone their Neighbours, the *Etrurians*, were encouraged to make a War upon them. *Novum ſeditionis genus* (ſays *Livy*) *ſilentium otiumque inter cives.* Never any Nation under Heaven has leſs Cauſe of Sullenneſs than we, never more of Joy and Thankſgiving: We all know that God Almighty loves a chearful Giver, and we may as well know that he loves a chearful Receiver; beſides all other ſtupendous Bleſſings conferred upon us, he hath given us the moſt chearful Giver that ever People hath been bleſſed with; a King that hath, with all imaginable Chearfulneſs, given us all we have aſked of him, all he hath to give; who would not take or retain any Thing we give to him, but for our own Sakes; that by receiving and retaining it, he may give it to us again in more Abundance, in Abundance of Peace, and Plenty, and Honour, and all Comforts which can make a Nation happy.

This Time hath made a glorious Addition to our Happineſs, which ought proportionably to increaſe our Chearfulneſs; we wanted only one Bleſſing, the Arrival of our Queen, whom God hath now ſafely brought to us; a Queen of ſuch rare Perfection in Body and Mind, of ſuch great Endowments of Wiſdom, Virtue, and Piety, that we may reaſonably promiſe ourſelves from her all the Happineſs we are capable of, and a Succeſſion of Princes to govern us, till the End of the World: and there cannot be a more tranſcendent Inſtance of the King's Love and Paſſion for his People, than that he hath ſtaid theſe four Days to take his Leave of you; and, that he might give you this Day's Work, all theſe good Laws, hath denied himſelf ſo long the enjoying the greateſt Comfort he is aſſured of in this World.

If there be not the moſt univerſal Joy in the Reception of theſe Bleſſings, if there be not an univerſal Contentedneſs and Satisfaction in the Hearts of all Men; and if that Contentedneſs and Satisfaction do not break out, and is not viſible in the Looks, and Thoughts, and Words, and Actions of the whole Nation, to the inflaming the Hearts of the other Nations under his Majeſty's Obedience by our Example, we are guilty of an Ingratitude that is worthy to deprive us of all we enjoy, and to diſappoint us of all we pray for. And therefore I do moſt humbly beſeech you, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, That as there is a moſt noble Chearfulneſs and Alacrity viſible in you, and hath ſhed itſelf over all your Countenances; ſo that you will think it worthy of your Pains to infuſe the ſame good Spirit into City and Country, that they may all expreſs that Joy and Delight in the Bleſſings they are poſſeſſed of, and chearfully

fully endeavour to improve thoſe Bleſſings, by their chearful enjoying them, that God may continue thoſe Bleſſings to us, and the King's Comfort may be increaſed, by the Comfort he ſees we have in him, and in what he hath done for us; and as all Princes may take a Pattern from him to govern, and make their Subjects happy; ſo that all Subjects may learn from us, how to obey, and make that Happineſs laſting to them, by an eminent and innocent Alacrity in their Acknowledgment.

I am, by the King's expreſs Command, to add one Particular which his Majeſty meant, but forgot to ſay himſelf. You cannot but obſerve, that his Majeſty hath not paſſed the Bill that concerns the Earl of *Derby*, which you cannot imagine proceeds from his Majeſty's want of Care of, and Kindneſs to, that noble Family, which hath ſerved him ſo faithfully, and ſuffered ſo much for ſo doing; but all Parties having referred the Matter to his Majeſty, he doubts not but to make a better End for that noble Earl than he would attain if the Bill had paſſed.

I ſhall only add the King's Commands for the Prorogation of this Parliament till the eighteenth Day of *February*, and this Parliament is prorogued till the eighteenth Day of *February* next.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious SPEECH to both Houſes of Parliament, on Monday the Twenty-firſt of *March*, 1663-4.

Printed in the Year 1663-4.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOU ſee, God be thanked, you have met together again, at the Time appointed; and I do aſſure you I have been ſo far from ever intending it ſhould be otherwiſe, that I do not know one Perſon who ever wiſhed it ſhould be otherwiſe. Think therefore, I pray, what good Meaning thoſe Men could have, who from the Time of the Prorogation to the Day of your Meeting, have continually whiſpered, and induſtriouſly infuſed into the Minds of the People, That the Parliament ſhould meet no more; that it ſhould either be preſently diſſolved, or ſo continued by Prorogation, that they ſhould be kept without a Parliament. I pray watch theſe Whiſperers all you can, as Men who uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to ſow Jealouſies between you and me: And I do promiſe you they ſhall not prevail with me; and I do promiſe myſelf they ſhall not prevail with you; and the Truth is, we are both concerned they ſhould not; and we ſhall then, with God's Bleſſing, prevent all the Miſchief they intend.

You may judge by the late Treaſon in the North, for which ſo many Men have been executed, how active the Spirits of many of our old Enemies ſtill are, notwithſtanding all our Mercy. I do aſſure you, we are not yet at the Bottom of that Buſineſs: This much appears manifeſtly, that this Conſpiracy was but a Branch of that which I diſcovered as well as I could to you about two Years ſince, and had been then executed nearer hand, if I had not, by God's Goodneſs, come to the Knowledge of ſome of the principal Contrivers, and ſo ſecured them from doing the Miſchief they intended. And if I had not, by the like Providence, had timely Notice of the very Hour, and ſeveral Places of their Rendezvous in the North, and provided for them accordingly, by ſending ſome of my own Troops, as well as by drawing the Trained-bands together, their Conjunction would have been in greater Numbers than had been convenient.

You will wonder (but I tell true) they are now even in thoſe Parts, and at this time, when they ſee their Friends under Trial and Execution, ſtill purſuing the ſame Conſultations: And it is evident; they have Correſpondence with deſperate Perſons in moſt Counties, and a ſtanding Council in this Town, from which they receive their Directions, and by whom they were adviſed to defer their laſt-intended Inſurrection; but thoſe Orders ſerved only to diſtract them, and came too late to prevent their Deſtruction. I know more of their Intrigues than they think I do, and hope I ſhall ſhortly diſcover the Bottom; in the mean time, I pray let us all be as watchful to prevent, as they are to contrive their Miſchief.

I cannot omit, upon this Occaſion, to tell you, that theſe deſperate Men in their Councils (as appears by ſeveral Examinations) have not been all of one Mind in the Ways of carrying on their wicked Reſolutions: Some would ſtill inſiſt upon the Authority of the Long Parliament, of which they ſay they have Members enough willing to meet; others have fancied to themſelves, by ſome Computation of their own, upon ſome Clauſe in the Triennial Bill, that this preſent Parliament was at an End ſome Months ſince, and that, for Want of new Writs, they may aſſemble themſelves, and chooſe Members for Parliament; and that this is the beſt Expedient to bring themſelves together for their other Purpoſes. For the Long Parliament, you and I can do no more than we have done, to inform and compoſe the Minds of all Men; let them proceed upon their Peril. But methinks there is nothing done to diſabuſe them in reſpect of the Triennial Bill. I confeſs to you, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I have often myſelf read over that Bill, and though there is no Colour for the Fancy of the Determination of this Parliament, yet I will not deny to you, that I have always expected that you would, and even wondered that you have not conſidered the wonderful Clauſes in that Bill, which paſſed in a Time very uncareful for the Dignity of the Crown, or the Security of the People. I pray, Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, give that Triennial Bill once a Reading in your Houſe, and then in God's Name, do what you think fit for me, and yourſelves, and the whole Kingdom. I need not tell you how much I love Parliaments; never King was ſo much beholden to Parliaments as I have been, nor do I think the Crown can ever be happy

without

without frequent Parliaments. But assure yourselves, if I should think otherwise, I would never suffer a Parliament to come together by the Means prescribed by that Bill.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I must renew my Thanks to you, for the free Supply you gave me this last Session, of four Subsidies; yet I cannot but tell you, that that Supply is fallen much short of what I expected, or you intended: It will hardly be believed, yet you know it to be true, that very many Persons who have Estates of three and four thousand Pounds a-year, do not pay for these four Subsidies sixteen Pounds; so that whereas you intended and declared, That they should be collected according to former Precedents, they do not now arise to half the Proportion they did in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*; and yet sure the Crown wants more now than it did then, and the Subject is at least as well able to give.

The Truth is, by the Licence of the late ill Time, and ill Humour of this, too many of the People, and even of those who make fair Professions, believe it to be no Sin to defraud the Crown of any Thing that is due to it. You no sooner give me the Tonnage and Poundage, than Men are devising all the Ways they can to steal Custom; nor can the Farmers be so vigilant for the Collection, as others are to steal the Duties. You give me the Excise, which all People abroad believe to be the most insensible Imposition that can be laid upon a People: What Conspiracies and Combinations are entered into against it by the Brewers, who, I am sure, bear not that Burden themselves, even to bring that Revenue to nothing, you will hear in *Westminster-hall*. You have given me the Chimney-money, which you have Reason to believe is a growing Revenue, for Men build at least fast enough; and you will therefore wonder that it is already declined, and that this Half-year brings less in than the former did: I pray therefore review that Bill; and since I am sure you would have me receive whatsoever you give, let me have the collecting and husbanding of it by my own Officers, and then I doubt not but to improve that Receipt, and will be cozened of as little as I can.

I will conclude with desiring and conjuring you, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, to keep a very good Correspondence together, that it may not be in the Power of any seditious or factious Spirits to make you jealous of each other, or either of you jealous of me, till you see me pretend one Thing and do another, which I am sure you have never yet done; trust me, it shall be in no body's Power to make me jealous of you. I pray contrive any good short Bills which may improve the Industry of the Nation; and since the Season of the Year will invite us all shortly to take the Country Air, I desire you would be ready for a Session within two Months, or thereabouts, and we will meet next earlier in the Year. And so God bless your Councils.

ARTICLES of Peace between his Sacred Majesty, *Charles* the Second, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. and the City and Kingdom of *Algiers*; concluded by *Thomas Allen*, Esq; Admiral of his said Majesty of *Great Britain*'s Ships in the *Mediterranean* Seas, *&c.*

Printed in the Year 1664.

PREFACE.

IT is not needful to say much concerning the late Agreement betwixt his Sacred Majesty Charles *the Second, King of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *&c. and the City and Kingdom of* Algiers *(the Articles whereof are in these following Papers, Word for Word exhibited): For certainly, that Man is very little read in the World, who sees not how much this Peace imports the Security and Benefit of the* English *Commerce, and no less the Honour of the* English *Nation; especially considering the Start it has given us of our powerful Neighbours, who are still labouring under great Trouble, Charge and Difficulty, with those People: And the Accord is yet more glorious, if we observe the Time wherein it was made; that is to say, it was made at a Time, when the* English *lay patiently exposed to all the Inconveniences which either the Fables or the Councils of* Holland *could give them; menaced in the very Channel by an open Force, and deserted in the* Mediterranean *after such a Manner, that we are loth to make Use of a Word answerable to the Quality of the Action: The* Hollanders *having first invited us into a conjunct Engagement with them, and afterward not only quitting the Place by Stealth and Surprize, but invading, at the same time, our Rights in* Guinea: *And yet so it is, at last, that notwithstanding all these Practices and Disappointments, we have now lived to see the* Hollanders *swallow their own Resolutions, by withdrawing their Shipping, and contenting themselves with the blind Passage of the North, rather than adventuring to give his Royal Highness the Lord High-Admiral of* England, *the unmannerly Provocation of pressing through the Channel. And we have likewise lived to enjoy the Fruits of that Peace which others have in vain attempted; and not only so, but to see ourselves acquitted of the Guilt of the late War, by a solemn Declaration of the Government itself of* Algiers, *and the Breach charged upon the Tumults and Disorders of their own Subjects; they themselves not sticking publickly to avow, That an Agreement with* England *was to them so necessary, that they were not able to maintain an Intercourse and Correspondence without it.*

This being the Sum and State of that Affair, gives sufficiently to understand how great a Care his Majesty hath of the Reputation and Welfare of his People, and of the true Interest of the English *Crown and Nation: And it is our further Happiness, that the Orders and Directions of so wise and gracious a Prince are committed into the Hands of suitable Officers and Ministers, as hath been manifested throughout the whole Course and Conduct of this Transaction.*

ARTICLES

ARTICLES of Peace between his Sacred Majeſty, *Charles* the Second, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. and the City and Kingdom of *Algiers*; concluded by *Thomas Allen*, Eſq; Admiral of his ſaid Majeſty of *Great Britain*'s Ships in the *Mediterranean* Seas, according to Inſtructions received on that Behalf from his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* and *Albany*, Earl of *Ulſter*, Lord High-Admiral of *England* and *Ireland*, &c. Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Dover*, Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, and Governor of *Portſmouth*, &c. Being the ſame Articles concluded by Sir *John Lawſon*, Knight, on the 23d of *April*, 1662, and afterwards more ſolemnly confirmed on the 10th of *November* following, and ſince ratified by the Grand Signior.

I. THAT from this Day, and for ever forward, there be a good and firm Peace between his Sacred Majeſty the King of *Great Britain*, *&c.* and the Baſhaw, Divan, and Governors of *Algiers*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; and the Ships, Subjects, and People on either Party, ſhall not do or offer any Offence or Injury to each other, but treat one another with all poſſible Reſpect and Friendſhip; and any Ships belonging to the King of *Great Britain*, &c. or any of his Majeſty's Subjects, may freely come to the Port of *Algiers*, and buy and ſell as in former Times; and alſo unto any other Port that belongs to the Government of *Algiers*, paying the Cuſtom of 10 *per Cent.* as in former Times; and no Man within the Juriſdiction of *Algiers* ſhall give the Subject of his ſaid Majeſty, a bad Word, or a bad Deed, or a bad Action.

II. That all Ships, as well thoſe belonging to his Sacred Majeſty, the King of *Great Britain*, &c. and any of his Majeſty's Subjects, as thoſe belonging to *Algiers*, ſhall freely paſs the Seas, and traffick without any Search, Hindrance, or Moleſtation whatſoever.

III. That all Subjects of the King of *Great Britain*, &c. now Slaves in *Algiers*, or any of the Territories thereof, be ſet at Liberty, and delivered up, on paying the Price they were firſt ſold for in the Market; and for the Time to come, no Subjects of his Majeſty's be bought or ſold, or made Slaves of in *Algiers*, or its Territories.

IV. That if any Ship of *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, or *Sally*, or any other, do bring any Ship, Men, or Goods, belonging to any of the Subjects of his Majeſty the King of *Great Britain*, &c. into *Algiers*, or any of the Ports thereunto belonging, the Governors there ſhall not permit them to be ſold within the ſaid Territories.

V. That any Merchant of the Subjects of the King of *Great Britain*, &c. dying in *Algiers*, or its Territories, his Goods, or Money ſhall not be ſeized by the *Baſha*, *Aga*, or any other Miniſter, but remain with the *Engliſh* Conſul.

VI. That

VI. That the *Engliſh* Conſul that lives in *Algiers*, be allowed a Place to pray in, and no Man to do him, or any of his ſaid Majeſty's Subjects any Wrong or Injury in Word or Deed whatſoever.

VII. That in caſe any of his Majeſty's Subjects ſhould happen to ſtrike a *Turk*, or a *Moor*, if he be taken, let him be puniſhed; but if he eſcape, nothing ſhall be ſaid to the *Engliſh* Conſul, or any other of his ſaid Majeſty's Subjects upon that Account.

VIII. That if any Ships of War of his ſaid Majeſty's, ſhall come into *Algiers*, or other the Ports of that Government, with any Prize, they may ſell and diſpoſe of it at their own Pleaſure, without being moleſted by any, and that they be not obliged to pay Cuſtoms in any ſort: And if the ſaid Ships of War ſhall want Proviſion, Victuals, or any other Things, they may freely buy it at the Rate in the Market.

IX. That any Ships belonging to the Subjects of his Majeſty the King of *Great Britain*, *&c.* coming into *Algiers*, or any of the Ports in its Territories, ſhall for ſuch Goods as they ſell, pay the Dues according to Cuſtom; and the Goods they ſell not, they ſhall freely carry on board without paying Duties for the ſame.

X. That no Shipwreck belonging to his ſaid Majeſty, or any of his Subjects on the Coaſt belonging to *Algiers*, ſhall become Prize, and that neither the Goods be forfeited, nor the Men made Slaves; but that the People of *Algiers* ſhall do their beſt Endeavours to ſave them and their Goods.

XI. That the Conſul, or any other Subject of his ſacred Majeſty, be not bound to pay the Debts of any other *Engliſhman*, unleſs he become Surety.

XII. That no Subject of the King of *Great Britain*, &c. in Matter of Difference, ſhall be liable unto any other Judgment but that of the *Duan*.

XIII. That the Subjects of his ſaid Majeſty in Difference among themſelves, ſhall be ſubject to no Determination but that of the Conſul.

XIV. That no Merchant, nor other Subject of his ſaid Majeſty's, being a Paſſenger in or unto any Port, ſhall be moleſted, or meddled with.

And for the better practiſing of the ſecond Article, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, it is agreed, that the *Algiers* Ships of War meeting any Merchant Ships belonging to the Subjects of the King of *Great Britain*, &c. not being in any of the Seas appertaining to his Majeſty's Dominions, have Liberty to ſend one ſingle Boat with but two Sitters more than the common Crew of Rowers; and no more to enter the ſaid Merchant Ship but the two Sitters, without the expreſs Leave of the Commander of the ſaid Merchant Ship: That upon producing unto them a Paſs under the Hand and Seal of the Lord High Admiral of *England*, the ſaid Boat do preſently depart, and the Merchant Ship to proceed on her Voyage; and although the Commander of the ſaid Merchant Ship produce no Paſs from the Lord High Admiral of *England*, yet if the major Part of the Ship's Company be Subjects to the King of *Great Britain*, &c. the ſaid Boat ſhall preſently depart, and the Merchant Ship proceed freely; and ſo, though there be Strangers, and their Goods on board, they ſhall be free, both they and their Goods; and any Ship of his Majeſty the King of *Great Britain*, &c. meeting with any Ships of *Algiers*,

giers, if the Commander ſhall produce a Paſs firmed by the Chief Governors of *Algiers*; and the major Part of the Ship's Company be *Turks*, *Moors*, or Slaves, then the *Algiers* Ship to proceed freely; and though there be Strangers and their Goods on board, they ſhall be free, both they and their Goods.

That preſently after the Signing and Sealing theſe Articles by the Governors, or Chief Authority of the City and Kingdom of *Algiers*, all Injuries and Damages ſuſtained on their Part ſhall be quite taken off and forgotten, and this Peace ſhall be in full Force and Virtue: And for all Damages and Depredations that ſhall be afterwards done and committed by either Side, before Notice can be given of this Peace, there ſhall be full Satisfaction made, and whatſoever remains in kind, be reſtored.

That if any Grievances happen on either Side, it ſhall not be lawful to break the Peace till Satisfaction be denied.

Signed and Sealed in the Preſence of the Great God, Octob. 30. 1664.

This following Article added, 30th of October, 1664.

THAT the *Engliſh* Conſul, upon any Breach or Difference between his moſt excellent Majeſty the King of *Great Britain*, &c. and the Governors of *Algiers*, ſhall have free Liberty, when he pleaſeth, to depart to his own, or any other Country; and that the *Engliſh* Conſul ſhall be permitted to chuſe his own Druggerman; and that when the Conſul departs, he ſhall carry with him all his Servants and Goods whatſoever, without the leaſt Interruption or Hinderance: And further, that he may freely go on board of any Ships in the Road, and have the Liberty of the Country.

The Tranſlation of a Certificate ſub-ſigned by the Governors of Algiers, *acknowledging the Breach of the late Peace betwixt his Majeſty of* Great Britain, *&c. and the ſaid Governors to have been the Act of their own Subjects.*

THESE are to certify, That we who have hereunto ſub-ſigned, do acknowledge, that the Breach of the Peace between his moſt excellent Majeſty the King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. and us of *Algiers*, was committed by our Subjects; for which, we have drowned one, baniſhed another, ſome others fled to eſcape our Juſtice, and divers have been impriſoned, to give Satisfaction in part to his ſaid moſt excellent Majeſty.

Signed and Sealed the 30th of October, 1664.

Duke

Duke *Hamilton*, Earl of *Cambridge*, his Caſe, ſpoken to, and argued on the Behalf of the Commonwealth, before the High Court of Juſtice.

By Mr. STEEL *of* Gray's-Inn.

Printed in the Year 1649.

Mr. *Steel's* SPEECH before the High Court of Juſtice, upon Occaſion of the firſt coming of the Earl of *Cambridge* to the Bar, *February* 9, 1648.

My Lord,

THAT Power which was at firſt in Families, Towns, and then in greater collective Bodies, was after, for the better Conſervation of the Whole, diſpoſed into Bodies Politic and Repreſentative. *Principium Originis* is the Privilege of theone, as *Diſpenſation* is of the other; which Diſtinction as eaſily prevents all Diſputes about the Pre-eminency of theſe Powers, as it uſually ſatisfies that Queſtion, touching Bodies Natural, *viz.* Whether the *Primum ſenſorium* be to be aſcribed to the Heart or Head? Of the Birth and Growth of theſe Powers, God himſelf gave us ſome Reſemblance, when that *Lux primogenia*, the Light created on the firſt, was upon the fourth Day contracted into thoſe heavenly Lights which were the firſt created Rulers of this World. The Powers of Men, thus ſettled, were inveſted with various Immunities ſuitable to their Offices, as ſo many Beams flowing from them for the Good of Mankind; and amongſt theſe, I know none more bright and influential to the World, than that of Juſtice; which, when 'tis rightly darted into the Hearts and Hands of Men, doth not prove like that Sword behind the *Ephod*, but rather as that of *Gideon*, and ſometimes upon juſt Occaſion, like that which hung over the Head of *Damocles*, ready to do ſpeedy and impartial Execution: Of this Power I both ſuppoſe this honourable Court to be the proper Subject, and the now Priſoner at the Bar the proper Object.

The Proceedings of Juſtice are called *Streams of Righteouſneſs*, for their clear and current Paſſage; and, my Lord, what if no gallant Ship nor Galley with Oars, ſail in theſe of yours? yet if the glorious Lord vouchſafe you his Preſence, he will be broad Rivers to you: What if others of inferior Rank ſpare not to load your Perſons and Actions with Reproaches? yet you know, notwithſtanding *Latratus Canum*, what is the Poſture of that faithful Witneſs in Heaven, *Et peragit curſus ſurda Diana ſuos*: And as for this Lord, brought by a divine Hand to appear thus before you, I may ſay of him, *Quæ alios diviſa reos faciunt in hunc conjuncta fluunt*, ſo fit is he to ſtand at the Bar of Juſtice. To look upon him as he now appears, may perhaps move Compaſſions,

as

as once *Date obolum Belliſario* did to that great Commander (and indeed, my Lord, however his Crime may be above your Mercy, yet I would not have his better Part either be beyond your Prayers or Pity) nevertheleſs, that you may take a right View of thoſe Actions for which he is here convented, I wiſh he may rather be looked upon as marching the laſt Summer in the Head of twenty thouſand Men, in an hoſtile and treacherous manner to invade this Nation, as if that, which ſome feared in the Argument of *Calvin*'s Caſe, if the Judgment ſhould paſs, as it afterwards did, were under this Man's Conduct come to paſs, *viz.* That the *Scots*, ambitious of ſuch a Privilege as to be Denizens of *England*, would thereafter come like *avers ſans number* into the *Engliſh* Commons; or as if he were willing to revive the Truth of that Obſervation of *Comines*, that what *Portugal* was to *Spain*, and the *Venetians* and *Florentines* then to *Italy*, that was *Scotland* of old to *England*, a Scourge to mind them of their Duties to God, and to keep them humble; but more particularly to touch the aggravating Circumſtances of this horrid Treaſon, and therein to omit the mentioning of thoſe perſonal Benefits this Nation had afforded him, by making him capable of their own Dignities and Privileges equal to any natural-born *Engliſhman*, and to take the Dimenſions more peculiar to this Rebellion. We were the laſt Year, after a tedious Storm of War, beginning to rejoice in the Hopes of ſeeing the Veſſel of this State come ſafe in the Harbour of Peace; but the Enemies of *England*'s Happineſs, and of their own, were not willing to enjoy this Bleſſing upon the Terms it was purchaſed; an harmonious Spirit muſt paſs betwixt the South and North, the Veſſel again launch into the Deep, all our Hopes of Settlement be indangered, and the poor waſted Northern Counties, which ere now expected a Jubilee, muſt, by theſe Brethren in Cruelty, be uſed like *Sechemites*, and again tormented, before they be healed of their old Sores, as if they now came to take Livery and Seiſin of thoſe Counties, which ſome affirm were promiſed them as Part of their Reward for this Service: And all this, as againſt thoſe ſolemn Treaties tranſacted in 1642 and 1643, for the Union of both Kingdoms, and thoſe Engagements not to make War with each other, before three Months Warning, nor to garriſon *Berwick* or *Carliſle* without Conſent of both Parliaments; ſo alſo againſt the frequent Premonitions of the General Aſſembly in *Scotland* (the Aſſembly here alſo by their Letter, ſignifying their Concurrence with thoſe Endeavours of the *Scotiſh* Divines) and both agreeing this Expedition to be againſt, not for the Ends of, the Covenant; but whilſt theſe Invaders were thus fore-warned, they notwithſtanding fore-arm themſelves in the worſt Senſe for us: But two Circumſtances above all ſeem to me to extend the Vileneſs of this Fact, beyond all Aggravations; the one, That the Parliament of *England*, whilſt they in *Scotland* were forming their Weapons againſt us, by their Commiſſioners reſiding there, often ſignified their Deſires of preſerving a brotherly Agreement; howbeit, inſtead of receiving any other Satisfaction, we muſt be anſwered, *Per argumenta baculina*; the other, That their coming in muſt be for the Ends of the Covenant, that being uſually made the Stock whereon to graft their deſperate Deſigns, thinking thereby, as to maſk their own Deformities, ſo to ſeduce many well-meaning Men into

their Confederacy; and from thence, as this third War was called *Bellum Hypocritarum*, ſo may the Priſoner, under whoſe Command in chief they came, be juſtly ſtiled *Hypocritarum Princeps:* The Parliament of *England* hereupon appealed to Heaven by their Declaration, and therein prophetically ſpake what came to paſs, That they doubted not but God would be with them, and the Prayers of his People for them; and that thoſe who had dealt falſly, in ſtriking Hands with the common Enemy, to kindle a new Fire betwixt theſe Kingdoms, ſhould periſh themſelves therein; upon which Appeal the higheſt Judge gave out his righteous Decree, *& ſpes hypocritarum periit*; and had he not indeed appeared for his deſpiſed People, by a more than ordinary Rule of his Diſpenſation, and enabled a ſmall Company of Men, like Stars in their Courſe, to fight againſt and vanquiſh this *Siſera* and his mighty Hoſt, *England* doubtleſs ere this had been a Field of Blood: Of this unnatural and unchriſtian Army, thus totally, by a Power from Heaven, routed, *habemus ducem*, we have here preſent the principal Author and Actor, againſt whom the pillaged depopulated Counties, the Blood of many Innocents, many of his own Countrymen, both at home, and now in foreign Parts, and God himſelf, by the Strange and ſpeedy Delivery of him into your Hands, after his Eſcape from *Windſor*, coming himſelf ſooner than poſſibly he could have done, if ſent for, immediately after the former Execution, do all unanimouſly call for a juſt Sentence, and the ſame do I in the Name of the People of *England.*

The Charge being read againſt the ſaid Earl, containing Matter of High Treaſon, for his invading this Nation in an hoſtile Manner, and levying actual War therein, he thereunto put this enſuing Plea.

The PLEA *of* James *Earl of* Cambridge, *whereby (as he alledged) he was not to be tried for Treaſon within this Kingdom.*

I. THAT he was employed by the Parliament of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, not to invade this Kingdom, but for the Ends they have declared, ſent to the Parliament of the Kingdom of *England.*

II. That he is no *Engliſhman*, notwithſtanding the Naturalization of his Father.

III. That he is a Priſoner of War, rendered upon Articles by Major-General *Lambert*; and that thoſe Capitulations were made before his Rendition with Major-General *Lambert*'s Commiſſioners.

The ARGUMENT *of Mr.* Steel, *on the Behalf of the* Commonwealth, *touching the Matter of Law in the Caſe of the Earl of* Cambridge.

My Lord,

THE Council for the Earl of *Cambridge* have framed their Arguments upon the Fact, as they conceive it proved; and alſo by Admittance of the contrary in ſome Points, I ſhall uſe the ſame Method; firſt arguing from

from the Fact, as I conceive it ſtated by the Proofs produced, and then by Admittance of the contrary, that though the Fact ſhould be as they would have it, that yet the Law will fall out to be againſt them.

The Charge being read to the Priſoner, he hath thereunto put in his Plea, conſiſting of three Parts; the Truth and Validity whereof hath been denied on the Behalf of the Commonwealth.

Firſt, The firſt Part of his Plea was, That he was employed by the Parliament of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, not to invade this Kingdom, but for the Ends declared by them. The Improvement made of this Part of the Plea, is, That the Earl was but a Servant in this Expedition, and under the Authority and Command of another, and tied under Oaths and Penalties to give Obedience; if he had diſobeyed, he had been liable to Puniſhment; therefore it were hard for him to be puniſhed for obeying alſo: That he hath not exceeded his Commiſſion; beſides the Parliament of *England*, in their Declaration of the 17th of *February* laſt, lay the Blame of this Invaſion upon the Parliament of *Scotland*. And laſtly, That the Earl's Caſe is not unlike that of an Ambaſſador, who is not to be blamed for acting againſt a State, if he have it in *mandatis*, as in the Caſe of the Biſhop of *Roſs* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

By endeavouring to give Satisfaction to all which, I ſhall diſpatch what I have to ſay upon this firſt Part of the Plea.

I ſhall admit it proved, that he had that Commiſſion and Authority mentioned, and alſo, that the Rule is generally true, That a Man is not to be puniſhed for an Act which he doth by the Neceſſity of Obedience, becauſe he hath not *ſolutum arbitrium*, which is required to denominate Actions either blame-worthy or excuſable; but I ſhall eaſily prove, that this Rule is capable of Reſtrictions, both by the Rules of Law and Reaſon; and if we obſerve the Diſtinctions aright, which determine this Queſtion, we ſhall ſtill find the Earl of *Cambridge* within that Part which renders him inexcuſable.

Firſt, The firſt Difference is, where the Action is lawful, and where unlawful, which is commanded; if it be lawful, a ſuperior Command may diſpenſe with ſome Circumſtances; but if unlawful, the Servant obeying is not the leſs to be blamed. I never held that Law of *Ina* the *Saxon* King to be warrantable Divinity, *Servus ſi quid operis patrârit die Dominico ex precepto Domini ſui Liber eſto*, if the Precept itſelf were unjuſt.

Now for the Action in queſtion, wherein this Earl was engaged, it is not defended by his own Council, the Diſpute being only *de modo*, whether he be to be puniſhed as an Enemy, or as Traytor, though if this Argument held, he were neither Way to be puniſhed; and therefore certainly the Neceſſity of his Obedience is no Mitigation for his Crime; and if it ſhould, *Empſon* and *Dudley*, with all their monopolizing Succeſſors, had been unjuſtly cenſured, who always have had Patents and Commiſſions from Authority to plead: And ſo alſo, all that Catalogue of former Traytors, who have hatched their Treaſons and Deſigns againſt this State in Foreign Parts, and have ever had the Pope or Foreign Princes to put a Stamp of Authority and Command upon them, muſt, by this Argument, be in ſome meaſure juſtified.

It was never expected from any under Command, to write himſelf more a Servant than *uſque ad aras*, thoſe being the *Hercules*'s Pillars whereon a *non plus ultra* is written, and therefore who ever exceeds thoſe Bounds, he will find it to be at his Peril.

Secondly, The ſecond Difference is, where the Inſtrument is *inanimatum*, and where an active living Inſtrument; of the firſt it is truly ſaid, *Inſtrumenti nulla vis*, all being therein attributed to the principal Efficient, but otherwiſe of the other: From hence the Statute of 1, 2. *Phil.* and *Mary*, *cap.* 10. did juſtly repeal the Statute of 33 *Hen.* VIII. *c.* 20. which had puniſhed a Man for Treaſon, though he became *non compos mentis* before the Execution; and no leſs juſtly did 25 *Edw.* III. *de proditionibus*, by the Word *Imagination* alter in the like Point that Law which was in Uſe till then, concerning ſuch a Perſon's committing the Act of Treaſon, ſuch an one being no better than *quaſi inanimatus*: But who can affirm this Earl to be other than an active and vigorous Inſtrument, *non modo vivit ſed in ſenatum venit*, being a chief Member of that Parliament, under whoſe Command he would ſhelter himſelf, and by that Means is a Maſter rather than a Servant, and ſo met with by that Declaration of the Parliament of this Kingdom, of which he would have made an Argument for himſelf.

Thirdly, Where there is *neceſſitas culpabilis*, the Law will not excuſe, as it will where there is no Crime in contracting the Neceſſity. Thoſe who in former Times gave Victuals and Proviſion to Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, were not puniſhed as Traitors, becauſe they did it (ſay our Records) *Pro timore mortis, & receſſerunt quam cito potuerunt*, 3 *Inſt.* 10. and upon this Reaſon ſeems that Opinion of *Tremayle* to be grounded, in 21 *Hen.* VII. 39. That a Servant may juſtify the killing of another, to ſave his Maſter's Life, if he cannot otherwiſe eſcape.

But if one being drunk commits a Crime, though he hath not properly and immediately the free Exerciſe of his Will, yet the Law reputes him *voluntarius Dæmon*, and he is not at all the leſs excuſable by our Law, 1 *Inſt.* 247. 4 *li. Beverley*'s Caſe; and by the Philoſopher's Rule, ſuch a one doth *ignorans*, not *per ignorantiam agere*, and is therein ſo far from being excuſed, that he is therefore to be doubly puniſhed.

Now to aſſume, that whereby the Earl's Council would excuſe him, *viz.* his Oath and Commiſſion, renders him the leſs excuſable, becauſe both are ſtrong Arguments of a free and full Conſent; for who can imagine them of *Scotland* to be ſuch mean Statiſts, as to think that Oath equally obliging, which was compulſive, to the ſame, if freely taken, or that the General ſhould be truſted with a Commiſſion over all their Forces both by Sea and Land, as his Commiſſion runs, whoſe Heart as well as Hand had not embraced it; and truly, they that have heard his Letters read to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, wherein he prays for the Increaſe of the Diſtractions at *London*, and for his Friends at *Colcheſter*, would not judge him an unwilling Inſtrument, but one exceeding, rather than falling ſhort in executing his Commiſſion.

Laſtly, Neceſſity of Obedience may excuſe in *privatis*, but never in *publicis*: If a Feme covert, together with her Huſband, commit an Act which in another

other would amount to Felony, yet in her it ſhall not, becauſe *ſub poteſtate viri*. 27 *Aſſ. p.* 40. but otherwiſe the Law is in Point of Treaſon, and ſo is the Judgment of my Lord *Verulam*, *Nec valet privilegium* (ſaith he), *contra rem-publicam.* And as to the Caſe of an Ambaſſador urged on the other Side, and in particular of the Biſhop of *Roſs* in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*, I anſwer, firſt, the Privileges of thoſe who are entertained as Ambaſſadors, are very great, and not to be made Precedents or aſſumed by any other, whence *Pro-regis Dedecus redundat in regem*, and therefore before 25 *Edw.* III. it was Treaſon to kill an Ambaſſador, 22 *Aſſ. p.* 48. and from hence might ariſe that Privilege ſhewed to the Biſhop of *Roſs*. *Secondly*, It appears to be rather an Act of Grace than of Juſtice, that that Biſhop was freed, becauſe he was ſet at Liberty after a long Impriſonment, which if not liable to the Cenſure of the Law, he ſhould not at all in Juſtice have endured: Alſo, by the Judgment of my Lord *Bacon*, cited by the learned Doctor on the other Side, in Point of Conſpiracy againſt the State, even an Ambaſſador is not privileged; yet of this Biſhop learned *Cambden* ſaith in his *Eliz. Fuit liberatus qui rebellioni clam faces ſubjecerat*, all which were Arguments of Grace, and therefore that Caſe will be no Precedent for this, wherein alſo Conſpiracies and Correſpondencies, with many of this Nation have been proved, and are otherwiſe notorious.

And for that inevitable Labyrinth out of which the Earl of *Cambridge* cannot extricate himſelf, but that whether obey or not obey, he is under a Miſchief, he may for that thank himſelf, *volenti non fit injuria*, this is like the Plague of an erroneous Conſcience, which whether obeyed or not, proves a Tormentor to its Subject.

Secondly, The ſecond Part of the Earl's Plea is, That he is no *Engliſhman*, notwithſtanding the Naturalization of his Father; which, in effect, is as much as to ſay, and ſo it hath been inſiſted on, he is by Birth a *Scotſman*, and by Conſequence an Alien to, and not triable as a Traitor by, the Laws of *England*: Concerning the Handling of which Queſtion, it being that whereupon the Validity of the other two doth, in my Judgment, principally depend, I ſhall firſt anſwer the material Objections which I conceive, made by the Council on the other Side, before I offer any Thing poſitively to aſſert the Invalidity of this Part of the Plea.

Obj. *It hath been ſaid, The Proof is not clear, for the Earl of* Cambridge *his being a* Poſtnatus, *viz. one born after King* James's *Acceſs to the Crown of* England, *and that being but a* non liquet, in favorem vitæ, *the moſt favourable Conſtruction is to be taken for the Priſoner.*

Firſt, *Anſw.* I deny that the Proof amounts to no more in this Particular than a non liquet; for there is one poſitive Witneſs that ſpeaks directly to the Earl's Birth, after King *James* his coming to the Crown of *England*; another ſpeaks to the Earl's own Confeſſion, of being about two or three and forty Years of Age, which ſpeaks him born ſince that Time; and a third ſpeaks to the common Report of his being born ſince; and if the Proof were but *ſemi-plena probatio*; yet as *Bracton* ſaith, that amounts to a Preſumption; and, ſaith he, *Preſumptioni ſtabitur donec probetur in contrarium*, eſpecially when the

Earl

Earl himſelf, who ſhould have proved the contrary for the making good his Plea, hath offered nothing againſt it, and being aſked, never abſolutely denied it.

Secondly, I do agree, that what the *Jewiſh* Expoſitors obſerve in the Expoſition of their Laws, which ſounded in favour, is to be obſerved in our Law, in thoſe Things which we uſually ſay the Law favours, *viz. Favores ſunt ampliandi*, and that ſtrict Expoſitions are only for penal Rules, according to that of the Civilians, *Conſtitutio penalis non excedit caſum*, yet we ſhall find, that where the Penalty of a penal Law is againſt one or few Perſons, and the Benefit redounds to the Generality, in that Caſe even a penal Statute ſhall be taken largely againſt the Offender, ſo the Rule is put, *Plow. Com.* 36. *Plat*'s Caſe, where it is reſolved, though the Statute of 1 *Rich.* II. *c.* 12. give an Action of Eſcape againſt the Guardian of the Fleet; yet, for the Reaſon aboveſaid, it is, though a penal Law, by a benign Interpretation, to extend to the Sheriff of *London*; and in like manner, if there were any Latitude in Caſes of Treaſon and Murder (as there is not) yet to extend it on the Behalf of the Priſoners, might prove to many thouſands, *Crudelis miſericordia.*

Thirdly, Add to this, that the Law of *England* is ſo tender of the Publicweal, that tho', in other Caſes, it may ſeem to inſiſt too much upon Formalities, yet herein it will diſpenſe ſometimes with its moſt certain Rules: Hence it is, that if one paſs over another's Land without his Conſent, to fetch a Falcon, or the like, he may be puniſhed as a Treſpaſſer; but not ſo, if to hunt or kill a Fox, or an Otter (which Inſtances, I ſuppoſe, not unſuitable to the Priſoner) becauſe theſe are Creatures *contra bonum Publicum*, which Reaſon the Book gives of the Law in that Caſe, 12 *Hen.* VIII. 10. For the ſame Reaſon, no Man ſhall be puniſhed as a Treſpaſſer for erecting Bulwarks on another's Land, *Dyer* 36. *Maleverer*'s Caſe: And hence certainly was the Reaſon of that ancient Law, that capital Offenders who had tranſgreſſed againſt the Law, had *Lupina Capita*, and might therefore by the Juſtice of *Lex talionis*, *arteperire ſua*; wherein the Law followed *Naturæ ordinem*: The Rules of Nature are moſt conſtant, yet for the Preſervation of the whole, it will ſometimes contradict itſelf, as to prevent a *vacuum*, and the like, what an Inverſion do we ſee of Nature's moſt conſtant and ordinary Rules: Do not they then in this prove ſomewhat unnatural, and embrace a Cloud inſtead of Subſtance, that fear not to omit the weightieſt Things of the Law, rather than in Caſes of invincible Neceſſity, diſpenſe with ſome Formalities?

Obj. *But though the Earl of* Cambridge *were a* Poſtnatus, *yet he is* quaſi Ligeus acquiſitus *unto* England; *and if ſo, as his Allegiance began with an Act of the Nation, ſo it might determine by an Act of the ſame Power, to wit, by Command from the Parliament of* Scotland.

Firſt, *Anſw.* The Strength of this Objection, if admitted, would, as I conceive, by a new invented Diſtinction, overthrow the learned and ſolemn Reſolution of all the Judges and Chancellor of *England*, 6 *Jac.* in *Calvin*'s Caſe, wherein all the Allegiances that the Wits of Men could imagine are enumerated, and they are but four, *viz. Ligeantia Naturalis*, *Acquiſita*, *Localis*, and *Legalis*; and by the Judgment of that Caſe, *Robert Calvin*, Son and Heir

to

to *James* Lord *Calvin* of *Colcroſs* in *Scotland*, born three Years after King *James* his Acceſs to the Crown (as alſo all other ſo born) were adjudged Subjects of this Kingdom of *England Ligeantia Naturali*, by the beſt and higheſt Allegiance, without any *quaſi* at all, in the ſame Kind, and to all Intents and Purpoſes that any natural-born *Engliſhman* was.

Secondly, The Objection ſeems to me, not only to be againſt the Judgment of this Caſe, but againſt Reaſon alſo; for what Acquiſition is there by the Party, or what contributes he to it, whether he be born in this or that Time or Place; the Conceit that there is any Act of the Party's in this (as there muſt be to make a *quaſi Ligeus acquiſitus*) ſeems to ſavour of the *Pythagorean Metempſychoſis*, or that Opinion of *Plato*, who held a Pre-exiſtence of Souls, which after came into the Bodies, *tanquam in ergaſtula.*

Obj. *It is inconſiſtent to have two natural Allegiances to two ſeveral Kingdoms, as it is impoſſible to have two Fathers, in which Caſe* major relatio trahet ad ſe minorem, *and in that Caſe the Earl is rather to be reputed a Subject of* Scotland, *where he was born, than of* England.

Firſt, *Anſw.* It is indeed inconſiſtent that the ſame Perſon ſhould, in two ſeveral Kingdoms, have two original Allegiances, in a phyſical Acceptation, to wit, to be ſo born; yet, by Conſtruction of Law, he that is born in *Scotland* may have an Allegiance to *England* equivalent with the other; thus *Calvin*, by the Reſolution of that Caſe, was *Scotus patria*, and *Anglus privilegio.*

And thus, without any Contradiction, it was ever held for Law, That the Natives of *Gaſcoign* and *Aquitain*, and thoſe other Countries which were geographically out of *England*, were yet, in Conſtruction of Law, equally Denizens and Subjects of *England* with thoſe born here, in regard of one Allegiance and Protection, wherein they were equally involved, 27 *Aſſ. Pl.* 48.

Secondly, No Allegiance which gains the Name of *alta & naturalis Ligeantia*, can, by the common Law of *England*, be diveſted, though otherwiſe it may be by the civil Laws, there being no *magis* and *minus* that it is capable of, which the Objection would ſuppoſe; and the Truth is, the Reſolution of *Calvin*'s Caſe anſwers all the Suppoſitions of any future Contingencies, and poſitively reſolves, That this Allegiance cannot poſſibly be loſt by any Matter *ex poſt facto*, no, not by Difference of Deſcents and Governments, 7 *Li.* 27. and what is agreed to be inherent to a natural-born *Engliſhman*, belongs alſo to a *Poſtnatus*, *non poteſt patriam in quo natus eſt exuere, nec Ligeantiæ Debitum ejurare*, 1 Inſt. 129.

Thirdly, And for the Inconſiſtencies of Allegiances that the Objection ſeems to inſinuate, in the Caſe of Competition between the Kingdoms, *Bracton* hath met with that Suppoſal long ſince, *Li. de exceptionibus* 427. ſpeaking of one that is *ad fidem utriuſque Regis, ſi contingat guerram accidere inter Regna*, putting the Caſe of one born in *France*, and indenized in *England*, *Remaneat perſonaliter cum eo cui Ligeantiam fecerit, & faciat ſervitium debitum ei cum quo non ſteterit in perſona.*

Obj. *Though the Earl of* Cambridge *were a* Poſtnatus, *yet as this Caſe is, it makes him not to differ from an Alien, becauſe the Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland *were at the Time of this Invaſion divided, and there were then ſeveral Adminiſtrations*

niſtrations of their Powers, from whence a double Allegiance is to be conſidered, Regis & Regni.

Firſt. *Anſ.* If we look upon the judicial Powers of the Kingdoms in a legal Conſideration, even at the Time mentioned in the Objection, beſides the Union of Kingdoms made by Force of 1 *Jac. cap.* 1. we ſhall find as ſtrong Stipulations and Engagements by Treaties confirmed by Parliament and otherwiſe, betwixt the Nations, as were poſſibly to be made, none of which were repealed at the Time of this Expedition, and ſo far from that, that the Earl himſelf hath often at the Bar profeſſed, That neither his Coming nor Commiſſion were againſt the Parliament or Kingdom of *England*; How then were the Powers of theſe Nations ſo legally or judicially different?

Secondly, The Union of the Laws and Governments of theſe Nations, was a Thing deſired and endeavoured by ſome, as may appear by the latter Part of the Statute of 4 *Jac. cap.* 1. but it was not effected; therefore the Diſtinction of the Kingdoms was taken into Conſideration in *Calvin*'s Caſe, where *Regna* was one of the *Nomina operativa*, and granted, That though the Kingdoms, Laws, and Nobilities of the Nations of *England* and *Scotland* were ſeveral and diſtinct, yet the Allegiance of all born in either Nation after the Union, was one and the ſame; and the Pleading of that Caſe (which beſt denotes the Law) demonſtrates this, That ſuch Diſtinction of the Kingdoms was under Conſideration; for the Pleading was, That *Calvin* was born *extra Ligeantiam Regni Regis Angliæ*, and *infra Ligeantiam Regni Regis Scotiæ*; and the learned Chancellor of that Time ſaith in his *Poſtnati*, that the Judgment was, That neither *Calvin*, nor any other *Poſtnati*, were Aliens to the King or Kingdom of *England*.

Thirdly, It is agreed on the other Side, That there was always one *Ligeantia Regis*; and therefore even thence I do infer, that there was alſo one *Ligeantia Regni*, becauſe that Allegiance which was due to the King, was certainly due to him in his politic Capacity, though not to that only, or divided in the Subject from his natural Capacity; however, it may be ſaid nevertheleſs, as it is in *Calvin*'s Caſe (by a Community of Properties) that it was due to the natural Capacity alſo, *viz.* as it ought ever to be accompanied with the politic, thence 1was but juſt in the Parliament, notwithſtanding the King's perſonal Command and Oppoſition againſt them, yet to permit the taking of the Oath of Allegiance, and not to aboliſh it till after his Death, it being *ad Legem Ligatio*, yet the Perſon was ſo neceſſary, that without it, it had been ridiculous to adminiſter it in the Form it was, in which Caſe, *magis dignum trahit ad ſe minus*; and hence it was, that capital Crimes committed in one King's Time, might be proceeded againſt after the Death of that King, 3 *Edw.* III. *Fitz. Reattachment* 18. and *Bro. Corone* 178. If the King had purchaſed Land to him and his Heirs, though the Word *Succeſſors*, the Word of his politic Capacity, had not been mentioned, yet he was ſeiſed thereof in *jure Coronæ*, 43 *Edw.* III. 20. And if Land had been given to the King and another, and their Heirs, they had, for the ſame Reaſon, been Tenants in common, and not joint Tenants, *Com.* 239, for the ſame Reaſon: And though many of thoſe Perſons who have been Kings, have often oppreſſed, inſtead of preſerved their Subjects, yet ſtill

that

that which *Bracton* hath ſaid upon the ſame Ground, remains true of the regal Power, *Non aliud Rex poteſt quam quod de jure poteſt*, his Office ſtill being *ex Officio*, as 2 *Li. Coo. Wiſeman*'s Caſe ſaith, and *Fitz. na. bre.* 113. out of the Regiſter, to provide for the Preſervation of his People; and if any other Conſtruction ſhould be made, then it muſt have followed in the King's perſonal Abſence, Minority, or Diſability, the Kingdom muſt either have been but weakly, or not at all governed: From all which it may be inferred, That the Obligation and Allegiance which was owing to the King, did include, that which *ſano ſenſu* was the Kingdom's alſo.

It remains now, that ſomewhat be ſpoken for the further invalidating of this Part of the Plea, wherein I ſhall,

Firſt prove, That one born in *Scotland* after the Union of the Crowns, cannot be to any Purpoſe conſidered as an Alien to *England*.

Secondly, That though the Earl of *Cambridge* had been born before the Union, yet he had not been an Alien to *England*; partly from a national Conſideration, but more principally from perſonal Conſideration, *viz.* Firſt, By reaſon of his local Allegiance both in *Scotland* and *England*. Secondly, *Ligeantia acquiſita*, and that by the Naturalization of his Father, or his own Denization.

Thirdly, That though he had been an Alien, yet as this Caſe is upon the Proofs, he will prove triable for Treaſon by the Laws of this Kingdom.

Before I ſpeak of any of theſe, I might touch upon that Part which layeth Murder to the Charge of this Earl; it having been fully proved, That ſeveral Perſons by Name, amongſt many others, were ſlain and murdered by the *Scottiſh* Army; and to make him puniſhable for this Crime, there is no Need of Denization, it being an Offence in itſelf againſt the Law of God and Nations, and no Truſt requiſite to be an Ingredient to it, as is requiſite in Treaſon: Hence we find Rape puniſhable in *England*, committed by a *Scot*, 13 *Eliz. Dyer* 304. and Murder done by the Lord *Zanchar* of ſame Nation, 9 *Li. Coo.* 116. where we find him indicted by the Name of *Robert Creighton*, Eſq; which, together with the expreſs Authority of 11 *Eliz.* 3. *Fitz. bre.* 437. are (by the way) ſufficient Warrants for our charging the Priſoner by the Name of *James* Earl of *Cambridge*, without mentioning his Dukedom, as he hath often intimated we ſhould have done.

And if the Earl ſhould ſay, he killed not theſe Perſons himſelf, his Council can ſoon tell him, that is not material, the Law being, That if divers Perſons come to do an unlawful Act, and one commit a Murder or Treaſon, it is ſo in all, 1 *Mar. Dyer* 38. 13 *Hen.* IV. 13. 19 *Edw.* II. *Fitz. Cor.* 433. But the Truth is, I ſhall not rely upon this, being not willing ſo high an Offence ſhould paſs under any other Name than that of Treaſon; therefore I paſs to thoſe aforementioned Conſiderations, which will evince his Crime to be no leſs than Treaſon.

1. As to the firſt of theſe, there being ſo much ſaid in the Argument of *Calvin*'s Caſe, I ſhall omit the citing of any thing particularly from thence, and ſelect ſomething from the Statutes made ſhortly after the Union. It is agreed by all Hiſtorians, that theſe two Kingdoms were anciently but one,

Diviſos orbe Britannos, & ſubducta Britannia mundo; thence it is obſervable, that in the Preface of 1 *Jac. cap.* 1. by the Acceſs of the King of *Scotland* to this Kingdom, the Parliament ſpeaking of the Union, correct themſelves in theſe Words, or rather a re-uniting of theſe two Nations (though anciently but one;) if ſo, this Re-union amounted to no leſs than (as it were) a national Remitter of the ancient Union.

For the Settlement of this Union, Commiſſioners were choſen to compoſe ſome Differences betwixt the Nations, and to conſider what was fit and neceſſary to be done for the Commonwealth of both Kingdoms, 1 *Jac. cap.* 2. Theſe Commiſſioners conſult long about it, and becauſe they could not perfect it within the Time prefixed, an Act paſſeth for longer Time, 3 *Jac. cap.* 3.

At length the Work is finiſhed by the Statute of 4 *Jac. cap.* 1. by which all Statutes that expreſs or imply any Strangeneſs of the one Nation to the other are repealed; and moreover, it doth enact and ſay, *That if there had appeared any other Statutes of this Realm of* England, *wherein any Thing is ordained, enacted and eſtabliſhed, expreſly and by Name, againſt the* Scottiſh *as Enemies, or* Scotland *as an* Enemy Country *to the King of this Realm, or the State of the ſame, we ſhould, for ſo much of them as concerneth* Scottiſh *Men or* Scotland, *have utterly abrogated and annulled the ſame, ſeeing all Enmity and Hoſtility of former Times between the two Kingdoms and People is now happily taken away.* So the Statute. After which it ſeems as ſtrange, that any born in *Scotland*, after and during the Continuance of that Union, ſhould make themſelves Strangers to *England*; as if natural-born *Engliſhmen* ſhould have made the ſame Allegation.

In the aforeſaid Statute of 4 *Jac.* 1. there is a Clauſe, That no *Scottiſhman* coming into *England* to proſecute the Law againſt any *Engliſhman* offending in *Scotland*, is to be arreſted here, except for Treaſon and Murder; and in the latter End of the Act, amongſt other Things, it is enacted, *That if any* Engliſhman *ſhould commit Treaſon or other Crimes in* Scotland, *and come into* England, *he ſhould not, upon his Apprehenſion here, be ſent into* Scotland *to have his Trial there, but be tried where he is taken*; but the Statute of 7 *Jac. cap.* 1. which was the Year after the Reſolution in *Calvin*'s Caſe, repealed that Clauſe of 4 *Jac.* 1. laſt mentioned, as to all Offences but Treaſon, leaving the Offenders in that Kind to be tried in the Kingdom where they were apprehended; and though the Statute ſpeak only of *Engliſh*, yet the like Act was to paſs in *Scotland*, in caſe any of that Nation committed Treaſon here, elſe neither was to be binding to the Nations.

2. In the next Place, ſomewhat may be ſaid from a National Conſideration to prove the Earl no Alien here, though born before the Union; not that my Purpoſe is to endeavour the Revival of that ancient Homage done formerly by that Kingdom to this, it is not worth the mentioning, in Compariſon of that Love and thoſe Engagements which have been betwixt us, *Gens una ſummus*, was heretofore ſaid of us, and if it may be, I wiſh, *Sic ſimus in ævum*; but becauſe ſomewhat hath been on the other Side cited from the Stories of *Bruce* and *Baliol*, in the Days of *Edward* I. and for that I find both Law and Hiſtory afford ſome Matter for this Argument, I hold it my Duty not to be altogether

ſilent

ſilent in what paſſed in thoſe Times and ſince: I will not inſiſt upon thoſe ſeveral Appeals made by *Magdolphus* and others of the *Scottiſh* Nation to *Edw.* I. *contra cuſtodes Scotiæ*, and againſt the Kings of *Scotland* themſelves, all Arguments of Allegiance then acknowledged from that Kingdom to this.

But to inſtance in ſome Precedents nearer to this in queſtion, *Simon Fryſel*, in 34 *Edw.* I. *anno* 1306, a Native of *Scotland* came in an hoſtile Manner from that Kingdom to invade this, and being apprehended here, he was condemned as a Traytor; the Words of *Matth. Weſt.* 465. concerning him are, That he was *a turri Londinenſi per plateas diſtractus ut proditur.*

In the ſame Year of *Edw.* I. *William Wallis* the Commander in Chief of the *Scottiſh* Forces, and a Native of that Nation alſo, as the Priſoner was, came into this Kingdom, and being apprehended, was, ſaith *Walſingham*, *fol.* 61. *Londonias uſque ductus & judicialiter condemnatus, trahitur, ſuſpenditur, & ultimo decollatur*, though he pleaded, as our Hiſtorians tell us, what this Earl doth, That he was a Subject of *Scotland*, and not of this Kingdom, and therefore ought not to be tried here for Treaſon. In 42 *Edw.* III. 3. in the Lord *Beaumont*'s Caſe, when it was replied that the Party objected againſt to be an Alien was a *Scotſman*, the Plea is no longer inſiſted upon. A Protection *quia profecturus* lies not into a Country that is within the Allegiance and Protection of *England*, 7 *Hen.* IV. 14. yet we ſhall find the only Reaſon given wherefore it was granted into *Scotland*, was, becauſe of the Wars that were then betwixt the Nations, 7 *Edw.* IV. 27. And after the ceaſing of which Wars, it may be collected by the Book, a Protection would have lain no more thither, than it would have lain into *Wales* or *Ireland*.

In 13, 14 *Eliz. Dyer*, 304. one was arraigned for a Rape, at the Return of the *venire facias* to try him, he pleaded that he was a *Scotſman*, and deſired a *medietate linguæ*, which manner of Trial is granted to Aliens by the Statutes of 27 and 28 *Edw.* III. but by the Judgment of the Judges of both Benches it was denied him, for this Reaſon, amongſt others, becauſe ſaith the Book, a *Scotſman* was never here reputed for an Alien, but rather a Subject.

Obj. *Whereas it hath been ſaid, This was becauſe the Statutes of* 27 *and* 28 Edw. III. *were made when* Scotſmen *were generally reputed Subjects to this Kingdom.*

Anſw. I anſwer, That the Book gives no ſuch Reaſon. *Secondly*, To affirm this, is to ſuppoſe the Judges, by ſuch a foreign Conceit, to go againſt the expreſs Proviſion of two Acts of Parliament, and the conſtant Practice in purſuance thereof.

In the ſame Year of 13 *Eliz.* in the Caſe of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Evidence of the Biſhop of *Roſs*, a *Scotſman*, was offered againſt the Duke by the Council for the Commonwealth, which the Duke oppoſed from the Judgment of *Bracton*, That a Foreigner's Teſtimony was not in that Caſe to be received; but *Cataline*, Chief Juſtice, though he ſays nothing to *Bracton*'s Opinion touching *exterorum teſtimonium*, yet he gives the Rule of the Court, that the Teſtimony was to be received, *Cambden*'s *Eliz.* 214.

After this Time alſo the Queen of *Scots* was tried in this Kingdom, though not upon the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. yet upon the Statute of 27 *Eliz. cap.* 2.

then in Force: And though in the Proceedings of that Buſineſs Commiſſioners of both Nations met, and that the *Scots* Commiſſioners did proteſt, that though they did join with our Commiſſioners, yet they did thereby make no Acknowledgment, that they were other than a foreign Nation to this; yet the *Engliſhmen* proteſted againſt that Proteſtation, as we find in the Hiſtory of that Queen.

3. But to paſs from this National to a more perſonal Conſideration, and from thence (though he were an *Antenatus*) to prove the Earl liable to Puniſhment for Treaſon againſt this State, and that by a local Allegiance, both in *Scotland* and *England*; wherein it muſt be granted as a Principle, and cannot be denied, but that if an Alien come into this Nation, and there abide, and commit that Act which would always be Treaſon in an *Engliſh* Subject, it is by the Law Treaſon in him during that Abode, becauſe he oweth *localem ligeantiam*, and the Indictment againſt him ſhall ſay *Contra ligeantiæ ſuæ debitum*, 7 li. *Calvin*'s Caſe. Thus in 36 *Eliz.* the *Portugals* here in *England* join in an Act of Treaſon with Dr. *Lopez*, and it was adjudged Treaſon in all. Thus this Earl, though he had been born before the Union, yet he lived in *Scotland* after the Union, and at the very Time of this Invaſion, whereby he became a Subject, at leaſt *locali ligeantia.*

So in *England* alſo, not only by his former Reſidence here, which he will ſay perhaps was avoided by his Removal hence, but by his late coming in, he became *Ligeus* here *locali Ligeantia*, becauſe he came from a Kingdom then, by his own Confeſſion, in Amity with this. This was the Caſe of *Sherley*, a *Frenchman*, 4 *Mar.* who came from *France*, then in Amity with *England*, and being taken, levying War in an hoſtile Manner, was indicted and executed as a Traytor, *Dyer* 144, and as the Book puts it, 7 *li. Calvin*'s Caſe, if he had had Iſſue here that Iſſue ſhould have inherited.

4. In the next Place, I ſhall prove the Earl of *Cambridge* (though he had been an *Antenatus*) to be a Subject of *England Ligeantia acquiſita*, and that by the Naturalization of his Father or by his own Denization: But, firſt, as to the Naturalization of his Father.

1. The Act of Parliament hath been read and proved, whereby the Father of this Earl, by the Name of *James* Marquis of *Hamilton*, Earl of *Cambridge*, in 21 *Jac.* was naturalized, to be to all Intents and Purpoſes a Subject of this Nation, as if he had been here born, with a further Clauſe, that his Heirs might inherit and purchaſe any Lands, Tenements, *&c.* By which Act it clearly appears, that this Earl is naturalized alſo. For, 1. Though in the Caſe of a Denization there may need the Word *Heirs* to extend it to them, becauſe it goes as it is limited, it may be for Life, in Tail, or upon Condition, 9 *Edw.* IV. 7. yet it is repugnant to ſuppoſe, that, in Point of a Naturalization, becauſe he that is born in *England*, as by Relation this makes him, without any other Expreſſions, conveys the Right to his Heirs: Hence Naturalization is never *temporanea* though *data*, 1 *Inſt.* 129. 2. Here are not wanting Words neither that reach to the Heirs, if neceſſary; for the Act is, That his Heirs may inherit and purchaſe, *&c.* And in purſuance hereof it is notorious that this Earl hath done both; but we ſhall find, that oftentimes no more goes

to

to expreſs a Naturalization than this: No other Expreſſion is uſed to import the Privilege of being *Engliſh* to them that are born of *Engliſh* Parents beyond Sea, but only that they may have and freely bear the Inheritance within the ſame Allegiance as other Inheritors, 25 *Edw.* III. *de natis ultra Mare.* And in 3 *Hen.* VI. 55. *Hall* and his Wife brought a Writ of *Dover*, the Tenant pleaded, That the Feme was an Alien, the Demandants reply, That the Feme in the Time of *Hen.* IV. was enabled by Act of Parliament to purchaſe Lands and Tenements, *&c.* with which Reply the Defendant's Council reſted ſatisfied, as if the Replication expreſſed it ſufficiently that ſhe was naturalized, and thereupon demanded View.

Obj. *But it hath been objected, That this Act can have no other Effect, than if the now Earl's Father had been born in* England ; *and though he were a native* Engliſhman, *yet having Iſſue, this Earl, by a native* Scotſwoman *in* Scotland, *the Iſſue thereby remains an Alien, though his Father were naturalized or born in* England.

Anſ. firſt, I ſhall eaſily grant, both that this Earl was ſo born in *Scotland*, and that the Naturalization amounts to no more than if the old Earl had been born in *England* ; but do deny the Inference drawn from thence, That therefore the now Earl muſt be an Alien. For though in former Times ſome Controverſy hath been touching this Queſtion, *viz.* Whether the Iſſue of an *Engliſhman*, going out of the Kingdom, born of an Alien Woman, ſhall be a Subject of *England*, or no? Yet I take the Law to be clear at this Day, that ſuch Iſſue is a Subject of *England.*

By the common Law, if Father and Mother, both *Engliſh*, have Iſſue beyond Sea, that Iſſue is *Engliſh*, 1 *Rich.* III. 4. the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. *de natis ultra mare*, being declarative of the common Law, 42 *Edw.* III. *cap.* 10. and if the Reaſon and Practice of the Law be examined, we ſhall find it to be the ſame, where the Father only is *Engliſh*, for theſe Reaſons.

Firſt, Becauſe at this Day any Perſon may go from this Kingdom to another without Licence, though he be neither Nobleman, Merchant, or Soldier, except ſome Reſtraint by a *ne exeat regnum*, Proclamation, or other Act of State be againſt him, ſo it is reſolved, 12, 13 *Eliz. Dyer.* 296. And though all, except Perſons ſo qualified, were reſtrained by 4 *Rich.* II. *cap.* 2. yet that Statute is repealed by the Statute of 4 *Jac. cap.* 1. made principally in Reference to *Scotland* ; Therefore, however the Law may be as to ſuch as go when prohibited, or who ſtay beyond Sea, when commanded to return ; yet as to all others at this Day, and always as to Noblemen, as the Father of this Earl was, upon whom no Reſtraint was ever put by common or Statute Law, certainly the Law is otherwiſe, eſpecially when the Removal is to a Country in Amity, as *Scotland* was.

Secondly, *Partus ſequitur ſemen* by the common Law, therefore in 4 *Edw.* IV. 25. *Statham villenage* 9. if a free Man marry a Wife, and have Iſſue, that Iſſue is free ; but otherwiſe, if the Man had been Villain and the Woman free.

Thirdly, The Woman Alien by the Marriage is indenized, and the Iſſue then muſt needs partake of the Privilege ; and it appears by 26 *Edw.* I. *rot. Parl.* 1. that when *Edmund*, the Brother of *Edw.* I. who married the Queen of *Navarre*, died,

died, all the Judges reſolved ſhe ſhould be endowed; and what though ſhe ſhould not, as in other Caſes it hath been doubted; yet that hinders not, but during Coverture ſhe was endenized, and that's enough to endenize the Iſſue. If a Wife marry a free Man, it is and hath been a Doubt, whether this be a perpetual Infranchiſement to the Woman after the Death of her Baron, but it never was doubted, but that both herſelf, during Coverture, and her Iſſue ever after, were infranchiſed, *Lit. ſect.* 187. 1 *Inſtit.* 136.

And for expreſs Authority in the Point in hand, beſides the ancient Authority of *Abridg. Aſſ.* 39. *tit. Baſtard.* 7. and *Bro. Denizen* 21. it was the Judgment of all the Judges of *England*, 2 *Ca.* in the *Dutchy-Chamber*, betwixt the King and *Eaton*, uſually called *Stephen's Caſe*, the Record whereof is ready to be produced, where Judge *Yelverton* and *Harvey*, then Judges-Aſſiſtants to that Court, declared it to be their Judgments, as alſo of all the other Judges, That the two Sons of *Stephenſon*, born beyond Sea upon the Body of an Alien, were Denizens.

Object. I obſerved but one Book cited for Maintenance of the contrary Opinion, and that was 26 *Hen.* VI. where indeed it is 22 *Hen.* VI. 38.

Anſw. Which Authority is againſt, not for that Opinion for which it is cited; for in an Action there brought, the Defendant pleads, that the Plaintiff's Anceſtor, in the Time of *Hen.* IV. went beyond Sea without Licence, and there had Iſſue the Plaintiff; upon this Plea, *Arderne* the Plaintiff's Council demurs; but ſaith the Book, *Priſot*, the Defendant's Council, durſt not demur.

Secondly, If the Book were as it is ſuppoſed, yet it makes nothing againſt the Law at this Day; becauſe by the Book it appears, that the Plaintiff's Anceſtor went beyond Sea in the Time of *Hen.* IV. without Licence; which being after *Rich.* II. there was a Reſtraint upon him, except by Licence, or qualified as that Statute of *Rich.* II. requires; which Reſtraint is now abrogated as is before-ſaid; and the Inhabitants of *England*, as is ſuitable to all Iſlanders, may travel at Pleaſure, except eſpecially forbidden; and ſo whatever the Law was then, it's otherwiſe now, *mutata ratione legis mutatur lex.*

Object. What if the preſent Earl did himſelf endeavour, or, as he ſaith, was adviſed, notwithſtanding the Naturalization of his Father, to procure himſelf to be naturalized, or endenized.

Anſw. Yet that could be but *in majorem cautelam*, as ſome Savings have been inſerted into Acts of Parliament themſelves, not for Neceſſity, but for Satisfaction of the Lay Gentlemen, as our Books expreſs it, 1 *lib. Coo.* 24 *Plow. Com.* 379, upon the Statute of 5 *Edw.* VI. and even in that Caſe of *Stephenſon*, though the Judges Aſſiſtants delivered what was their own Opinions, and of the reſt of the Judges; yet if making the Party a Denizen would end the Controverſy, they did adviſe it.

Fifthly, Beſides this Purchaſe of his Fathers, the Earl hath himſelf contributed to his own Denization, not ſo much by inheriting his Father's Dignity, and purchaſing and enjoying himſelf Lands in *England*, that being rather an Evidence of what he formerly was, than making him what he was not before, but by the Writ of Summons ſent to this Earl himſelf, 15 *Car.* The Record

cord whereof hath been read, commanding him *ex fide & ligentia ſua*, to appear in Parliament as a Peer of this Realm; who accordingly did appear, and acted in this Parliament, being choſen of ſeveral Committees in the Lord's Houſe, to conſider of many Things of great Concernment, ſome whereof were for the Strength of the Nation, as hath been fully proved by the Records of the Lord's Houſe: All which Actions are ſo inconſiſtent with his being an Alien, and would be ſuch a Soleciſm in State, to admit an Alien to be inveſted amongſt others, with a judicial Power, that rather than it ſhould be admitted, all this laid together will, I conceive, amount to at leaſt a Denization.

I will not ſay, that the granting of every Office, or the being employed in any Tranſaction which concerns the Law or Government of the Kingdom, will make an Alien a Denizen, the Books of 9 *Edw.* IV. 1. and 14 *Hen.* IV. 19. forbid me to ſay; but it is another thing to have a judicial Power in Parliament, and to ſit by Virtue of ſuch Summons in the Parliament of *England.* The Lord *de la War* was diſabled to ſit in the Houſe of Peers during his Life; but he dying, a Writ of Summons coming to his Son, he was by Virtue thereof enabled, not only to ſit, but to enjoy that Place which his Anceſtors formerly had done, 11 *lib. Coo.* 1. and in 39 *Edw.* III. 29. *Umfrail* Earl of *Angos* ought to be named Earl in the Writ againſt him; becauſe by that Name he was ſummoned to the Parliament, and for not naming him ſo, the Writ abated: A Denization is a kind of a National Manumiſſion. Now as there is in Law an expreſs Infranchiſement of a Villain, and an Infranchiſement in Law, *Lit. ſect.* 205, ſo it may be ſaid of Denizations. And amongſt other Manumiſſions by Act in Law, I find in *Britton, fol.* 79 and 82, if a Villain was made Knight, this did make him free *ratione dignitatis*, and did not make the conferring of that Dignity to be a void Act, parallel whereunto is the Caſe in hand.

Sixthly, The laſt Thing I ſhall inſiſt upon, touching this ſecond Part of the Plea, is to make it appear, that though the Earl had been born before the Union, and an Alien, that yet there are other Circumſtances in this Caſe yet remaining, which will clearly make this Act of his to amount to no leſs than Treaſon, *viz.* his coming from a Kingdom in Amity with this, and his marching in hither with *Engliſh* Traytors: That he marched in and held Correſpondency with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and his Son, and with Sir *Thomas Glenham*, and divers others, hath been fully proved; and that that Kingdom was then in Amity with this, beſides the National Treaties and Engagements unrepealed, it appears as well by the Earl's own Confeſſions at the Bar, as by the Words of the *Scotiſh* Declaration made upon this Expedition, read at the Earl's own Requeſt; which, whatever it be, doth yet conclude this Earl and all his Party from alledging the contrary for their Advantage, it having been often reiterated by him; and alſo therein ſaid, That this Expedition was neither againſt the Parliament, nor People of *England*; beſides, that it is no ſlight Matter to make the Nations in Amity to become open Enemies in a legal Conſtruction, which we are now upon, as appears by the Book of 19 *Edw.* IV. 6.

Now

Now that theſe Circumſtances will make this Act reach to Treaſon, appears by theſe Authorities of Law. In the Days of Queen *Mary*, *France* and *England* were in Amity, *Sherley*, a *French* Native, during that Amity, joins himſelf with ſome *Engliſh* Traytors, *Sherley* is apprehended and indicted as a Traytor *contra ligeantiæ ſuæ debitum*, 4 *Mar. Dyer.* 144, which is confirmed for good Law likewiſe, 7 *lib.* in *Calvin*'s Caſe by all the Judges, with which agrees *Brook. Treaſon.* 32, and *Crompton*'s Juriſdiction of Courts 72, and Mr. Juſtice *Dalliſon*'s Reports, 3, 4 *Mar.* All which Authorities agree in this Difference, that if alien Enemies join with *Engliſh* Rebels, and be apprehended, the Aliens ſhall be tried by Martial Law, or ranſomed; but if alien Armies ſo join, it is Treaſon in all; and 'tis obſervable, that the Caſe is put cauteloufly in *Hen.* IV. and ſo abridged by *Brook. Treaſon.* 1. that where alien Enemies join with *Engliſh*, the Aliens ſhall be tried by Martial Law, and the *Engliſh* as Traytors.

Object. The Objection hath been made, and ſo far it ſeems the Law is agreed, That if Aliens fight under the Banner of *Engliſh*, that this may be Treaſon in all, but not if the *Engliſh* fight under the Command of Aliens, which is alledged to be the Caſe in hand.

Anſw. Firſt, I cannot ſafely admit that which the Objection takes for granted, that the *Engliſh* were the Auxiliaries, and the *Scots* the Principals in this Act, when I find in the Proof offered by the Earl himſelf, that he came in by the Invitation of their Friends in *England*; and when I remember what was deſigned and produced in the South of *England* before and at the ſame time with this Expedition. 2. But admit it to be otherwiſe, yet if this Difference were material, then it ſhould follow, that if alien Enemies did fight under an *Engliſh* Command, it ſhould be Treaſon in all, but it is not ſo.

3. The Law makes no ſuch Difference, nay, the very Objection ſeems to be made and anſwered, 4 *Mar. Dyer.* 144. for the Book ſaith, that though *Shirley* were an Alien, yet *hoc non refert tempore pacis inter Anglos & Gallos*, the Weight is laid upon *tempus pacis* only.

4. The true Reaſon of the Law in one Caſe is the ſame in both, which I conceive to be from the Deteſtation of conſpiring with an inward ſecret Enemy, and from the Truſt the Law repoſeth in ſuch as are of a Country in Amity. There is no Treaſon, but where there is a Truſt; hence anciently Treaſon, in its genuine and original Acceptation, was only and properly amongſt Allies and Friends, who mutually did repoſe Confidence in each other, as may be ſeen in the Mirror, *f.* 30, and 201. And that a greater Truſt was placed in Aliens Armies than in others, appears in that our Law allows not only Traffic and Commerce with them, but alſo allows them to be to ſome Purpoſes Denizens, namely, as to the bringing perſonal Actions; which, if they bring, it ſhall not be allowed to plead, that the Plaintiffs are Aliens, 19 *Edw.* IV. 6, and 6 *Hen.* VIII. *Dy.* 2.

Object. But the Earl hath objected, that upon the *Scotiſh* Forces coming in and under his Command, they of that Nation were, by the Houſe of Commons, voted Enemies, and thoſe of this Kingdom, who adhered to them, Traytors.

Anſw.

Anſw. 1: The Words of that Vote ſeem to be excluſive of the Priſoner, mentioning only thoſe under his Command. 2. Though every Enemy in the legal Signification of the Word, be not a Traytor, yet every Traytor is an Enemy; and therefore if now he be proved a Traytor, he may be well enough an Enemy within that Vote. The preſent Charge againſt him is a Charge of High Treaſon; yet the Concluſion doth not improperly pray Judgment againſt him, both as a Traytor and public Enemy. 3. Take the Words in the ſtricteſt Senſe, and the Vote only names thoſe of the *Scotiſh* Nation Enemies, but thoſe of this Kingdom Traytors: Now the Labour hath been, and I ſuppoſe it clear, that the Earl himſelf is of this Nation, and ſo a Traytor by that Vote, from which he would derive an Argument for himſelf. 4. If yet any other Conſtruction ſhould be made, *Leges poſteriores priores abrogant*, he is, by the Act whereby this Court now ſits, ordered to be tried for Treaſon in the ſame Kind as the reſt, who are now under queſtion; and if his Fact be Treaſon, it will eaſily follow by an Argument of *a denominatis* that he is a Traytor.

3. The third Part of the Earl of *Cambridge*'s Plea is, that he is a Priſoner of War, and rendred upon Articles, and that thoſe Capitulations were made before his Rendition with Major-General *Lambert*'s Commiſſioners.

That there were Articles, and he a Priſoner of War, I ſhall agree to be proved, as alſo that one of thoſe Articles was, that he ſhould have Quarter, and have his Life aſſured; and it muſt be agreed on the other hand, that the Lord *Gray*, who had equal Authority, proteſted from the firſt againſt that Treaty, and after took him Priſoner before any Aſſent thereunto: But whether, by the Proof, the Earl was not a Priſoner before the ſigning the Articles, and whether before the Articles were to have any Effect, the ſame were not to be ratified by the Commanders in Chief, is ſubmitted to the Judgment upon the Evidence. That therefore I may do the Priſoner Right in this Point, which he ſeems to make his ſtrongeſt *Aſſylum*, I ſhall admit that there were ſuch Articles, and wave the relying upon the other Circumſtances, which may not ſeem ſo clear in Proof.

Nevertheleſs I ſhall briefly ſhew my Reaſons; wherefore I apprehend no Security from the Stroke of Civil Juſtice belongs to the Priſoner by this Refuge; for as to the Military, is not the Contention.

Firſt, If theſe Articles be of Avail againſt the Civil Power of the State, they muſt in Effect amount to a Pardon or Diſcharge of Treaſon (for this Point doth take the laſt Point by Admittance, *viz.* that the Fact is Treaſon.) Now, though the Military Power may exempt a Priſoner of War from the Execution of the Sword, and of their own Power, yet it is not in their Power, nor do they aſſume, or ever challenged ſuch a Power, as to exempt Delinquents and Traytors from the Execution of the Magiſtrate, for the bringing of whom to condign Puniſhment the Soldier was at firſt armed, and the War principally begun; and if it ſhould be in the Power of one Soldier, it would *pari ratione* be in the Power of all, as well to ſpare all as one; and if to grant a Pardon of Life, then likewiſe for their Livelihoods, and ſo the End of the War, and the Satisfaction promiſed, would be in the Power of the Ser-

vants of the State to fruſtrate; not that the Articles have no Effect, for he was by them freed from the immediate Execution of the Sword.

Secondly, The Pardoning of Treaſon is a Power ſo inſeparable to the ſupreme Power, that by the Authority of the Law it is not communicable to any other. In 5 *Edw.* IV. 123, 'tis made a great doubt, and ſo ſaid to be 1 *Bro. Treaſon.* 22. Mercy and Juſtice being not transferable, 7 *lib. Coo.* in the Caſe of penal Statutes, 9 *Edw.* IV. 2. and 20 *Hen.* VII. 6. 'Tis true indeed, there was a Time when ſome had gotten this Power into their Hands; but by the Statute of 27 *Hen.* VIII. *cap.* 24. this Power was reſumed into the ſupreme Power, and there it hath ſince lodged; and however we diſpute not what the Parliament may do by expreſs Words, as they have done in many Acts and Tenders of Indemnity, yet without ſuch Expreſſions, not by an implicit Power, nor *ex Officio*, can any juſtly aſſume it.

Thirdly, By the Rules of Law, no Officer or Miniſter of State can give away or diſpenſe with the Intereſt of the Commonwealth: If a Cuſtomer, who is an Officer of State take a Bond in his own Name for the Importation of Bullion, he cannot diſcharge this Bond. 4 *Edw.* IV. 4. and 12. The King was the ſupreme Officer of the Common-wealth; yet if an Indictment of Nuſance had been preferred againſt one in his Name, it had not been in his Power to have diſcharged this Offence, 3 *Edw.* III. *Fitz. Aſſ.* 445. nor could he for the ſame Reaſon by any *non obſtante* diſpenſe with the Penalty of any Statute which did concern the Intereſt of the Commonwealth, 12 *Jac.* Sir *Arthur Ingram*'s Caſe, and *H.* 36. *Eli.* betwixt *Hamond* and *Griffith*, in an Information upon a penal Statute, the Informer died, yet the King's Attorney might proceed. The Difference I apprehend to be, as to the Point in hand, betwixt one triable by Martial Law meerly, as an alien Enemy is, for ſuch a one being triable by the Sword, if taken, may be diſcharged by that Power, though in that Caſe I totally exclude not the Legiſlative Power; but for a Traytor, originally and legally, only triable by the municipal Laws of a State, to be abſolutely diſcharged by a ſubordinate Power, without the Concurrence or Confirmation of the Magiſtrate, will ever be ſtrange to me, till I find that Rule overthrown of *nil dat quod habet*, which can never be in a juſt and moral Senſe.

Fourthly, However the Words ſound, the Intention and true Meaning of the Parties was not to free thoſe that were concerned from Juſtice, if the State required it; and Intentions are the beſt Rules for Conſtruction in theſe Caſes: That it was intended only in this Treaty to free the Priſoner from the preſent Execution of the Sword by the Martial Law, and no otherwiſe, hath been ſworn by two of thoſe Gentlemen that were Commiſſioners under Major-General *Lambert*, who have ſworn their own Intentions. Words, ſaith *Bracton*, are but *veſtimenta rerum*, as the Body and outward Form; the true Meaning and Intention of Parties is the Life and Soul of every Contract. As for *ſenſus literalis* it hath been (I have obſerved) *via regia*; but it hath not proved unto that Side *via tuta*: However Words ſound, the Expoſition muſt be *ſecundum ſubjectam materiam.* In 41 *Edw.* III. 6. if one having divers Faculties hath an Annuity granted to him *pro concilio impenſo*, the Words are general, but it

ſhall

ſhall be conſtrued for Counſel in that Art which was intended: And as *Brudnel* ſaith, in 14 *Hen.* VIII. 2. Contracts ſhall be expounded according to the Intents of thoſe that did contract. *Cicero* ſaith, ſpeaking *de juſtitia*, as a Judge, not as an Advocate, *fol.* 24. to cavil with Words againſt the Mind of the Parties *eſt calumnia quædam & malitioſa juris interpretatio*; in which Place he puts a Caſe upon a Treaty, as ours is, of one who had made a Truce for one hundred and thirty Days with his Enemy, and taking Advantage of the Letter, fell upon his Enemy in the Night, alledging the Truce was only for Days, which the Orator derides as mere Injuſtice, and no otherwiſe may the literal Conſtruction, contended for, be in the preſent Caſe, except the Letter muſt be obſerved, or not obſerved, as it proves advantageous or diſadvantageous to the Priſoner; beſides, 'tis uſual in Law, that by Averments the Intentions of Parties take place where the Letter would not ſo decide the Queſtion, as 5 *lib. Coo.* 68. and 21 *Rich.* II. *Fitz. deviſ.* 27. Nor do I ſee how, in the penning thoſe Articles, any other Expreſſions could well have been, if Proviſion had been made, that the Priſoner ſhould have been exempted from the Power of Civil Juſtice, that had been void; and if it had been expreſſed, that nothing was by thoſe Articles intended to exempt him from Civil Juſtice, that had alſo implied a Power in them, if they had ſeen Cauſe to have given an abſolute Diſcharge from the Magiſtrate, which had been equally, by Conſtruction, derogatory to the Civil Power.

Fifthly, If the Earl had ever been *de facto* pardoned, yet he may ſeem to have loſt the Benefit thereof by his Eſcape made after a ſpecial Promiſe to the Governor, with whom he was Priſoner. The Civil Law, as *Forteſcue* obſerves, *cap.* 46. *Libertinum ingratum in priſtinam redigit ſervitutem*, and our Law ſaith, If one hath committed a capital Crime, and, being pardoned after, do but break the Peace, he forfeits the Benefit of the Pardon, 3 *Hen.* VII. 7. as *Bartue* did the Benefit of his Licenſe to travel, by his Reſort to the Fugitives, 2 *Eliz. Dy.* 176. And I conceive no Difference, whether the Condition be expreſſed or implied, which I infer not to make the Eſcape Treaſon, being not ſo charged, and the Statutes of 2 *Hen.* VI. and 14 *Eliz.* being expired, concerning that, but only for this Purpoſe it is enforced, that he who rendred himſelf up a Priſoner of War, and had for that Conſideration Quarter granted him, and yet after breaks that which was on his Part to be performed, hath thereby deprived himſelf of that Privilege which otherwiſe he might have enjoyed.

Object. If now the Priſoner ſhall be queſtioned for his Life, who by the Rendition of himſelf had Quarter given him for it, how is the Conſideration made good which did induce him to ſurrender; beſides, there if he had died (as the Earl himſelf ſaid) he had preſerved his Eſtate, and avoided the Conſequences of Attainder?

Anſw. 'Tis ſtrange that it ſhould be thought no Privilege to have ſo much Time to die, in caſe there were Certainty of it, above a Death by a Military Execution, which uſually is ſudden and *ſine ſtrepitu Judicii.* 2. Is it no Privilege above an immediate Death by the Sword, to have a fair judicial Proceeding by a Charge againſt him, putting in his own Plea thereunto, the Mat-

ter of Fact by Witneſſes and other Evidence proved on both Sides, and Counſel aſſigned him of his own Choice, to argue his Cauſe in point of Law, and himſelf to be heard as much as he could ſpeak in his own Defence? 3. And the Danger ſeems by this manner of Trial not greater than before; for he that dies a Traytor *in furore belli*, becauſe himſelf is the Cauſe why Formalities of legal Proceedings againſt him cannot be obſerved, by the ancient Law, forfeited his Eſtate, and remained attainted notwithſtanding, *Plowd. Com.* 262. *Fitz. Dower.* 106. where, in a Writ of *Dower*, the Demandant was barred, for that her Huſband went into *Scotland*, and joining himſelf with the Enemies, died in Enmity.

Object. As to the Examples of *Joſhua* with the *Gibeonites*, and of the Prophet *Eliſha* forbidding the King of *Iſrael* to ſmite thoſe whom he had taken Captive with his Sword and Bow.

Anſwer. I anſwer, as to the firſt, *viz.* that of *Joſhua* with the *Gibeonites*; God forbid but that as that, ſo all other Leagues and Treaties ſhould be kept ſo far as to bind that Power that made them, and who can rationally expect more? Now *Joſhua* was the Succeſſor of *Moſes*, and a Magiſtrate as well as Commander; beſides, 'tis ſaid the Princes of the Congregation ſwore unto them, and had theſe Circumſtances been incident to this Caſe, the Diſpute had been ended.

1. As to the other Inſtance, the Men of *Syria* had a perſonal Quarrel againſt *Eliſha*, and therefore none being intereſted but the Prophet, it might well become his Piety to be their Interceſſor. 2. For any thing appears, the Prophet only ſpeaks againſt their being ſmitten with the Sword of War, which if it had been drawn in cold Blood, might have been the Blood of War in Peace, but not againſt the Sword of Civil Juſtice. 3. Theſe Enemies were taken in the midſt of *Samaria in cruento prælio*, and therefore Bread and Water might well be ſet before them, that they might eat and go to their Maſters; but there hath been in this Caſe much Blood drawn, and Miſchief done; for the Avenging and Satisfaction whereof, Juſtice cries to them that bear not the Sword in vain.

And now, my Lord, though I might have demanded Judgment for want of the Priſoner's making good his own Plea, which he ought to have done before I had ſaid any thing to the contrary, the Plea of being an Alien lying on his Part to prove that pleads it, 9 *Edw.* IV. 12. and *Dy.* 300. And the Plea of a Pardon being a Confeſſion of the Fact, if not made out, proves fatal and final alſo to the Party, *Stanf. cor.* 150. Yet nevertheleſs, for that the Priſoner hath not been confined herein to the ſtrict Formalities of the Law, I have alſo, on the Behalf of the Commonwealth, taken the Privilege of ſpeaking thus much for aſſerting the Invalidity of his Plea; and therefore upon the whole Matter, having now ſaid what hath prevailed with my Judgment to offer in this Caſe, I humbly ſubmit the ſame to the Judgment and Conſideration of this honourable Court.

The

The CASE of thoſe Perſons who have Licences, or Letters Patent under the Great Seal of *England*, for the Keeping of Taverns, and Selling of Wines by Retail.

I. THAT the ſaid Letters Patent were without hearing of the Patentees, or any Notice had thereof, diſallowed and made void, by a late Act of the laſt Parliament, intitled, *An Act for the better ordering the ſelling of Wines by Retail*, &c. and which was confirmed in the Groſs with divers other Acts by this Parliament.

II. That the ſaid Letters Patent were granted by King *Charles* the Firſt (of glorious and bleſſed Memory, and his Royal Progenitors) unto the Patentees during their Lives, in Conſideration of valuable Sums of Money, *viz.* 100 *l.* 200 *l.* and other Sums, which were ſeverally paid as Fines by the Patentees, and certain yearly Rents, reſerved to be paid unto the Crown, and Bonds given to the Crown for Payment of the ſaid Rents, and the Patentees are ſtill liable to be ſued upon the ſaid Bonds for the growing Rents, and to have their Eſtates and Goods extended and ſeized.

III. That in the Act 21 *Jac. cap.* 3. which puts down Monopolies, the Wine Licences are excepted, and the Grants or Letters Patent of the ſame before and afterwards to be made, eſtabliſhed.

Provide alſo, and be it enacted, That this Act, or any Declaration, Proviſion, Penalty, Forfeiture, or other Thing before mentioned, ſhall not extend or be prejudicial to any Grant, Letters Patent, or Commiſſion heretofore granted, or hereafter to be granted, of, for, or concerning the Licenſing of the keeping of any Tavern or Taverns, or ſelling, uttering, or retailing of Wines to be drunk or ſpent in the Manſion-houſe or Houſes, or other Place in the Tenure or Occupation of the Party or Parties ſo ſelling or uttering the ſame, or for or concerning the making of any Compoſitions for ſuch Licences; ſo as the Benefit of ſuch Compoſitions be reſerved and applied to and for the Uſe of his Majeſty, his Heirs or Succeſſors, and not to the private Uſe of any other Perſon or Perſons.

IV. The ſaid Grants or Letters Patents have been made and confirmed above ſixſcore Years.

V. There was no other Ways or Means of taking Wine-Licences when the Patentees took theirs, and if they had not taken ſuch Licences they had incurred great Penalties by the Law: And the Cuſtoms ariſing to the Crown by Wines had been much leſs, if the Vent thereof had been ſtopped for want of Licences.

VI. All the late uſurped Powers, when many other Letters Patent, bearing Date after the twelfth Year of the Reign of his late Majeſty, were by great Injuſtice diſallowed, did allow the ſaid Grants or Letters Patent.

VII. Moſt of the Patentees have been great Sufferers for their Loyalty and Services to his Majeſty that now is, and his Royal Father (of ever-bleſſed Memory)

mory) and ſome of them have compounded at *Haberdaſhers-Hall* for the ſaid Grants or Letters Patent, and afterwards were decimated, and the whole Livelyhood of divers of them and their Families dependeth upon the Benefit of the ſaid Grants.

VIII. Some of the ſaid Letters Patents were granted to Perſons in Truſt, for and towards the Maintenance of Hoſpitals, and for other pious and charitable Uſes.

IX. Some of the ſaid Grants or Letters Patents have been given and received as Marriage-Portions, in Conſideration whereof Jointures have been ſettled, and others having been leaſed with Houſes by the Grantees (being Owners thereof) for a certain Term of Years yet to come; the ſaid Grantees are neceſſitated to give more Rent for new Licences (if they take any) than they receive for their Houſes and old Licences together: Which new Licences, if they refuſe to take, they are liable to be ſued by their Leſſees.

X. Although the ſaid Letters Patents be allowed, the Profits ariſing by the reſt of the Wine-Licences will exceed that Revenue, which the laſt Parliament did ſet upon all the Wine-Licences when they rated the ſame, and ſettled them upon his Majeſty as Part of his Majeſty's Revenue.

XI. The ſaid Grants or Letters Patents are to continue only during the Lives of the Grantees, moſt of whom are ancient Perſons, there having been no Grants made ſince the Year 1643.

XII. It is already provided in the aforeſaid Act *for the better ordering the ſelling of Wines*, &c. That the Mayor and Burgeſſes of *St. Albans* ſhall enjoy the Benefit of three Wine-Licences granted unto them by Letters Patents, for and towards the maintaining of a Free-School; which ſaid Letters Patents having been granted (as they were) out of mere Grace and Favour, the Patentees hope, that they, in regard of the valuable Conſiderations which they paid, and of their great Sufferings for their Loyalty, and the whole Livelihood of them and their Wives and Children depending upon the Benefit of their ſaid Letters Patent, and the other Reaſons aforeſaid, ſhall obtain the ſame Juſtice or Favour.

XIII. The Patentees do humbly conceive, that the ſaid Letters Patent which were granted for and towards the maintaining of Hoſpitals, and for other pious and charitable Uſes, ought, according to Reaſon and Equity, to be allowed, as well as the aforeſaid Letters Patent which were granted towards the maintaining of the Free-School at *St. Albans*.

XIV. That the Honourable Houſe of Commons, in their former Seſſions, was pleaſed to refer the Petition of the Patentees (then preſented) unto a Committee, who made Report, that the Petitioners had juſt Cauſe of Grievance, and ought to be relieved.

XV. That thereupon the ſaid Honourable Houſe, in regard they could not then, by the Orders and Rules thereof, repeal any Part of an Act made in the ſame Seſſion, for a preſent Expedient, thought fit to recommend the Petition and Caſe of the Petitioners unto his Majeſty, as worthy of his princely Conſideration and Relief; and three of the Members of that Honourable Houſe, by Order thereof, did attend his Majeſty with the ſame; and his Majeſty was graciouſly

graciouſly pleaſed to anſwer them that he would take the Petitioner's Caſe into his ſpecial Conſideration.

XVI. That his Majeſty intending the Patentees ſhould enjoy the Benefit of their Letters Patent, and ſome of the preſent Agents, Commiſſioners and Farmers of the Wine-Licences then preſenting a Petition unto his Majeſty, wherein they offered to allow all the ſaid Letters Patents, his Majeſty was pleaſed to refer the ſaid Petition unto his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, toward whoſe Support and Maintenance his Majeſty had been pleaſed to aſſign all the Rents and Revenues ariſing out of, or by Reaſon of, the ſaid Wine-Licences.

XVII. Thereupon certain Articles of Agreement were concluded and executed between his Royal Highneſs, and the preſent Agents, Commiſſioners and Farmers; whereby it is amongſt other Things agreed and concluded, That none of the Patentees ſhould be queſtioned, ſued, moleſted, or troubled by them the ſaid Agents, Commiſſioners and Farmers, their or any of their Deputies, Agents, or Aſſigns, for, or by reaſon of their retailing of Wines in purſuance of their reſpective Letters Patents: And further, by the ſaid Articles it is agreed, That his Majeſty's Royal Proclamation ſhould be procured, commanding all Perſons but the Patentees, to compound and perfect their Agreements for Licences by a certain Time with the ſaid Commiſſioners.

XVIII. That in purſuance of the ſaid Agreement made between his Royal Highneſs, and the preſent Agents, Commiſſioners and Farmers, the Commiſſion granted to the former Agents was called in, and a Commiſſion was granted by his Majeſty in or about the Month of *June* laſt, unto the preſent Agents, Commiſſioners and Farmers, who thereupon entered upon the Management of the ſaid Wine-Licences, and his Majeſty's Royal Proclamation iſſued out ſoon after, according to the Tenor of the ſaid Articles.

XIX. That his Majeſty having granted all Arrears of Rents growing due ſince the Act of Indemnity, upon the ſaid Letters Patents, unto two of the preſent Agents, Commiſſioners and Farmers; ſeveral of the Patentees have paid their Arrears of Rents unto them accordingly: And the ſaid Agents, Commiſſioners, and Farmers, declared and promiſed unto ſome of the Patentees, that the ſaid Letters Patents ſhould be allowed and made good, and directed them to give Notice to as many other Perſons concerned as they could, That all their reſpective Letters Patents ſhould be allowed and made good.

XX. Nevertheleſs the preſent Agents, Commiſſioners and Farmers do refuſe to allow the ſaid Letters Patents, pretending they are diſannulled and made void by a late Act of Parliament; and have troubled and ſued ſeveral of the Patentees for retailing of Wines in purſuance of their ſaid Letters Patents, and have, by their Under-Agents and Meſſengers, compelled ſeveral of the Patentees to give Bonds of great Penalty, to appear before them the ſaid Agents, Commiſſioners, and Farmers, at their Office on a certain Day, and not to depart thence without their Licence; and have threatened, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, to ſeize upon the Perſons of ſeveral of the Patentees, unleſs they would enter into ſuch Bonds, and pay unto them very unreaſonable and unlawful Sums of Money demanded of them, which for Quietneſs Sake they have paid more or leſs.

The

The REPRESENTATION of *Francis Rockley*, Esq;

THAT the Revenue of the Excise may be improved two hundred thousand Pounds *per annum* (if the Proceed of it be more than so much now) by the Imposition of a proportionable Excise in Substance upon every Quarter of Malt, to the Excise which is now imposed upon so much Ale and Beer as is the Proceed of a Quarter, in place of that Excise which is imposed upon Ale and Beer brewed to sell, and which will be,

I. A far more equal Tax.

II. To be advanced with more Certainty according to the Rule thereof.

III. With much less Charge; and,

IV. With much less Clamour than what is now imposed.

To the first, *a far more equal Tax*; for being that all and every Person must brew with Malt; if all Malt be equally charged, all and every one must thereby (*viz.* the Excise being charged upon Malt) be equally charged; but as the Excise is now established, all are not equally charged; for,

Every Person who brews to sell, by whom only the Excise of Beer and Ale is now charged upon the Subject, is either,

I. The Brewer, who brews to sell by great Measures, and wholly serves other Families by the same; which Sort of Brewers are only in some few great Cities and Towns, not above twenty throughout the Land, by whom all Persons, who buy their Drink in such Places, become equally charged, being all Persons in those Places are provided of their Drink from such public Brewers, who stand obliged to levy the same, and know to whom and what Proportion they sell, *&c.* Or,

II. The Brewers, who brew to sell by Retail, by whom only the Excise of Beer and Ale is charged upon the Subject in the rest of the Land: These Sort of Brewers charge almost only such as drink the same in those Houses where the same is brewed and sold, or those who necessarily buy the same for their Relief, and therefore supplies but a small Proportion of the rest of the Land, being that in almost all Market-towns, Villages, Hamlets, and private Houses in the Country throughout the Land, all the Inhabitants brew for themselves, at least by much the greatest Proportion of what they use (though these may better afford to pay the Imposition of Excise laid upon these their Drinks than those who now only pay the same) *viz.* than Gentlemen and Labourers in those great Towns where they are provided of these Drinks from public Brew-houses, and then Travellers and the Peasantry in the Country who buy the same, being it is to be supposed the Brewer must have a Profit out of his Industry, a Charge which is saved by those who brew for themselves, so unequal it is, that these only should escape this Impost, who being so great a Proportion of the whole Land, may be the Half or more, this Impost of Excise is proportionably short to what it is equal it should be.

II. Every

II. Every Proportion of Malt to be made throughout the Land may with much more Certainty be known by Survey, than the ſeveral Proportions of Beer and Ale brewed in the Land *.

Every Brewer, great as well as ſmall, may ſurreptitiouſly, at leaſt, diſpatch ſome conſiderable Portion of their Brewings (ſo quick is the Expedition of that Work) and give ſuch Supplement to their Liquors, that it is impoſſible, without an Officer's minute Attendance of each Brewing (a Charge not to be borne throughout the Land by the Profit ariſing thereout) certainly to know the Proportion of each Brewing, though an indifferent good Account may be taken of what thoſe great Brewers brew, who brew to ſell by great Meaſures, yet there is much Deceit familiarly in them, which is unavoidable; whereas, firſt all Malt requires ſo much Time to be made in, as the Grain whereof it is made, muſt lye ſteeping in a certain Veſſel, eaſily meaſureable by Gauge, for ſo long a Time, *viz.* two Days, ſo as a Survey of the Quantity of the ſame may be taken without Fraud, as demonſtratively as a Yard of Cloth may be meaſured to be ſo by a Yard Wand, and the ſame Proportion of Grain requires above a Fortnight's Time longer, that it be made into good Malt, to lye couched and ſpread in great open Floors made for that Purpoſe, obvious without Fraud to every Man's Eye, who ſhall be employed and impowered to ſurvey the ſame, ſo very ready, if Occaſion ſhall require to be meaſured again for ſo long a Time together.

To the *third*, This Impoſt may be advanced upon the Maltſter with much leſs Charge than immediately upon him that brews, being one Maltſter familiarly ſupplies at leaſt ten Brewers, who brew to ſell in the Country, and many more private Houſes, who brew for their own private Uſe only, whereby one Man may, by Survey, take an Account of above ten times ſo much if this Exciſe ſhall be immediately charged upon the Maltſter, as he can take Accounts of, if charged upon the Brewer, to anſwer for the ſame, *&c.*

To the *fourth*, This Impoſt upon Malt may be charged upon the whole Land indifferently, to anſwer with much leſs Clamour than the Impoſt upon Beer and Ale, as it is now charged, is charged upon a Portion of the Land only.

There is a Neceſſity of the Maltſter's having a great Stock, whereas he that brews to ſell in the Country hath frequently no other Subſtance to ſubſiſt by than the Credit of two or three Quarters of Malt from the Maker thereof, unto whom the Brewer ſtands conſtantly ſo particularly obliged, that ſuch Brewer will, in Probability, chearfully diſcharge his Part to his Maltſter, without any Diſtinction in the Price of what is paid for the Grain, what for the Exciſe thereof, whereby this Impoſition of Exciſe (being charged upon the Maker of the Malt, will ſteal inſenſibly upon whomſoever buys it, together with the Price thereof as a Portion of the ſame, as amongſt the Commons the Impoſt of Cuſtom is now happily miſtaken for the intrinſical Value of the Commodity itſelf, whereas ſo great are the Neceſſities of thoſe who brew to ſell in the

* I have heard a Brewer of *London* ſay, that he knew Brewers who gained by the Exciſe ten Pounds *per* Week.

Country, that this Impoſt of Exciſe being immediately charged upon them, though with an unqueſtionable Honeſty and Evenneſs, according to the Rules thereof (which cannot be performed without a greater Charge than the Profit ariſing thereout can amount unto) yet ſhall it not eſcape the Murmur and Clamour of thoſe poor Brewers upon whom it is ſo immediately impoſed, when it comes to be diſcharged, they being ever ſo unfit to diſcharge the ſame; and if this Impoſt of Exciſe ſhall, by Compoſition, be impoſed upon the Brewer in the Country after any Sort, at the Will of the Officer employed to advance and collect the ſame, as hitherto it hath been impoſed and muſt be impoſed again, if the Eſtabliſhment of Exciſe (which hath been) ſhall continue, or nothing be advanced thereout above the Charge. It is known by Experience amongſt us (eſpecially when the Exciſe hath been in Farm, the Farmers uſually regarding the Profits of the ſame with much more Exaction (as well for the Safety as Improvement of their Fortunes) when they execute it for themſelves than when for others, that not only Diſcontent and Clamour, but Inſurrections alſo have been often made hereby, before what hath been thus contracted for, could be levied, whereas impoſed upon the Maker of the Malt, it is not only impoſed upon a People who are in as great a Plenty as any Subjects of the Nation of any Condition whatever are, but the ſame may, at an eaſy Charge, be impoſed upon them according to the Rules the ſame ſhall be directed to be levied by, and ſhall not need an arbitrary Compoſition, which is neceſſary for levying of the Exciſe as now it is eſtabliſhed upon Ale and Beer in the Country, whereby all Clamour will be taken off, they, *viz.* the Maltſters, being generally ſo well able to diſcharge the ſame, and being impoſed upon them to diſcharge it without any other Burden than what they bear equally with all their Fellow-Subjects.

It is not to be underſtood, there can be public Brewers eſtabliſhed in this Land for all his Majeſty's Subjects to have their Drink from, as in the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, where all live in ſo much Neighbourhood to each other by Situation of their Houſes, and Commerce of their Rivers; whereby it may be moſt convenient amongſt them to have their Drink from common Brewers, yet the much greateſt Share of our Land being ſo well appointed of theſe their Drinks by their own Brewing, with much more Conveniency than they can have the ſame from any Eſtabliſhment of common Brewers in this Land, where ſo many Villages and private Houſes are at ſo great Diſtance from each other (wanting that Familiarity of Rivers which are in the United Provinces to bring all Commerce to them by) the ſame cannot be eſtabliſhed amongſt us for all Families of Force to have their Drink from common Brewers.

The Lords and Inheritors of Lands are the ſole Perſons liable to the Burden of Wardſhips, and what Reaſon is there why theſe ſhould diſcharge themſelves of this their Burden upon the Shoulders of the Commons beneath the ſame *?

* And there is ſcarce a Lord, Gentleman, or Free-holder throughout the Land, of any continued Family, who have not only been more liable to ſuffer, but really have ſuffered more, by being once in Wardſhip, than the Exciſe of this Commodity could have charged the ſame Family in two hundred Years.

The Perſon who propoſeth this Tranſlation of the Exciſe from Beer and Ale, as now it is eſtabliſhed unto Malt, hath prepared a Platform ready to be preſcribed for levying of the ſame according to his Propoſitions.

ANIMADVERSIONS upon a Paper, intitled, *Conſiderations touching his Majeſty's Revenues of Exciſe.*

WHEN after his Majeſty's glorious Reſtoration, it was under Conſideration in Parliament, to continue an Exciſe upon ſome Liquors, both native and foreign; the Diſtillers did give many Reaſons and ſuch as they hoped would have ſatisfied, that the Product of their Art and Myſtery might at laſt have been diſcharged of that heavy and vexatious Burden, introduced thereupon by the long Oppreſſors of this Nation, and the Trade thereof, inſtancing and inſiſting chiefly how impracticable it was to be brought under Charge by the ſame Rules as Beer and Ale, and how deſtructive it would be to all of their Faculty, through the narrow Inſpection into their ſeveral Ways of Operation, and how little it would contribute to the public Revenue, if it were charged with no more than the ſame could reaſonably bear.

But the ſaid Parliament nevertheleſs judged it fit, that every Gallon of Strong-water or *Aqua vitæ*, made and ſold, ſhould be charged with 2 *d.* and every Gallon of Spirits made of any Kind of Wine or Cyder imported, with 4 *d.* to be paid by the Maker, and to oblige the Diſtiller, equally with the Brewers of their own Drink, and Retailers thereof, once in every Month, to make particular Entries of all Strong-waters by them made, and to ſubject them to gauge, and all other Ways of Check and Diſcoveries, and to make them equally liable to all Penalties and Defaults, as any other Makers and Retailers of the Liquors therein ſpecified: And theſe Acts have been confirmed by this Parliament, and the Diſtillers did acquieſce, as they do ſtill, in the Courſes which the Commiſſioners firſt appointed by his Majeſty, took and obſerved for levying of theſe Duties of the Diſtillers.

So when the Diſtillers heard, that according as is declared in the ſaid Acts, the Lord High Treaſurer of *England* was in Treaty to farm, among other Liquors this of their Making and Retailing, they foreſeeing that they might be expoſed to the ſame abſurd, violent, and unreaſonable Courſes as they were under the late uſurped Powers, and well underſtanding the Difference between Farmers and Commiſſioners, did humbly addreſs to his Lordſhip to be admitted Farmers of theſe Duties of Exciſe upon Strong-waters made within *London*, and twenty-one Miles about, which is the Extent of their Incorporation; ſetting forth, how they were well informed, that within the Limits aforeſaid there was never yearly, by all the Extremities uſed to advance the ſame, collected more than 800 *l.* and that at leaſt 300 *l.* thereof was expended

in Charges; and therefore offered 500 *l. per annum* in Certainty; but it being not thought fit to farm any Part alone by itſelf, the Diſtillers ſaid Propoſition was not accepted: And ſince the Farm of the whole Duties of Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other *Liquors*, it will be acknowledged they have not been otherwiſe treated, than they were before by the preceding Commiſſioners of his Majeſty.

But now they find by a printed Paper which walks abroad, and is intitled, *Conſiderations touching his Majeſty's Revenues of Exciſe*, That under Colour of improving thereof, it is ſought to introduce again the ſame intolerable Courſes, by which the Diſtillers were formerly infinitely afflicted, and their lawful Art and Trade, againſt all Reaſon, pryed into, diſcovered and diſturbed.

As firſt, under Pretence that the Powers, Authorities, and Directions given by the Acts for Exciſe, to the Officers thereof, for the charging of the particular Perſons ſubject to the Duties therein contained, are inſufficient as to all, and not appliable as to ſome of the Commodities themſelves, upon which the ſaid Duties are laid, this Paper doth inſtance, as to the Commodity the Diſtillers make, that the Gauge cannot be applied, but with infinite Charge and Attendance, if it could at all be, in regard of the great Multitude of the poor Retailers. And herein much Truth is acknowledged, but not all: For indeed it is impoſſible to make any Gauge at all upon the Operations of a Diſtiller.

But the Remedies which are offered in this Caſe, are the worſt, and the moſt impracticable and abſurd that ever could be deviſed. For, as to the firſt, That no Diſtillers may be permitted to ſell Strong-waters, without Security firſt given to pay the Duties of Exciſe, it is humbly hoped, that no ſuch Slavery ſhall be ever introduced on Citizens, and ſuch as are incorporated, and a Guild of *London*, and keep no Tipling-houſes, no more than the like is impoſed upon the common Brewer: And that it will be conſidered, that it would be no Remedy at all; for that nothing can be diſcovered thereby, more than in the preſent Courſe, nor can it ever produce a Charge, nor will at all reach ſo far as the preſent Obligation on the Diſtillers to enter monthly of themſelves, and to pay the Duty within a Month after, upon the Penalties of the Law.

And as to the ſecond Remedy, *viz.* That Diſtillers ſhall not deliver without Ticket (by which the leaſt that can be meant is, that they ſhall not deliver the Strong-waters they make without Ticket) there could nothing have been contrived of more Vexation and worſe Abſurdity. For a ſick Perſon ſends for the eighth Part of a Pint every Hour in the Day, ſhall the Diſtiller ſo often be obliged to ſend his own Servant, or the weak Man's Meſſenger, to the Office of Exciſe for this Ticket? And if the Diſtiller is knocked up in the Night, as it often happens, who will be at the Office to deliver this Ticket? As much might be ſaid, as to Paſſengers in the Street, and in many other Inſtances, to ſhew with what little Reaſon this Remedy is repreſented. But here it may, perhaps, be replied, that theſe ſmall and neceſſary Supplies to Perſons under theſe Accidents, and other unavoidable Occaſions, are not intended in this Propoſition, but only great Parcels: And hence may be inforced again, to give therefore the Bond propounded in the firſt Remedy. But what need all this Caution? Is not the Diſtiller obliged by the Law alread to enter his monthly Makings?

Makings? What ſhall the Condition of this Bond be that can ſecure further? And what Courſe will be taken to diſtinguiſh between Foreign Strong-waters perfectly made before, wherein the Diſtiller may, and doth alſo deal, and what he alſo makes himſelf?

But there is one general Head more of this Paper, whereunder the Deficiencies wich concern the Diſpoſition of the coercive and judicial Power are compriſed: And, among others, it is inſtanced, that the Commiſſioners have no Power to puniſh Contempt in any Witneſs neglecting, or refuſing to appear upon Summons, to give Teſtimony in any Caſe of Exciſe in his Majeſty's Behalf, or that appearing ſhall refuſe to be ſworn, or declare his Knowledge: And in this Caſe the Remedy is propounded, That the Commiſſioners, *&c.* may be impowered to puniſh the Contempt of *any Perſon* ſummoned as a Witneſs, who ſhall refuſe to appear, or to be ſworn or to give Teſtimony. Hereupon the Diſtiller is put in mind how this Word *any Perſon* hath been ſtrained, *viz.* to their Apprentices, and ſworn Servants, to diſcover upon Oath what Strong-waters his Maſter hath made from time to time, and ſo to make it ſure he ſhall be once forſworn. But the Diſtillers will be humbly confident, That however, by the ſpecious Repreſentations that have been made, that Strong-waters might both bear and produce a good Charge and great Revenue; and ſo a Parliament hath been induced to inſert the Liquors of their Trade amongſt others to be exciſed, yet that Parliament, though they found a Precedent of the like Nature, and under like general Term, in former Ordinances ſo called, in thoſe Times, did purpoſely reject this Courſe of Inquiſition, for the Abomination thereof. And the Diſtillers, though they can well ſubmit that all lawful Means may be provided in behalf of his Majeſty, whereby all Frauds and Evaſions may be reaſonably diſcovered, and all good Means made Uſe of to recover and ſecure this Revenue, yet they will humbly hope that no more extraordinary Courſe ſhall be induced upon them to either of theſe Ends than is conſonant to the Laws of God and Man, and than will conſiſt with Traffic, and is precedented and uſed in any Caſe of his Majeſty's greater and ancienter Revenue of Tonnage and Poundage, *&c.* or than is practiſed in his Majeſty's Courts of Juſtice, in any Caſe of a penal Law wherein his Majeſty is made a Party.

But ſtill there is yet more upon the Stocks, which is a Model framing how the Trade of the Diſtillers ſhall be circumſcribed in the future in relation to the Exciſe, the Printing whereof ſhall be attended. In the mean time, this Paper is adventured abroad, that at one Inſtant, if poſſibly, it might come to public View with the printed Paper before mentioned in behalf of the Farmers, and to prevent all Prepoſſeſſion upon any Man's Judgment or Underſtanding.

To the Right Honourable the Houſe of Commons, now aſſembled in Parliament.

The humble PETITION of Sir *Job Harby*, Knight and Baronet, Sir *John Jacobs*, Sir *Nicholas Criſp*, and Sir *John Hariſon*, Knights,

SHEWING,

THAT they with ſome others deceaſed, did, *anno* 1640, contract with his late Majeſty for the two Farms of the Cuſtoms, called *The Great and Petty Farms*, and at his Majeſty's Inſtance did advance on the Rent agreed upon 253200 *l.* as may appear by Tallies or Conſtants out of the *Exchequer*; which Money was diſburſed to the Navy, and other public Uſes.

That upon the Meeting of the late long Parliament, it was interpreted a great Fault to have farmed the Cuſtoms; and at that Time the Neceſſities of the Nation being very preſſing, in Aſſurance to free themſelves from their great Debt due from the King, they thought it no ill Means to condeſcend to raiſe for the public Service (which was then to diſband two devouring Armies) 165000 *l.* and the Houſes then promiſing to provide for their Re-payment, when they conſidered the ſettling the King's Revenue, they thereupon found Credit to raiſe that Money; which, with what they had lent before, ſunk them and many more Families, whoſe Caſes to this Hour are as grievous to your Petitioners Thoughts as their own Miſeries, which in reſpect of their Perſons and Eſtates, and Extremities of Law put on both, have been as remarkable as any Caſe can be inſtanced.

Therefore not for themſelves only, whoſe Conditions merit Pity, but for thoſe thus involved with them, and for the Honour of the King, and Juſtice of the Parliament, and in Conſideration of the public good Service the Money was raiſed for,

They humbly pray their Debt of 253200 l. *may be fixed and aſſigned out of the remaining Exciſe, in the Power of the Houſes yet to diſpoſe.*

And they ſhall ever pray, *&c.*

Job Harby,
John Jacobs,
Nicholas Criſp,
John Hariſon.

The

The CASE of the diſtreſſed Lady HARRINGTON; together with her Petition, humbly preſented to this Honourable Houſe.

SHE was the Daughter of Sir *Edmund Wright*, who was the Lord Mayor of *London* in the Beginning of the Troubles, and appeared upon all Occaſions for the late King, and continued loyal to his dying Day, ſuffering both Fine and Impriſonment for him.

She brought her Huſband a great Portion in Money, and Sir *Edmund Wright* gave her a Houſe and ſome Lands at *Swakeley* for her Life, and after her Death, to her eldeſt Son and his Heirs, who was always in his Judgment for a King, and kingly Government, and never in the leaſt Meaſure diſloyal; and ſhe hath eleven Children beſides, and no manner of preſent Livelihood amongſt them all.

Her Huſband was not choſen a Member into the long unhappy Parliament before 1646, and long before that Time Arms were taken up, and Battles fought; upon which many fatal Conſequences enſued.

She confeſſeth her miſerable Huſband, after two Summons, and an Order to record his Default if he did not appear, did the 23d of *January* only appear, and no other Time, either in the *Painted Chamber* or *Weſtminſter-Hall*, though often ſummoned, neither ſtaid he the doing of any one Thing, but left the Court abruptly; whereupon they made an Order, *That thenceforth none ſhould leave the Court but with Licenſe*, as by the Journal-Book thereof may appear, nor ever appeared he in any other High Court of Juſtice.

Her Huſband's Eſtate is no other than as followeth, *viz.* At *Merton* in *Oxfordſhire* about 600 *l. per Annum*, which was ſettled upon Marriage for her Jointure, and intailed upon her Iſſue. At *Ridlington* in *Rutlandſhire* between 300 and 400 *l. per Annum*, but is charged with 150 *l. per Annum*, to his Brother *John* for Life, with Power to make his Wife a Jointure. He had a little Houſe at *Highgate* worth about 30 *l. per Annum*, but mortgaged and forfeited.

Her Huſband oweth in real and perſonal Debts above 8000 *l.* and her poor Son, in Obedience to his Father, is bound with him for near 4000 *l.* of that Debt.

She humbly prayeth, That her poor eldeſt Son, who is in no ſort guilty in the leaſt, may not be buried alive in a Priſon, by a Law now to be made, which muſt be the Conſequence, if his Father's Debts be left upon him; and ſhe hopes your Honours will not reckon any Man's Eſtate his own before his Debts be paid.

That ſhe who cannot be charged with any Crime, and her twelve innocent Children (ſome not born when her Huſband's Fault was committed) may not be turned all to beg, but that whilſt her Huſband's Fault is remembered, her Father's Sufferings, and her own and Children's Innocency, may not wholly be forgotten; and that all ſuch in this Honourable Houſe as are either Fa-

thers,

thers, Huſbands, or Children, would ſeriouſly conſider the Caſe of her and her twelve innocent Children, before they expoſe them to final Ruin, without any Fault in them, as Men and Chriſtians, to mitigate their Sentence, that Life may not be more cruel than Death, but be conſiſtent with Mercy in Imitation of God. The God of Mercy, who hath declared his Promiſe, and pronounced his Bleſſing to the Merciful, of which to make you all Partakers, ſhall be the Prayers of your Honours moſt miſerable and diſtreſſed Suppliant and her numerous Iſſue.

Who caſt themſelves at your Honours Feet for Mercy to her whole Family.

A PROCLAMATION.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty in his Princely Compaſſion, and very tender Care, taking into Conſideration the diſtreſſed Condition of many his good Subjects, whom the late dreadful and diſmal Fire hath made deſtitute of Habitations, and expoſed to many Exigencies and Neceſſities; for preſent Remedy and Redreſs whereof, his Majeſty, intending to give further Teſtimony and Evidences of his Grace and Favour towards them, as Occaſion ſhall ariſe, hath thought fit to declare and publiſh his Royal Pleaſure, That as great Proportions of Bread and all other Proviſions as can poſſibly be furniſhed, ſhall be daily and conſtantly brought, not only to the Markets formerly in uſe, but alſo to ſuch Markets as by his Majeſty's late Order and Declaration to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* have been appointed and ordained, *viz. Clerkenwell*, *Iſlington*, *Finſbury-Fields*, *Mile-end Green*, and *Ratcliff*; his Majeſty being ſenſible, that this will be for the Benefit alſo of the Towns and Places adjoining, as being the beſt Expedient to prevent the Reſort of ſuch Perſons thereunto as may pilfer and diſturb them. And whereas alſo divers of the ſaid diſtreſſed Perſons have ſaved and preſerved their Goods, which nevertheleſs they know not how to diſpoſe of, it is his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that all Churches, Chapels, Schools, and other like public Places, ſhall be free and open to receive the ſaid Goods when they ſhall be brought to be there laid: And all Juſtices of the Peace within the ſeveral Counties of *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, and *Surrey*, are to ſee the ſame done accordingly: And likewiſe that all Cities and Towns whatſoever ſhall, without any Contradiction, receive the ſaid diſtreſſed Perſons, and permit him the free Exerciſe of their manual Trades; his Majeſty reſolving and promiſing, that when the preſent Exigent ſhall be paſſed over, he will take ſuch Care and Order, that the ſaid Perſons ſhall be no Burden to their Towns or Pariſhes. And it is his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that this his Declaration be forthwith publiſhed, not only by the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, but alſo by all other Sheriffs, Mayors,

and

and other Chief Officers in their reſpective Precincts and Limits, and by the Conſtables in every Pariſh. And of this his Majeſty's Pleaſure, all Perſons concerned are to take Notice, and thereunto to give due Obedience to the utmoſt of their Power, as they ſhall anſwer the contrary at their Peril.

Given at our Court at *Whitehall*, this Fifth Day of *September*, in the Eighteenth Year of our Reign, One Thouſand Six Hundred and Sixty-ſix.

GOD ſave the King.

A brief RELATION of Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Troubles, with the taking away of the Lands and Caſtle of *Sherborne* in *Dorſet*, from him and his Heirs, being his indubitable Inheritance.

Printed in the Year 1669.

To the Right Honourable the Commons of *England*, aſſembled in Parliament.

The humble PETITION *of* Carew Ralegh, *Eſq; only Son of Sir* Walter Ralegh, *late deceaſed,*

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT whereas your Petitioner conceiveth, That his late Father Sir *Walter Ralegh*, was moſt unjuſtly and illegally condemned and executed, and his Lands and Caſtle of *Sherborne* wrongfully taken from him and his, as may more at large appear by this brief Narrative hereunto annexed. The Particulars whereof your Petitioner is upon due Proofs ready to make good. Your Petitioner therefore humbly ſubmitting to the great Juſtice and Integrity of this Houſe (which is no way more manifeſted, than by relieving the Oppreſſed) humbly craveth, that he may receive ſuch Satisfaction for theſe his great Oppreſſions and Loſſes, as to the Wiſdom and Clemency of this honourable Houſe ſhall ſeem fit.

And your Petitioner ſhall humbly pray, &c.

A brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's *Troubles, with the taking away of the Lands and Caſtle of* Sherborne, *in* Dorſet, *&c.*

WHEN King *James* came into *England*, he found Sir *Walter Ralegh* (by the Favour of his late Miſtreſs Queen *Elizabeth*) Lord Warden of the *Stannaries*, Lord Lieutenant of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal*, Captain of the

Guard, and Governor of the Iſle of *Jerſey*, with a large Poſſeſſion of Lands both in *England* and *Ireland*. The King for ſome Weeks uſed him with great Kindneſs, and was pleaſed to acknowledge divers Preſents which he had received from him, being in *Scotland*, for which he gave him Thanks: But finding him (as he ſaid) a martial Man, addicted to Foreign Affairs, and great Actions, he feared leſt he ſhould engage him in a War (a thing moſt hated, and contrary to the King's Nature) wherefore he began to look upon him with a jealous Eye; eſpecially after he had preſented him with a Book, wherein, with great Animoſity, he oppoſed the Peace with *Spain*, then in Treaty, perſuading the King rather vigorouſly to proſecute the War with that Prince then in hand, promiſing (and that with great Probability) within few Years to reduce the *Weſt-Indies* to his Obedience. But Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Enemies ſoon diſcovering the King's Humour, reſolved at once to rid the King of this Doubt and Trouble, and to enrich themſelves with the Lands and Offices of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; wherefore they plotted to accuſe him and the Lord *Cobham* (a ſimple paſſionate Man, but of very noble Birth and great Poſſeſſions) of High-Treaſon. The Particulars of their Accuſation I am utterly ignorant of (and I think all Men both then and now living) only I find in general Terms, they were accuſed for plotting with the *Spaniard* to bring in a foreign Army, and proclaim the Infanta of *Spain* Queen of *England*, but without any Proofs, and the Thing itſelf as ridiculous as poſſible: However, Sir *Walter Ralegh* was condemned without any Witneſs brought in againſt him; and the Lord *Cobham*, who was pretended to have accuſed him barely in a Letter, in another Letter to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, upon his Salvation, cleared him of all Treaſon or treaſonable Actions, either againſt King or State to his Knowledge; which original Letter is now in the Hands of Mr. *Carew Ralegh*, Son of Sir *Walter*, to be produced at any Time. Upon this Condemnation, all his Lands and Offices were ſeized, and himſelf committed cloſe Priſoner to the *Tower*; but they found his Caſtle of *Sherborne*, and the Lands thereunto belonging, to be long before entailed on his Children; ſo that he could not forfeit it but during his own Life. And the King finding in himſelf the Iniquity of Sir *Walter*'s Condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited again, but ſtill kept him cloſe Priſoner; ſeven Years after his Impriſonment, he enjoyed *Sherborn*; at which Time it fell out, that one Mr. *Robert Car*, a young *Scotch* Gentleman, grew in great Favour with the King, and having no Fortune, they contrived to lay the Foundation of his future Greatneſs upon the Ruin of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; whereupon they called the Conveyance of *Sherborne* in queſtion in the *Exchequer Chamber*, and for want of one ſingle Word (which Word was found notwithſtanding in the Paper-book, and was only the Overſight of a Clerk) they pronounced the Conveyance invalid, and *Sherborne* forfeited to the Crown, a Judgment eaſily to be foreſeen without Witchcraft, ſince his chiefeſt Judge was his greateſt Enemy, and the Caſe argued between a poor friendleſs Priſoner and a King of *England*.

Thus was *Sherborne* given to Sir *Robert Car* (after Earl of *Somerſet*) the Lady *Ralegh* * with her Children humbly and earneſtly petitioning the King for

* She was the only Daughter of Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, who was arraigned in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and quit. See *Fox*'s Acts and Monuments.

Compaſſion

Compaſſion on her Knees, could obtain no other Anſwer from him, but *that he mun have the Land, he mun have it for* Car: She being a Woman of a very high Spirit, and noble Birth and Breeding, fell down upon her Knees with her Hands heaved up to Heaven, and in the Bitterneſs of Spirit beſeeched God Almighty to look upon the Juſtice of her Cauſe, and puniſh thoſe who had ſo wrongly expoſed her and her poor Children to Ruin and Beggary. What hath happened ſince to that Royal Family is too ſad and diſaſtrous for me to repeat, and yet too viſible not to be diſcerned. But to proceed: Prince *Henry* hearing the King had given *Sherborne* to Sir *Robert Car*, came with ſome Anger to his Father, deſiring he would beſtow *Sherborne* upon him, alledging that it was a Place of great Strength and Beauty, which he much liked, but indeed with an Intention to give it back to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, whom he much eſteemed.

The King who was unwilling to refuſe any of that Prince's Deſires (for indeed they were moſt commonly delivered in ſuch Language as ſounded rather like a Demand than an Intreaty) granted his Requeſt; and to ſatisfy his Favourite gave him five and twenty thouſand Pounds in ready Money, ſo far was the King or Crown from gaining by this Purchaſe; but that excellent Prince within a few Months was taken away, how and by what Means is ſuſpected by all, and I fear was then too well known by many. After his Death the King gave *Sherborne* again to Sir *Robert Car*, who not many Years after, by the Name of Earl of *Somerſet*, was arraigned and condemned for poiſoning Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and loſt all his Lands. Then Sir *John Digby*, now Earl of *Briſtol*, begged *Sherborne* of the King and had it. Sir *Walter Ralegh* being of a vigorous Conſtitution, and perfect Health, had now worn out ſixteen Years Impriſonment, and had ſeen the diſaſtrous End of all his greateſt Enemies; ſo that new Perſons, and new Intereſts now ſpringing up in Court, he found Means to obtain his Liberty, but upon Condition to go a Voyage to *Guiana* in Diſcovery of a Gold Mine: That unhappy Voyage is well known, almoſt, to all Men, and he was betrayed from the very beginning, his Letters and Deſigns being diſcovered to *Gondomar* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, whereby he found ſuch ſtrong Oppoſition upon the Place, that though he took and fired the Town of *St. Thoma*, yet he loſt his eldeſt Son in that Service, and being deſperately ſick himſelf was made fruſtrate of all his Hopes.

Immediately upon his Return home he was made Priſoner, and by the violent Purſuit of *Gondomar*, and ſome others (who could not think their Eſtates ſafe while his Head was upon his Shoulders) the King reſolved to take Advantage of his former Condemnation ſixteen Years paſt (being not able to take away his Life for any new Action) and though he had given him a Commiſſion, under the Broad Seal, to execute Martial Law upon his own Soldiers, which was conceived by the beſt Lawyers a full Pardon for any Offence committed before that Time, without any further Trouble of the Law, cut off his Head.

Here Juſtice was indeed blinded, blindly executing one and the ſame Perſon upon one and the ſame Condemnation for Things contradictory; for Sir

Walter Ralegh was condemned for being a Friend to the *Spaniard*, and loſt his Life for being their utter Enemy. Thus Kings, when they will do what they pleaſe, pleaſe not him they ſhould, God, and having made their Power ſubſervient to their Will, deprive themſelves of that juſt Power whereby others are ſubſervient to them. To proceed: Mr. *Carew Ralegh*, only Son of Sir *Walter*, being at this Time a Youth of about Thirteen, bred at *Oxford*, after five Years came to Court, and by the Favour of the Right Honourable *Will.* Earl of *Pembroke*, his noble Kinſman, hoped to obtain ſome Redreſs in his Misfortunes; but the King not liking his Countenance, ſaid, he appeared to him like the Ghoſt of his Father, whereupon the Earl adviſed him to travel, which he did until the Death of King *James*, which happened about a Year after. Then coming over, and a Parliament ſitting, he, according to the Cuſtom of this Land, addreſſed himſelf to them, by petitioning to be reſtored in Blood, thereby to enable him to inherit ſuch Lands as might come to him either as Heir to his Father, or any other Way; but his Petition having been twice read in the Lords Houſe, King *Charles* ſent Sir *James Fullerton* (then of the Bed-chamber) unto Mr. *Ralegh* to command him to come unto him, and being brought unto the King's Chamber by the ſaid Sir *James*, the King (after uſing him with great Civility) notwithſtanding told him plainly, that when he was Prince, he had promiſed the Earl of *Briſtol* to ſecure his Title to *Sherborne* againſt the Heirs of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; whereupon the Earl had given him, then Prince, ten thouſand Pounds, that now he was bound to make good his Promiſe, being King: That therefore unleſs he would quit all his Right and Title to *Sherborne*, he neither could nor would paſs his Bill of Reſtoration. Mr. *Ralegh* urged the Juſtice of his Cauſe, that he deſired only the Liberty of a Subject, and to be left to the Law, which was never denied any Freeman. Notwithſtanding all which Allegations, the King was reſolute in his Denial, and ſo left him. After which, Sir *James Fullerton* uſed many Arguments to perſuade Submiſſion to the King's Will, as the Impoſſibility of conteſting with Kingly Power; the not being reſtored in Blood, which brought along with it ſo many Inconveniencies, that it was not poſſible without it to poſſeſs or enjoy any Lands or Eſtate in this Kingdom; the not being in a Condition, if his Cloak were taken from his Back, or Hat from his Head, to ſue for Reſtitution. All which Things being conſidered, together with ſplendid Promiſes of great Preferment in Court, and particular Favours from the King not improbable, wrought much in the Mind of young Mr. *Ralegh*, who being a Perſon not full twenty Years old, left friendleſs and fortuneleſs, prevailed ſo far, that he ſubmitted to the King's Will.

Whereupon there was an Act paſſed for his Reſtoration, and together with it a Settlement of *Sherborne* to the Earl of *Briſtol*; and in ſhew of ſome kind of Recompence, four hundred Pounds a Year Penſion, during Life, granted to Mr. *Ralegh* after the Death of his Mother, who had that Sum paid unto her during Life in lieu of Jointure.

Thus have I, with as much Brevity, Humility, and Candor, as the Nature of the Caſe will permit, related the Preſſures, Force, and Injuſtice committed

mitted upon a poor oppreſſed, though not undeſerving * Family; and have forborn to ſpecify the Names of thoſe who were Inſtruments of this Evil; leſt I ſhould be thought to have an Inclination to ſcandalize particular, and perchance noble, Families.

Upon the Conſideration of all which, I humbly ſubmit myſelf to the Commons of *England* now repreſented in Parliament; deſiring, according to their great Wiſdom and Juſtice, that they will right me, and my Poſterity, according to their own beſt liking; having in mine own Perſon (though bred at Court) never oppoſed any of their juſt Rights and Privileges, and for the future being reſolved to range myſelf under the Banner of the Commons of *England*; and ſo far forth as Education, and fatherly Inſtruction can prevail, promiſe the ſame for two Sons whom God hath ſent me.

* Sir *Walter Ralegh* diſcovered *Virginia* at his own Charge, which coſt him 4000 *l.* He was the firſt of the *Engliſh* that diſcovered *Guiana* in the *Weſt-Indies*. He took the Iſlands of *Fayall* from the *Spaniard*, and did moſt ſignal and eminent Service at the taking of *Cadiz*. He took from the *Spaniard* the greateſt and richeſt Caric that ever came into *England*, and another Ship laden with nothing but Gold, Pearls, and Cochineal.

A full and true Relation of his Excellency the Pope's Nuncio making his public Entry at *Windſor* on *Sunday* the third of this Inſtant *July*, 1687.

Printed in the Year 1687.

THE Town of *Windſor* was ſo full of all Sorts of People, from all Parts, that ſome of the Inhabitants were aſtoniſhed; and it was very difficult to get Proviſions or Room, either for Horſe or Man; nay, many Perſons of Quality, and others, were forced to ſit in their Coaches and Calaſhes almoſt all the Day.

So great were the Expectations of all People to ſee this Ceremony, ſuppoſing it to be greater than ordinary, by reaſon there has not been any public Miniſter of State from the Pope, for above an hundred and forty Years, that hath made any public Entry, as I am informed.

All the Spectators ſuppoſed he would ſet out a little after Noon, but did not till between five and ſix of the Clock in the Afternoon; at which time his Excellency took Coach, it being one of his Majeſty's, for that Purpoſe, at his own Lodgings, the Duke of *Grafton* and Sir *Charles Cotterel* being in the Coach with him; his Excellency was clothed in Purple, and a Gold Crucifix hanging at his Breaſt.

The firſt that appeared in this Ceremony, was one of the Knight-Marſhal's Men on Horſeback, and after him two others followed on Foot; after them went his Excellency's Footmen, being twelve in Number, their Coats being all

of

of a dark-grey coloured Cloth, with white and purple Lace. After them followed the Coach of State, in which was his Excellency, having four Pages to attend him, two on each Side, taking hold of the Coach; their Coats were very richly laced. His Excellency had three Coaches, with six Horſes a-piece in each Coach. Immediately after his Excellency, in two of his Coaches, were ten Prieſts, his Coach of State going empty. After them went the Lord Chancellor's, two of the Lord Preſident's, the Lord Privy Seal's, and the Lord Chamberlain's Coach. There were eighteen Coaches more beſides them, with ſix Horſes a-piece; in which Number the Lord Biſhop of *Durham*'s was one, and the Biſhop of *Cheſter*'s another. In this Order they went up to the Caſtle, where they ſtayed about a Quarter of an Hour, and then his Excellency returned back to his Lodgings.

By the KING, a DECLARATION.

Printed at *Holy-Rood-Houſe* in the Year 1688.

JAMES R.

AS we cannot conſider this Invaſion of our Kingdoms, by the Prince of *Orange*, without Horror, for ſo unchriſtian and unnatural an Undertaking, in a Perſon ſo nearly related to us; ſo it is a Matter of the greateſt Trouble and Concern to us, to reflect upon the many Miſchiefs and Calamities which an Army of Foreigners and Rebels muſt unavoidably bring upon our People. It is but too evident, by a late Declaration publiſhed by him, that notwithſtanding the many ſpecious and plauſible Pretences it carries, his Deſigns, in the Bottom, do tend to nothing leſs than an abſolute uſurping of our Crown and Royal Authority; as may fully appear by his aſſuming to himſelf, in the ſaid Declaration, the Regal Stile: Requiring the Peers of the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, and all other Perſon of all Degrees, to obey and aſſiſt him in the Execution of his Deſigns, a Prerogative inſeparable from the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and for a more undeniable Proof of his immoderate Ambition, and which nothing can ſatisfy but the immediate Poſſeſſion of the Crown itſelf, he calls in Queſtion the Legitimacy of the Prince of *Wales*, our Son and Heir apparent, though, by the Providence of God, there were preſent at his Birth ſo many Witneſſes, of unqueſtionable Credit, as it ſeemed to have been the particular Care of Heaven, on purpoſe to diſappoint ſo wicked and unparalleled Attempt.

And in order to the effecting his ambitious Deſigns, he ſeems deſirous, in the Cloſe of his Declaration, to ſubmit all to the Determination of a free Parliament, hoping thereby to ingratiate himſelf with our People; though nothing can be more evident, than that a Parliament cannot be free, ſo long as there is an Army of Foreigners in the Heart of our Kingdoms, ſo that in

Truth

Truth he himſelf is the ſole Obſtructer of ſuch a free Parliament: We being fully reſolved, as we have already declared, ſo ſoon as (by the Bleſſing of God) our Kingdoms ſhall be delivered from this Invaſion, to call a Parliament, which can no longer be liable to the leaſt Objection of not being freely choſen, ſince we have actually reſtored all the Boroughs and Corporations of this our Kingdom to their ancient Rights and Privileges, and in which we ſhall be ready, not only to receive and redreſs all the juſt Complaints and Grievances of our good Subjects, but alſo to repeat and confirm the Aſſurance we have already given to them, in our ſeveral Declarations, of our Reſolution, by God's Bleſſing, to maintain them in their Religion, their Liberties and Properties, and all other their juſt Rights and Privileges whatſoever. Upon theſe Conſiderations, and the Obligations of their Duty and natural Allegiance, we can no ways doubt, but that all our faithful and loving Subjects will readily and heartily concur and join with us, in the intire Suppreſſion and repelling of thoſe our Enemies and rebellious Subjects, who have ſo injuriouſly and diſloyally invaded and diſturbed the Peace and Tranquillity of theſe our Kingdoms.

Given at our Court at *Whitehall* the 6th of *November* 1688, and of our Reign the Fourth Year.

A LIST of the Foot and Horſe that are come with the Prince of Orange, *as printed in* Holland.

HORSE.

The Life-Guard,	
Regiment of Guards commanded by *Benting*,	
Waldeck's Regiment,	
Naſſaw,	
Ginckel,	
Mompellian,	
Count *Vander Lip*,	
The Prince's Dragoons,	
Marrewis's Dragoons,	
Sgravemoer,	
Sapbroek,	
Fioddorp,	
Seyde,	
Oye,	
Suyleſtein,	
In all,	
Troopers, - -	1683
Life-Guard, - -	197
Regiment of Guards of *Benting*,	480
Prince's Dragoons, -	860
Marrewis's Dragoons - -	440
In all - -	3660

FOOT.

Foot-Guards, commanded by *C. Solmes*, - -	25 Comp.
Mackay, - - -	12 Comp.
Balfour, - - -	12 Comp.
Talmaſh, - - -	12 Comp.
Regiment which was formerly *Belliſe*'s, -	12 Comp.
Regiment which was formerly *Wachop*'s, -	12 Comp.
Regiment which was the late Earl of *Oſſory*'s,	10 Comp.
Barckevelt, - -	10 Comp.
Holſtein, - - -	10 Comp.
Wirtemberg, - -	12 Comp.
Hagendorn, - -	10 Comp.
Fagel, - -	10 Comp.
Naſſaw, - -	10 Comp.
Carelſon, - -	12 Comp.
Brander, - -	10 Comp.
Prince of *Borkevelt*, - -	10 Comp.
In all, - -	164 Comp.
At 53 in a Company, is	8692
Of Guards, - -	2000
Summa - -	10692

All

All these Troops (if compleat) would have amounted to this Number, but, as they are not, they amount but to about	Foot	10692
	Horse	3660
		14352
		12000

LIST of the FLEET.

Men of War,	65
Fly-Boats,	500
Pinks,	60
Fire-Ships,	10
In all	635

Father *La Chaise*'s Project for the Extirpation of Heretics.

In a Letter from him to Father *P---rs.*

Worthy Friend,

I Received yours of the 20th of *June* last, and am very glad to hear of your good Success, and that our Party gains Ground so fast in *England.* But concerning the Question you have put to me, that is, What is the best Course to be taken to root out all the Heretics? To which I answer: There are divers Ways to do that; but we must consider which is the best to make Use of in *England.* I am sure you are not ignorant how many thousand Heritics we have in *France,* by the *Power of our Dragoons,* converted in the Space of one Year; and by the Doctrine of those *booted Apostles,* turned more in one Month than Christ and his Apostles could in ten Years. This is a most excellent Method, and far excels those of the great Preachers and Teachers that have lived since Christ's Time. But I have spoke with divers *Fathers of our Society,* who do think that your King is not strong enough to accomplish his Design by such Kind of Force, so that we cannot expect to have our Work done in that Manner; for the Heretics are too strong in the three Kingdoms, and therefore we must seek to convert them by fair Means, before we fall upon them with *Fire, Sword, Halters, Goals,* and other such like Punishments: And therefore I can give you no better Advice than to begin with soft easy Means, wheedle them in by *Promises of Profit,* and *Offices of Honour,* till you have made them dip themselves in treasonable Actions, against the Laws established, and then they are bound to serve for Fear. When they have done thus, turn them out, and serve others so, by putting them in their Places; and by this Way, gain as many as you can. And for the Heretics, that are in Places of Profit and Honour, turn them out, or suspend them on Pretence of Misbehaviour, by which their Places are forfeit, and they subject to what

Judgment

Judgment you pleaſe to give upon them. Then you muſt form a Camp, that muſt conſiſt of none but Catholics, this will make the Heretics heartleſs, and conclude all Means of Relief and Recovery is gone. And laſtly, take the ſhort and the beſt Way, which is to ſurprize the Heretics on a ſudden; and to encourage the zealous Catholics, let them *ſacrifice them all, and waſh their Hands in their Blood*, which will be an acceptable *Offering to God.* And this was the Method I took in *France*, which hath well, you ſee, ſucceeded, but it coſt me many Threats and Promiſes, before I could bring it thus far, our King being a long time very unwilling.

But, at laſt, I got him on the Hip, for he had lain with his Daughter-in-law, for which I would by no means give him Abſolution, till he had given me an Inſtrument, under his own Hand and Seal, to ſacrifice all the Heretics in one Day. Now, as ſoon as I had my *deſired Commiſſion*, I appointed the Day when this ſhould be done, and, in the mean time, made ready ſome thouſands of Letters, to be ſent into all Parts of *France* in one Poſt-Night. I was never better pleaſed than that time; but the King was affected with ſome Compaſſion for the Hugonots, becauſe they had been a Means to bring him to his Crown and Throne; and the longer he was under it the more ſorrowful he was, often complaining, and deſiring me to give him his Commiſſion again, but that I would by no Perſuaſion do, adviſing him to repent of that heinous Sin; and alſo telling him, that the Trouble and Horror of his Spirit did not proceed from any Thing of Evil in thoſe Things that were to be done, but from that great Wickedneſs which he had done; and that he muſt reſolve to undergo the ſevere Burden of a troubled Mind for one of them or the other, and if he would remain ſatisfied as it was, his Sin being forgiven, there would, in few Days, be a perfect Atonement made for it, and he perfectly reconciled to God again. But all this would not pacify him, for the longer the more reſtleſs, and therefore I ordered him to retire to his Cloſet, and there ſpend his Time conſtantly in Prayer, without permitting any one to interrupt him; and this was in the Morning early, when the Evening following I was to ſend away all my Letters. I did indeed make the more Haſte, for fear he ſhould diſcloſe it to any body, yet I had given him a ſtrict Charge to keep it to himſelf, and the very Thing that I moſt feared, to my great Sorrow, came to paſs; for juſt in the Nick of Time, the Devil, who hath always his Inſtruments at work, ſent the Prince of *Conde* to the Court, who aſked for the King; he was told that he was in his Cloſet, and would ſpeak with no Man; he impudently anſwered, *That he muſt and would ſpeak with him*, and ſo went directly to his Cloſet; he being a great Peer, no Man durſt hinder him. And being come to the King, he ſoon perceived, by his Countenance, that he was under ſome great Trouble of Mind, for he looked as if he had been going into the other World immediately. Sir, ſaid he, what is the Matter with you? The King, at the firſt, refuſed to tell him; but he preſſing harder upon him, at laſt, the King, with a ſorrowful Complaint, burſt out, and ſaid, *I have given Father* La Chaiſe *a Commiſſion under my own Hand, to murder all the Hugonots in one Day, and this Evening will the Letters be diſpatched to all Parts, by the Poſt, for the performing it; ſo that there is but ſmall Time left for my Hugonot Subjects*

to live, who have never done me any Harm: Whereupon this curſed Rogue anſwered, *Let him give you your Commiſſion again.* The King ſaid, *How ſhall I get it out of his Hand, for if I ſend to him for it, he will refuſe to ſend it?* This Devil anſwered, *If your Majeſty will give me Order, I will quickly make him return it.* The King was ſoon perſuaded, being willing to give Eaſe to his troubled Spirit, and ſaid, *Well, go then, and break his Neck, if he will not give it you*; whereupon this Son of the Devil went to the Poſt-Houſe, and aſked, if I had not a great Number of Letters there? and they ſaid, *Yes, more than I had ſent thither in a whole Year before*; *then*, ſaid the Prince, *By Order from the King, you muſt deliver them all to me*; which they durſt not deny, for they knew well enough who he was. And no ſooner was he got into the Poſt-Houſe, and had aſked theſe Queſtions, but I came alſo in after him, to give Order to the Poſt-Maſter, to give Notice to all thoſe under him, in the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, that they ſhould take Care to deliver my Letters with all Speed imaginable. But I was no ſooner entered the Houſe, but he gave his Servants Order to ſecure the Door, and ſaid confidently to me, *You muſt, by Order from the King, give me the Commiſſion which you have forced from him:* I told him, *I had it not about me, but would go and fetch it*, thinking to get from him, and ſo go out of Town, and ſend the Contents of thoſe Letters another time; but he ſaid, *You muſt give it me, and if you have it not about you, ſend ſomebody to fetch it, or elſe never expect to go alive out of my Hands, for I have an Order from the King, either to bring it or break your Neck: And I am reſolved either to carry back that to him in my Hand, or your Heart's Blood on the Point of my Sword.* I would have made my Eſcape, but he ſet his Sword to my Breaſt, and ſaid, *You muſt give it me or die, therefore deliver it, or elſe this goes through your Body.*

So when I ſaw nothing elſe would do, I put my Hand in my Pocket and gave it him, which he carried immediately to the King, and gave him that and all my Letters, which they burnt: And being all done, the King ſaid, *Now his Heart was at Eaſe.* Now, how he ſhould be eaſed by the Devil, or ſo well ſatisfied with a falſe Joy I cannot tell: But this I know, that it was a very wicked and ungodly Action, as well in his Majeſty as the Prince of *Conde*, and did not a little increaſe the Burden and Danger of his Majeſty's Sins. I ſoon gave an Account of this Affair to ſeveral Fathers of our Society, who promiſed to do their beſt to prevent the aforeſaid Prince doing ſuch another Act; which was accordingly done, for within the Space of ſix Days after the damned Action he was *poiſoned, and well he deſerved it.* The King alſo did ſuffer too, but in another Faſhion, for diſcloſing the Deſign to the Prince, and hearkening to his Counſel. And many a time ſince, when I have had him at Confeſſion, I have ſhook Hell about his Ears, and made him ſigh, fear, and tremble, before I would give him Abſolution; nay, more than that, I have made him beg for it on his Knees, before I would conſent to abſolve him. By this, I ſaw that he had ſtill an Inclination to me, and was willing to be under my Government, ſo I ſet the Baſeneſs of the Action before him, by telling the whole Story, and how wicked it was; and that it could not be forgiven till he had done ſome good Action to ballance that, and expiate the Crime.

Whereupon,

Whereupon, he at laſt aſked me what he muſt do? I told him, that he muſt root out all the Heretics from his Kingdom: So, when he ſaw there was no Reſt for him without doing it, he did again give them all into the Power of me and our Clergy, under this Condition, *That we would not murder them*, as he had before given Orders, but that we ſhould by fair Means, or Force, convert them to the Catholic Religion; to which End, he gave us his Dragoons to be at our Devotion and Service, that we might uſe them as we ſaw convenient, to convert them to the true Religion. Now, when we had got the Commiſſion, we preſently put it in Practice, and what the Iſſue of it hath been, you very well know. But now in *England* the Work cannot be done after this Manner, as you may perceive by what I have ſaid to you, ſo that I cannot give you better Counſel, than to take that Courſe * in hand, wherein we were ſo unhappily prevented; and I doubt not, but that it may have better Succeſs with you than with us.

I would write to you of many other Things, but that I fear I have already detained you too long; wherefore I ſhall write no more at preſent, but that I am,

Your Friend and Servant,

Paris, July 8th, 1688. LA CHAISE.

* To put them all to the Sword, and murder them.

The Relation of the Rejoicings made in *Rome* for the Birth of the moſt Serene Prince of *Wales*, only Son of *James* the Second, King of *Great Britain*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

Faithfully tranſlated into Engliſh, *from the* Italian *Impreſſion, as it was printed at* Rome *and* Genoa.

Printed in the Year 1689.

THE Angelical Kingdom of *England*, that in Times paſt equalled, as I may ſo ſay, *Idumæa*, with ſo many glorious Palms of Martyrs ſent to Heaven, and which publiſhed thouſands of Volumes that her holy Doctors wrote in favour of the *Roman* Church; with a diabolical Impiety, rebelling againſt the Eternal Monarch, became a miſerable Slave of Satan: And changing the divine Worſhip into the Doctrine of Devils, continued in a moſt deplorable Condition for many Years, an Enemy of the King of Kings; but at length the moſt merciful God, being moved to Compaſſion for ſo many Souls ſo unhappily loſt, was inclined to reduce her to her Primitive State,

and make her a Worſhipper of the Holy Catholic Religion, and the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, his Vicar on Earth. And to bring ſo worthy a Work to a fortunate End, makes uſe of the moſt ardent Zeal of the Catholic *James* the Second, there by the Divine Providence conſtituted King.

He was prepared for ſo glorious an Enterprize, not regarding either Dangers, or Oppoſitions, nor forbearing any Application, always indefatigable, and all intent to reduce his triple Dominion to the Adoration of the Holy Trinity, the Confeſſion of the true Faith, and the Obedience of the Pope. This he knew he ſhould effect, through the Aſſiſtance of the Divine Omnipotence, which made the lamentable Farce give Way to his Power, who trampled on the heretical Doctrines, cauſed the Precepts of Jeſus Chriſt to be publickly profeſſed, called home the baniſhed Prieſts, reſtored the profaned Temples to the ſacred Miniſtry, and throwing down the Banners of the Prince of Darkneſs, ſets up the Standard of the Catholic Faith. And offering his Sceptre at the Feet of his Holineſs our Lord Pope *Innocent* XI. reſumed it, tributary to Heaven, raiſing to himſelf Statues of his ſingular Merit with the Divine Majeſty, and everlaſting Fame, throughout the Univerſe. And having driven away thoſe rebel Angels that led his People to eternal Damnation, gave them for their Guides Prieſts of the Church of *Rome*, that would conduct them to the everlaſting Delights of Paradiſe.

The Great God being pleaſed to reward him on Earth, before he took him hence to receive a more glorious Recompence in Heaven, has bleſſed him with a Male-child, born the 20th of *June*, in the Year 1688, being, according to the *Engliſh* Stile, the Feaſt of the Holy Trinity, betwixt the Hours of nine and ten in the Morning.

The Catholic Ruler acknowledged ſo valuable a Grace beſtowed on him by the Creator of all, and returned his due Thanks, rejoicing that he was like to breed up a Son himſelf in the Divine Precepts, that might be equally Heir both of his Father's Greatneſs, and moſt ardent Zeal for the Catholic Religion.

By an Expreſs from his Majeſty this News arriving at *Rome* the 2d of *July*, occaſioned a Jubilee in the Breaſt of the moſt Holy Paſtor, and univerſally filled all with extreme Joy.

Whereof there were public Demonſtrations, and for three Days ſucceſſively was ſolemnized the Nativity of this Royal Infant, beginning from the 25th of the ſame Month, the Feaſt of St. *James* the Apoſtle, in the Manner following.

His Eminence, Cardinal *Philip Thomas Howard* of *Norfolk*, of the Order of Preachers, Titular of St. *Mary* at the *Minerva*, deſigning the Church of St. *Thomas* of the *Engliſh* Nation, for the Return of Thanks to God, richly hung it with Brocard Silks, and very noble Tapeſtries, which, with the ſacred Veſtments, appeared ſo ſplendidly, by the Reflection of a vaſt Number of Lights, that it reſembled a Palace of the Sun, and even dazled the Eyes of the Beholders.

Leave being obtained of his Holineſs, the Morning of the ſaid 25th Day there was a Chapel for the Cardinals, where were preſent eighteen of their Eminences, who gloried much in this, that after ſo many Years they were at

laſt

laſt met together to congratulate the Nativity of a Son of a Catholic King of *England.*

Here was celebrated the High Maſs, at which aſſiſted the moſt famed Muſicians, and choiceſt Singers, making their ſeveral Virtues to be admired by their angelical Voices and harmonious Concerts. After the Communion *Te Deum* was begun, which being followed by them, was acompanied by a Concert of Drums and Trumpets, and divers Salutes of Mortar-pieces, got ready for that Purpoſe, that for a long time made the *Latian* Fields, and Banks of *Tyber* to reſound.

His Eminence cauſed Wine, Bread and Cheeſe, and other Refreſhments, to be diſtributed to the Servants, Footmen, and Coachmen of their Eminences the Cardinals that were at this Feaſt, who, while eating and drinking, made continual Huzza's of *Viva* for his Eminence and the Royal Babe.

He cauſed alſo a great Fountain of moſt noble Architecture, painted over like Marble, to be erected, covered with Gold on the Corners and Edges, on the Top whereof were the Arms of his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, adorned with a rich Crown, ſupported by a Lion and Unicorn; near whereto in the Night were ſet great Numbers of white Wax Lights, adding Beauty to this ſtately Structure; that for three Days together, and as many Nights, run no ſmall Quantity of exquiſite Wine for the Benefit of the Public, and was diſtributed in exact Order by Men habited in Veſts, with the Arms of his Eminence embroidered on them.

All the Palace of his Eminence contiguous to the formentioned Church of St. *Thomas*, in the three Rows of Apartments without, was beſet with Torches of white Wax, and below were Links on ſeveral Poſts of Wood planted on the Ground about the Palace, making that vaſt Fabric by an unuſual Miracle more reſplendent than even the Heavens when fulleſt of Stars.

His Eminence alſo cauſed a Mount of Earth to be raiſed in the Court of the *Engliſh* College, joining to the ſaid Church of St. *Thomas*; on the Top whereof was made a majeſtic Theatre, all adorned with rich Tapeſtries and Greens, ſet together by a curious Workmanſhip; in the midſt of which, the firſt Day (to imitate the ancient Cuſtom of *London* on their ſolemn Feſtivals) was roaſted a whole Ox, the extreme Parts all covered with Gold and Greens, and within full of young Pigs, and ſeveral ſorts of Fowls, that from divers Parts of the Ox ſeemed, though dead, as if they would fly Death, thruſting out their Heads and Feet at the ſeveral Holes in it, which were certain to ſerve either as a Prey to the devouring Flames, if they fell there, or to the People, if pulled thence.

And for the roaſting the ſaid great Animal, there was a Machine erected, framed with great Wheels, turned with ſix Men in Coats with the Arms of his Eminence gilded on them, and Caps with the like; who going round that Theatre, diſpenſed Fleſh and Bread in great Quantity to the People, making frequently loud Acclamations of *Viva* for the new Prince of *England.*

It gave no little Content to ſee the People that thronged to get the Meat; and when ſome, with no ſmall Pains, were come up juſt ready to receive it, they were ſtrongly beat back by a Multitude of others, that with all the Force

they had thruſt up to this Machine; and in like manner was it great Pleaſure to behold the coveted Food taken out of a Man's Hand after he had got it with a great deal of Sweat, by thoſe that could not have it from the Diſtributers.

One greedily ſnatched the Bread and Meat, another went to drink, a Third returned to the Theatre, or to the Fountain; one clamoured, another at a Diſtance called for Things; one aſked for Wine, another cried out to make Way that he might come to eat and drink: And thus Eating and Drinking (not to loſe Time in the Narration) in all Appearance it looked like an inward Jubilee; and ſuch a Spectacle was ſo pleaſing, that all *Rome* unanimouſly confeſſed they had not ſeen the like.

During the Illuminations, the Lights in the Air excited not only this City, but the neighbouring Places, to the greater Rejoicings.

Two good Concerts of Drums and Trumpets continuing all the three Days and Nights, made all that feaſting Neighbourhood ring again.

And in the Palace of his Eminence was heard moſt imcomparable Muſic, and Symphonies of the beſt Inſtruments; where his Eminence gave great Quantities of Refreſhments to all thoſe Perſons of Quality that were met together for the Feſtivity of the Royal Infant.

His Eminence did alſo exerciſe the wonted Acts of his Generoſity, diſtributing large Alms among the modeſt indigent Perſons of the Pariſh of St. *Catherine*'s, where his Eminence lives, and the like to the Pariſh of St. *Mary* at the *Minerva*, of which he is Titular; and beſides, he gave a rich Regale to all his Court proportionably to their reſpective Charges.

And other Cardinals and Princes, that were either allied by Relation to his Majeſty, or were his Dependents, or well-affectioned to the Kingdom, made their Feaſtings for the happy Birth of the Royal Babe, by ſetting up ſo many Torches and Lights at their Palaces, and making ſo many Fires about them, that it ſeemed as if they would be reduced to Aſhes in the Flames.

Sir *John Lytcott*, Knight, Agent for his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, illuminated all the Windows of his Palace, which ſtands in the *Strada Gregoriana*, with a vaſt Number of white Wax Torches for three Nights, where continually, as alſo the three Days, Drums and Trumpets ſounded; and at his own Expences he made all the adjoining Streets to his Palace to be enlightned by the hanging up many Lanthorns with the Royal Arms of *England*, and Links; the Whole being accompanied with the Diſcharge of a great Number of Mortar-pieces.

Over the Portal of his Palace, which was all hung with red Damaſk, and with Galloon and Fringe of Gold, was ſeen expoſed a rare Picture, the Work of ſome able *Apelles*, more than twelve Hands high, on which was drawn the Royal Infant, with the Habit of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, and every way encompaſſed with a great Laurel, which deſcended from Heaven, and was upheld by two Angels, and girt about with a numerous Army of the ſame; one whereof held the Royal Crown of *England*; another in one Hand a Shield, with the Arms of *England*, and with the other the Sword and Garter; another had an Olive-branch in its right Hand, and in its Left the Croſs

of

of Union of *England* with *Scotland*; and another above the reſt, in the opening of the Heaven, on a Label exhibited theſe Words,

Serus redeat.

And over the Picture of the moſt ſerene Prince were his Arms (*i. e.* three Feathers of an Oſtrich) with this Motto,

Ich Dien, i. e. *I ſerve.*

Below at a Diſtance was the Sun riſing in the Eaſt, figuratively expreſſing the Child born to be the moſt reſplendent Sun of the Catholic Heaven; and alſo there was ſeen the Sea, with a Naval Fight, where the invincible Courage and renowned Valour of the Admiral of *England* triumphed over their Enemies.

This Picture made its Beholders immoveable, who, though they well knew that it was made by Colouring and Pencil, and that it had only a Surface, nevertheleſs ſeemed to cheat themſelves; inſomuch, that they believed the Objects there repreſented, not feigned, but true: They ſaw the Child ſtir, the Wings of the Angelic Troops clap together, the Waves of the Salt Element move, and more than that, dyed with Blood, the broken Maſts, the torn Sails, and the Sterns ſhattered in pieces: There were ſeen, labouring to ſwim, thoſe that remained alive out of the ſinking Ship; they ſaw the Soldiers and the gaſping Mariners, the Sport of the Waters, and it appeared to them that they aſked their Help; they ſaw the Fire of the Cannons, and if they heard not the Sound, they fancied it, which becauſe of its Diſtance could not reach them; and if many had not been thruſt away from that Place by the People that came to admire ſo worthy a Work, they had been fixed there for a long time: And this Picture was in the midſt of two, one of the King, and the other of the Queen; and above theſe was that of his Holineſs.

He cauſed alſo the ſecond Day an Ox to be roaſted, with other Animals within it; and becauſe the *Strada Gregoriana* was too ſtreight for ſuch a Performance, he choſe the Square of *Trinita de Monti*, near thereto, where it was roaſted in a ſpacious Place; and there the Fleſh diſtributed with Bread in great Abundance, where the Wine run out of a fine Fountain for three Days, and as many Nights together, and the ſame and like Accidents followed in the Diſtribution of it, as what were recounted in that of his Eminence Cardinal *Howard*'s.

The *Scotch* College ſet up over the Portal a very charming Picture, where was ſeen the Royal Babe in Swadling-cloths, lying on a very rich Cuſhion, on one Side whereof were painted, on a well-wrought Pillar, the three Crowns of the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and on the other, at an agreeable Diſtance, there was ſeen a riſing Sun, alluding, as that before, to the Birth of the Royal Prince; and over the Picture was this Motto.

Magnus Amor Matris,
Magnum Patris Incrementum.

And that Picture was placed in the midſt of two others, one repreſenting the King his Father, on the right Hand, and the other on the Left, the Queen his

his Mother; and all the Three were under a rich Canopy of red Damaſk, edged with Gold, whereto were ſet ſome Torches before, that made them ſeen as clearly in the Night as Day.

And if the Pictures of Sir *John Lytcott* were wonderful, theſe rouſed, in thoſe that beheld them, the unuſual Amazement, ſeeming, that if they ſtood ſilent, it was not that they could not ſpeak, but becauſe Silence became a Royal Decorum in this Conjuncture.

And for three Days they had Illuminations, not only all over the Front of the Church and the College, but alſo of all the Houſes that were near, both of one and the other Side of the Street, at their proper Expences.

And in like manner there was caſt for three Days and three Nights abundance of Wine, from a pretty contrived Fountain, placed on one Side the Portal of the College, adorned with excellent Paintings and Greens; and on the other Side were diſtributed ſeveral hundred Loaves of Bread to the Poor.

And to this the People flocking together to eat and drink, as in other Places, made of itſelf a very delightful Sight.

There they diſcharged ſometimes, betwixt the Day and the Night, one hundred and fifty Mortar-pieces; there they burnt many Hogſheads; the Trumpets ſounded from the Windows, and the Drums in the Streets.

They alſo made a very ſplendid Banquet for all thoſe of the *Scotch* Nation that they found in *Rome*.

The *Urſeline* Nuns, lately founded by the pious Munificence of *Mary Beatrice*, Queen Conſort of *England*, and the moſt ſerene *Laura*, Ducheſs of *Modena*, her Mother, in Acknowledgment for ſo great a Benefit, had Maſs ſolemnly ſung in their Church, and *Te Deum*, with diſcharge of Mortar-pieces; and for three Nights made rich Illuminations and Lanthorns, with the Arms of the King of *Great Britain* artificially diſpoſed over all their Cloyſter.

The Convent of the *Dominican* Fathers of the *Engliſh* Nation, dedicated to St. *John* and *Paul*, enlightned for three Nights all their Church and Convent, and particularly their Steeple, that ſeemed in the Darkneſs of the Night, as if there had been raiſed from Earth to Heaven another Sphere of Stars.

The *Iriſh Dominican* Fathers of St. *Siſtus* and St. *Clement* alſo ſet up innumerable Lights on their Church and Convent.

The religious *Iriſh Franciſcans* of St. *Iſidore* made a very glorious Appearance of Lights, that adorned all the Frontiſpiece of their Church for three Nights.

Mr. *Michael Plunket*, Agent in *Rome* for the *Iriſh* Clergy, had very many Lights at all the Windows of his uſual Habitation for three Nights after the ſame manner.

But no leſs conſiderable was the magnificent Demonſtration of Joy, both by Fires and Lights that were made the three Nights by ——— *Selayne* an *Iriſhman*, Profeſſor of Divinity in the College *de Propaganda Fide*, and Doctor of the *Sorbonne*.

And very many other conſiderable Perſons, in Token either of Dependance on his Majeſty, or out of Reverence or Affection to him, rejoiced as others did, with Lights, Torches, and Fires, for ſo happy a Birth.

All the People of *Rome* were only in thoſe Places where the Rejoicings were made, the reſt of the City remaining unpeopled.

Every one grieved that he could not be at the ſame time in all thoſe Places where theſe Teſtimonies were given for Joy of the Birth of ſo great a Prince; ſo that while they enjoyed the Sight at one Place, they afflicted themſelves with the Conſideration of loſing it at others.

And thoſe that ſought nothing but Eating and Drinking, complained againſt Nature, for that it had not made them more Bellies, or thoſe they had, larger, and all would have been *Briareus*'s, that they might have ſtretched out an hundred and an hundred Arms to receive ſo many Portions.

In fine, all *Rome* rejoiced, every Inhabitant in it feaſted, and nothing elſe was heard all over but the glorious Name of the happy *James* II. in whom the divine Bleſſings were ſeen apparently to reward his heroic Acts, in having granted him a Succeſſor; who, treading in his Father's Steps, ſhould purſue the Courſe of his Catholic Glories.

The *Seven Hills* burned, and ſeemed one only Light, and one only Fire; and in deſpight of the Horrors of the Night, gave a Clearneſs more reſplendent than that of the greater Planet at Noon-day; and they looked ſo as when by the Cruelty of *Nero*, they were made a Prey to the Flames, or that they repreſented the famous City of *Troy*, when by Treachery it was made a Trophy to the Fires.

The Concerts of Muſic, the feſtival Sounds of the Drums, Trumpets, and Mortar-pieces, and the common Acclamations that gave Applauſe to the *Engliſh* Rulers, and Tributes of Joy to the born Infant, ſeemed by Conſent even to deafen Heaven.

A Melius Inquirendum into the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*: Or an Account of ſeveral new Depoſitions and Arguments *Pro* and *Con*, and the final Deciſion of that Affair by the Grand Inqueſt of *Europe*, being a Supplement to the Depoſitions publiſhed by Authority in *October* laſt.

Printed in the Year 1689.

Conſultation of the ORACLE, by the great Men of *England*, and the Potentates of the Earth, to know if the Prince of *Wales* (Given of God, *Deo datus*, be ſuppoſititious, or legitimate.

AS ſoon as the Darkneſs of the Night was diſperſed, and the Morning had appeared, the Gates of the Temple of the Divinity opened themſelves, and one might ſee all the Potentates of the Earth haſtening thither: Great Number of Princes, and mighty Monarchs, many *Heraclitus*'s and *Democritus*'s, the one ſad, and the other merry, for the Birth of this new Meſſias; the Catholic Princes were in diſpute with the Proteſtants; the latter did maintain that the Prince of *Wales* was ſuppoſititious, and the firſt the contrary. It was then reſolved, by one Part as well as the other, to refer the Buſineſs to the Oracle, and that the Divine *Apollo* ſhould decide a Queſtion, whereon the Happineſs of *Europe* depended.

The *POPE*

Being the firſt advanced, kneeled to the Earth, and having taken in each Hand a certain Compoſition, went on Foot to the Entrance of a little Cavern, as ſoon as he found himſelf within, with a great deal of Eagerneſs and Haſte, he ſpoke

To the *ORACLE.*

'I deſire to know four Things before my Death.

'The firſt is, to ſee *Conſtantinople* purged from execrable *Mahometiſm*, by 'my good Son *Leopold*, Emperor of the Eaſt and Weſt.

'The ſecond, to ſee my eldeſt Son, the King of *France*, to repent himſelf 'of all thoſe Affronts that he hath committed during his Reign, againſt the 'Holy See, againſt the other Kings his Brethren, and againſt his poor People.

'The third, to ſee my Son *Charles* II. always poor, become ſufficiently 'powerful to revenge himſelf of his Brother-in-law, and give to the Throne 'of *Spain* a Succeſſor, whether legitimate or ſuppoſititious according to the 'Example of King *James*.

The

'The fourth, to learn if my Son *James* II. be well fixed on his Throne, 'and if the young Prince of *Wales* ſhall be legitimated by the Parliament?'

As ſoon as the Holy Father had ended, all thoſe Powers that had followed him, were impatient to ſpeak of the Queen of *England*'s Lying-in, and of the Birth of the young Prince; and although the Cardinal of *Furſtemberg* deſired it, and would by all means ſpeak of his Election, he was ordered to hold his Tongue, and it was reſolved, that the Court of *England* ſhould firſt be allowed to give Reaſons whereby ſhe pretends to prove, that the Prince of *Wales* is legitimate; that the Proteſtant Princes, who had Arguments to prove the contrary, ſhould be heard next: That the Queſtion ſhould be diſputed with Mildneſs and Moderation; and that the Court of *France*, as well as the Court of *England*, as Allies, ſhould be deſired to occaſion no Diſpute, but leave it fairly to the Deciſion of Juſtice.

The King of *E-----d*,

Attended by Father *Petres*, who followed him Step by Step, approached the holy Cavern, and thus ſpoke to the

DIVINITY.

'I give God Thanks for giving me a Son on the 10th Day of *June*, 1688, 'and that he gave a happy Delivery to the Queen my Wife, by the Birth of 'the Prince of *Wales*.'

His Majeſty had ſcarce made an End of pronouncing theſe Words, but a Proteſtant Prince interrupted him, ſaying,

'We all give Thanks to God, becauſe we have diſcovered that this young 'Prince is the Son of the Society of Jeſuits, and that he never had any Royal 'Blood in him.'

Theſe Words were no ſooner delivered, but Father *Petres* advanced, and having fixed his triangular Cap upon his Head, to ſhew his Indignation, thus ſaid to the

ORACLE.

'The Heretics do nothing but laugh at the Queen's Lying-in, as if the 'Prince of *Wales* were only a ſuppoſited Infant; for my Part, who was not a 'Moment abſent from the Queen, I know better than any Perſon, and if I do 'not tell Truth, I will call Mrs. *Wilks* as a Witneſs.'

It was ſcarce obſerveable that *Petres* had ſpoke ſo much; the Prieſts of the Temple being employed in furniſhing the Soul of *Wilks* with proper Ideas, to make her recollect. To the End that ſhe might diſcover the Intrigue, ſhe made her Stage upon the Skin of Sacrifices rubbed with certain Drugs which diſturb the Brain, and being preſent at the holy Cavern, ſpoke thus:

'It is eaſy to prove, that the Queen was really with Child, if one conſiders 'that ſhe kept her Bed at her Lying-in for two or three Days, without get-'ting up, and the rather, for that ſhe never went abroad while ſhe was big.'

The *ORACLE*

Ordered, That ſhe ſhould hold her Peace, if ſhe had no better Proof.

The Prieſteſs of the Temple conducted the Queen of *England*, as yet weak and indiſpoſed, and having given her her Hand to lead her into the Sanctuary, ſhe thus ſaid to the

DIVINITY.

'I prove that I have been with Child of a young Prince, becauſe I had 'many Pains, for five or ſix Months, and I have always heard it reported, 'that Women with Child are always ſubject to them.'

Mrs. *Cellier*, who was near the Queen, had a Mind to ſpeak again, deſired her Majeſty to add the Sickneſs ſhe was ſpeaking of; that ſhe had ſeveral times been ſenſible of the Infant's ſtirring in her Womb, and that theſe two Proofs were convincing.

The Princeſs of *D-----k*,

Being called in her Turn, came near, and ſaid to the

ORACLE,

'I find it very difficult to believe, that the young Prince of *Wales* is legi-'timate, if it be true what is ſaid, that he was ſome Hours at *St. James's*, 'afore the Queen came thither to lie-in.

The *ORACLE*

Anſwered her:

'This Proof is ſtrong, have you any Witneſſes?

The *PRINCESS*

Anſwered him:

'Yes.

The Rev. Father *SMITH*, and Father *ALIX*, Jeſuits,

Conſpiring together in a Deſign to deſtroy the Proof which the Princeſs had offered to produce,

Father *SMITH*,

As being the eldeſt, ſpoke firſt to the

DIVINITY.

'I maintain, that the Queen hath been with Child, and that the Prince of '*Wales* is legitimate, by reaſon the Queen hath reſolved, at the preſent, to 'have a Daughter, and after that another Daughter, and then another young 'Prince, that if it happens the firſt ſhould die, his Majeſty may be provided 'of a Succeſſor.

Father *ALIX*

Took his Turn, and ſaid,

'For my Part, I prove that there is nothing ſuppoſititious in the Perſon of 'the Prince of *Wales*, and that he is the legitimate Son of the King, becauſe 'he was informed, that the Child was baptized on the 15th Day of *July*, '1688, it being St. *James*'s Day.'

The

The Prieſts went out of the holy Cavern, and returned before the Queen's Ladies of Honour, and having made them drink a Glaſs of the Water of the River *Hircinas*, they ſaid:

'We maintain, that the Queen hath been really with Child, becauſe ſhe was 'always troubled with a kind of a Gout, which hindered her going, and al- 'ways obliged her to be carried in a Chair.

The Archbiſhop of *C*--------, attended by his Suffragans,

Came near to the Divinity, extremely pleaſed to have been acquitted in his Trial, and that Innocence had prevailed over Calumny.

The *DIVINITY*

Made him be informed by one of his Prieſts, that he was exhorted to reveal what he knew, or what he had learned, concerning the Queen's Lying-in; that there was no Degree of Power above the Gods, and that he was obliged in Conſcience to tell the Things as they were, and being approached, he ſpoke to the

ORACLE.

'Becauſe you conjure me, by all that is moſt holy in your Temple, to diſ- 'cover an Impoſture, which the Society of Jeſuits takes care to conceal from 'all *Europe*; I ſhall tell you then in two Words, That the Prince of *Wales* 'is *ſuppoſititious*, and that they put us in the Tower, at the very Time the 'Queen was in the Straw, to the End that the Biſhops of the Kingdom might 'not be preſent.'

The King of *E*----*d*

Hearing this Diſcourſe, came forward haſtily, and being angry with the Archbiſhop, called him *Rebel*, adding, *That he knew how to make him obey.*

The *ORACLE*

Anſwered the King: 'That he had forgotten that the Place where he blaſ- 'phemed was holy, and that he ought to be ſatisfied, long ſince, that the 'Gods eſteem bad Kings no more than ſilly Shepherds, that he ought to abate 'his Fierceneſs, and thank the Gods for giving them more good Things in 'this World, oftentimes, than they deſerve.

The *KING*,

Being deſirous to anſwer what the Archbiſhop had objected, ſaid, 'It was 'true that the Biſhops were put in the Tower before the Queen lay in, but 'alſo, that Order was given to releaſe them, and there was nothing to hinder 'their Viſits; beſides, I am not willing to argue thus with my Subjects, I 'am a King and expect to be obeyed, without diſputing, and when I ſay that 'the Prince of *Wales* is my legitimate Son, this ought to ſuffice, and they 'ought to believe it.'

The *ORACLE*

Anſwered to all this, 'That he was not well ſatisfied with his Majeſty's Be- 'haviour, and that he ought to have more Moderation, and to bring good

Proofs,

'Proofs, becauſe we came hither to know if the Prince of *Wales* was legiti-
'mate or ſuppoſititious, and not to diſpute his royal Prerogative.

The Prieſteſs had Orders to advance ſome

MEMBERS of the next Parliament,

Who ſpoke thus to the

DIVINITY.

'His Majeſty hath ſolicited us, by his chief Almoner, Father *Petres*, to le-
'gitimate his Son the Prince of *Wales*, when we ſhall meet in Parliament; and
'all the People cry in *London*, that it is a ſuppoſititious Child, that his Father
'is a poor Citizen, and that his Mother is a poor Woman, which the Jeſuits
'have perſuaded, by Money, to keep this Secret. The

ORACLE

Orders the Prieſteſs to conduct in the

Earl of *S-----L--—D*,

To ſee what he had to anſwer to what was propoſed. *S-----l--d* having Order to enter the holy Cavern, deſired, before that, to abjure his Religion, and to aſſiſt at the holy Office in the King's Chapel, and to give a Proof of a profound Reſpect. After which he ſaid,

'The Prince of *Wales* is ſo much the more legitimate, and the Suppoſitition
'of which they accuſe her Majeſty, is the rather a Calumny, by how much
'the big Belly of the Queen hath been accompanied with many Wonders, *viz.*
'As the Queen ſlept, an Angel appeared to her ſeveral times, and ſaid to her,
'*Have Courage, you ſhall bring forth a Son, and his Name ſhall be called* Wales:
'The Queen awaking, ſtarted, and ſaw that this Angel was like to him that
'appeared long ſince to *Mary* the Mother of God.

The *ORACLE*

Aſked him how he knew it to be an Angel?

S-----L--D

Anſwered, that Father *Petres* had told him ſo.

The Lawyer *P-----n*, one that pleaded for the Biſhops,

Hearing that the Earl of *Sunderland* would prove the Prince of *Wales* to be legitimate, by the greateſt Impoſture that ever was, could not forbear ſpeaking into the holy Cavern, as loud as if he had pleaded in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and ſaid openly, that it was a Shame that ſuch a Man as he, whom his Majeſty had honoured with his Charge of Secretary of State, ſhould have ſo mean and low Thoughts, and ſo unworthy of a Man of Honour; he ought to have known that this Angel, of whom he was ſpeaking of, was one of the Queen's Footmen, who had been inſtructed by the Jeſuits to play this Part: And that the King, having ſurprized him, with his Sword wounded him in his Arm.

The

The *ORACLE*
Ordered the Prieſts to turn out *S—L—D*, and bring the

Lord *CHANCELLOR.*
Who ſpoke to this Purpoſe to the

DIVINITY.

'The greateſt Proof that I can offer, to juſtify that there is no Suppoſitition 'in the Birth of this young Prince, is the coming of ſo many Miniſters from 'all the Courts of *Europe* to congratulate his Majeſty, and pay their Homage 'to this young Prince. As to the reſt, his Majeſty was tranſacted at his 'Council of Conſcience with Father *Peters*, and he forbids to enquire into 'what paſſeth there; ſo if there be any Suppoſitition, it is a Secret that very 'few Perſons know at Court. And the King hath ordered us to compel the 'People to believe the Prince of *Wales* to be legitimate. And this is enough, 'and we ought as much as in us lies to adore theſe great Myſteries, and by 'no Means pry into them.'

As ſoon as my Lord *Chancellor* hath ſpoken, the Lawyers,

L——s, F——n, S——r, T——y, F——h, S——s

Were ordered to anſwer what my Lord *Chancellor* had ſaid; they all unanimouſly ſaid, 'That having gained the Cauſe for the Biſhops, they would do 'their Endeavour to get that for the People alſo; and to maintain, by an 'authentic Diſcourſe, which they would publiſh concerning a ſuppoſititious 'Birth, that the Prince of *Wales* was ſuppoſited; but they prayed the Divi-'nity to grant them ſome time, the

ORACLE

Anſwered them that it was granted, and that in the mean time the Prieſts ſhould be examined of ſuch as are to appear.

The Prieſts had Order to introduce the

JESUITS of the College of the SAVOY.

The moſt ancient of them having taken off his triangular Cap, ſaid,

'That the greateſt Proof that they had (that the Prince of *Wales* was the 'lawful Son of the King) was, that his Majeſty had promiſed on the Day of 'his Coronation, that he intended to give a Succeſſor to the Crown, and 'that the King had now performed his Royal Word, in giving them this 'young Prince, who they ſhould always acknowledge as legitimate, ſince they 'being Roman Catholics, it was much for the Advantage of their Society.'

The

ORACLE

Anſwered, 'That theſe Reaſons proved that the King had a Succeſſor; but 'the Queſtion now was, to know if this Succeſſor were of the Blood-Royal.'

The Prieſteſs had Order to cauſe them to go out, and to introduce the

NON-

NONCONFORMISTS, the *QUAKERS* and *PRESBYTERIANS*.

The Quakers being come in ſaid, 'They had preſented many Addreſſes to 'his Majeſty, for to thank him for the Liberty of Conſcience he had granted 'them, but that they acknowledged now by Experience, that he would not 'keep his Word, and that he would break his Word as often as it tendeth to 'make him abſolute; that they think the Prince of *Wales* is ſuppoſititious, 'and that they will give their Proofs in Writing.'

The Nonconformiſts ſay, 'That his Majeſty is full of Deſigns, which he 'hath to advance the Papiſts in all Charges, and that his Favours are chiefly 'reſerved for the Jeſuits, and that at laſt he will repent for having aſſiſted at 'the making ſo many Innovations; and as to the Prince of *Wales*, it was eaſy 'to ſuppoſe it ſuppoſititious, becauſe it was a Month before the Queen lay in.'

The Preſbyterians ſay in their Turn, 'That what hath paſſed at the 'Birth of this young Prince, where Father *Peters* and *Cellier*, only Aſſiſtants, 'is a convincing Proof, that there was a manifeſt Suppoſitition, and that one 'only ought to examine the Circumſtances of this Birth to make it appear.'

The *ORACLE*

Ordered a Prieſt to take in Writing all theſe Depoſitions, and omit nothing.

The Prieſts had Order to introduce the Foreign Princes and their Ambaſſadors.

The KING of *FRANCE*

Before he entered the holy Cavern, according to the Example of the Emperor *Heraclitus*, made his Army be purged of the Dragoons for three Days, who came from the hunting the new Converts, and having opened the Holy Evangeliſt, ſaid to the

DIVINITY.

'I maintain, at the Peril of my Life, that the young Prince of *Wales* is 'legitimate; and if I ought to tranſport my Armies, by my Bombs and my 'Carcaſſes, I would reduce the World into Aſhes, and chaſtiſe the rebellious 'Nations that oppoſe the Deſign of King *James* my Couſin.

The *ORACLE*

Anſwered him 'That no one ought to enter into this holy Cavern, to make '*French Rhodomantades*, that the Buſineſs in hand was to prove he was legiti-'mate or ſuppoſititious.'

Father *LA CHASE*

Hearing them ſpeak of a ſuppoſititious Child, came forward, the Prieſts ſtopped him, pulling him by the Arm, and told him, 'That he knew very 'well there was no Safety within the Cavern for ſuch as came not with good 'Intentions,' ſo that being drawn near, he made many Bows, kiſſed the Statue of *Trophanius*, and ſaid to the

ORACLE,

'I hold the Prince of *Wales* is legitimate, for two ſtrong Reaſons:

'The firſt, becauſe my Maſter is his Godfather.

'And

'And ſecondly, becauſe my Maſter hath ſent him his Spirit to inſpire him 'in the Cradle with the Love for our Society, and with a hatred to Hereſy.

The *ORACLE*

Anſwered, 'That this would not ſignify any thing, and if he had no other 'Reaſon, he might retire as ſoon as he could.' The Prieſts took his Cap and threw it out of the Cavern, and having puſhed him out, gave their Hands to the

DAUPHIN,

Who came from hunting the Wolf, and having conducted him into the Cavern, made him ſhut his Eyes, and aſked him the Number and the Name of the Things he came to conſult about; and after retired into a little Grotto, and having taken the Water of a Spring that is hid there, the Divinity ordered him to ſpeak; which he did thus:

'I do not intermeddle in other Men's Affairs, and it little concerns me 'whether the Prince of *Wales* be legitimate or not; I only complain, that 'my Father doth all for himſelf, but nothing for me. The Archduke *Joſeph* 'is made King of *Hungary* at twelve Years of Age, and I am but Dauphin at 'twenty-five.'

The *ORACLE*

Anſwered, 'That there was no Buſineſs concerning the Arch-duke *Joſeph* 'the Emperor's Son; but of the Prince of *Wales*, Son of King *James*, to 'know if he were legitimate or not.'

The Prieſts introduced

Madam *La DAPHINE,*

Who appeared with much Reſpect and Veneration, having made many Sacrifices to *Apollo* of *Claros*, ſhe ſpoke thus to the

DIVINITY.

'Praiſed be God, that he hath given me Children, even more than I de-'ſired. I complain of the Misfortune of ſome poor Queens, who do what-'ever is poſſible to have ſome, and yet can have none, but are at length forced 'to ſuppoſite them, and to make them paſs for their own; however it be, 'ſince I am in this holy Place, for to ſay what I think, the greateſt Proofs 'I can offer, are the great public Rejoicings, and the *Te Deum Laudamus* 'ſung in all Churches of *France*.

The *ORACLE*

Seeing that Madam the *Dauphine* ſpoke with a great Freedom and Naturalneſs, ordered the Prieſteſs to accompany her, and made her a Preſent of ſome Reliques.

The Prieſteſs re-entered immediately, followed by the young

QUEEN of *P——L,*

Who after having performed the uſual Ceremonies, ſpoke in this manner to the

DIVINITY.

'The *Elector Palatine* hath married me to *Don Pedro*, upon Condition that 'I bring him legitimate Children, and by Conſequence a lawful Succeſſor, 'and not an Infant ſuppoſited: The Truth is, he had a mind to ſuch a fer-'tile Houſe as ours is, in compariſon to the Houſe of *Modena*, of which the 'World hath ſpoken variouſly: But ſince I am here, to ſpeak my Thoughts 'concerning the Prince of *Wales*, I will prove it to be a legitimate Child, be-'cauſe it came into the World by the Prayers made to our Lady of *Loretto*.

The QUEEN of *S———N*

Hearing them ſpeak of Children, made haſte to come in, and prayed the Prieſteſs to introduce her quickly, adding, that ſhe had ſomewhat of Conſequence to ſay: Being entred, ſhe began thus to the

ORACLE.

'All the Queens of *Europe* have Children, except me, notwithſtanding I 'am young and handſome: Why cannot I have one as well as the Queen of '*England?*

The *ORACLE*

Anſwered her, 'That he did not concern himſelf with the getting of Chil-'dren, nor examined the Cauſes of Barrenneſs, or Fertility, but only to know 'if the Child of the Queen of *England* was legitimate or not.

The QUEEN of *S———N*

Replied, 'That ſhe knew nothing, but that it was reported legitimate.
The Prieſteſs conducted the

Three Siſters of Father *PETERS.*

At the Riſe of the River, and after having made them drink of two ſorts of Water, *viz.* that of *Lethe*, which blots out of the Soul all profane Thoughts, and that of *Ninemoſine*, which hath the Virtue to make one remember whatever is ſeen in the holy Cavern.

The *ORACLE*

Aſked them, and ſaid to them, 'That they ought to declare all that they 'knew concerning the Prince of *Wales*, how he came into the World, who 'was his Father, and who his Mother, ; that there had been already taken 'the Depoſitions of many Princes and Princeſſes; but that the Oracle was 'not yet ſatisfied, that there remained ſome Obſcurity in all that was ſaid; 'that in the mean time they ſhould be ſhut up in a Grote, until they did re-'veal this Myſtery.

After appeared,

A Troop of Prieſts and Prophets, of Poets, of Interpreters, of Prelates and Sacrificers.

The Pretreſs came before them, and told them then, 'That they were in-'formed that the Epicureans were baniſhed from that holy Place, and thoſe 'that were in the Fields had Order to paſs no farther.'

The

The Temple of the Oracle being near to *Parnaſſus*, one might ſee the Muſes compoſing by the ſweet Harmony of their Inſtruments and Voices, a Choir, in which was ſung the Triumph of the Prince of *Wales*.

After this one might ſee the young Prince carried into the Temple by four-ſcore Jeſuits (as yet afore *Jupiter Hammon* was by eighty Prieſts) in a kind of Gondolo of Gold, from whence hung Knobs of Silver, followed by a great Numbers of Monks of all Orders, ſinging with a loud Voice holy Hymns to his Glory: As ſoon as the little Prince was within the Temple, all the Prieſts and Prieſteſſes of *Apollo* incompaſſed him, and having examined and conſidered the Features of his Face, ſaid aloud (contrary to the Cuſtom of our modern Goſſips) 'That he was not at all like his Father.' The

DIVINITY

Ordered, That ſuch ſhould be introduced as had not yet appeared. The Pretreſs came before

Mr. *SKELTON* Ambaſſador of his *Britanic* Majeſty to the King of *France*,

And being brought to the Entry of the holy Cave, thus ſpoke:

'I prove the Prince of *Wales* to be legitimate; becauſe the King his Father 'had wrote to me to ſpare no Charge in making Fire-works and ſplendid Feaſtings.

The Author of the *Triumph of Liberty*

Being come up, anſwered to Mr. *Skelton*, That if his Excellency had no other Proof to give, he ought to expect to ſee himſelf very ſpeedily cenſured and condemned; and that having already proved in his Book, that King *James* II. had not been lawfully called to the Crown of *England*, but that he had uſurped it, ſince the Laws of the Land have excluded all *Roman Catholic* Princes; he had reſolved to prove to him preſently, that the Prince of *Wales* was never of Royal Blood: That this is a Suppoſitition, believing the Society contrived it to deceive Fools.

The *ORACLE*

Ordered, That they ſhould cauſe to come in

The Author of *Parliamentum Pacificum*,

To ſee what he had to anſwer thereto.

The Pretreſs conducted him to the Cavern, and made the Author of the *Triumph of Liberty* retire ſome Paces back, for fear left a Noiſe ſhould ariſe between theſe two different Spirits. The Author of *Parliamentum Pacificum* ſaid thus to the

DIVINITY.

'I cannot forbear the admiring the divine Wiſdom, for giving a Child to 'his Majeſty in his old Years, and at a Time when we were near ſeeing a ſe-'cond Queen *Elizabeth* to reign; and the greateſt Proof that I have that 'this young Infant is legitimate, is the ill Opinion his Majeſty hath of all the 'Heretics. The

ORACLE

Anſwered him, That he had not in the leaſt ſatisfied the Queſtion which the Author of the *Triumph* had propoſed, *viz.* That his Majeſty had uſurped the Crown of *England*; he ought to prove the contrary afore he came to the Suppoſitition. The

Earl of *AVAUX*, Ambaſſador of *FRANCE*,

Took his Time, and the Pretreſs having received ſome *Louis*, which he preſented her with, he was immediately introduced, and brought the Affair into a few Words. The

ORACLE

Aſked him then, how that he pretended to prove the Prince of *Wales* to be legitimate. His Excellency ſaid,

The greateſt Proof he had was a magnificent Treat, the *Monſieur Albeville* gave in the Prince *Maurice* his Palace to all the Miniſters of Foreign Courts, where we were near three hundred Perſons that he invited.

After Mr. *D'Avaux*,

Mr. *St. DISDIER*

Advanced, and as he knew the Hiſtory to the Bottom, and is knowing in all Things; he ſaid to the

DIVINITY,

That it was not difficult to prove that the Queen of *England* had really been with Child, if one conſiders that the Queen-Mother lay-in with *Louis* the XIVth, after ſhe had been barren twenty-two Years, which is the Reaſon they call the King *Given of God*; and at this Day the Prince of *Wales* hath the ſame Name, becauſe he certainly came into the World by the Gift of Heaven.

Mr. *MOREAU*, Envoy Extraordinary from *POLAND*,

Entred without Ceremony, and diſpatched his Buſineſs with a laughing Air. The Reliſh of a Glaſs of certain delicate Wine he drank at the Palace of Prince *Maurice* made him not want Matter or Words in ſpeaking to the

DIVINITY.

For my part, I ſhall prove the Prince of *Wales* is not ſuppoſititious; becauſe Mr. *Albeville* roſe from the Table ſeveral times to fill us out to drink of a moſt excellent Wine, as he did it with ſo graceful a Mien, that I have Reaſon to ſay he hath not forgot his firſt Employment [a *Butler*, or *Footman.*]

Mr. *ALBEVILLE*'s Steward

Slipped into the Cavern without taking Notice of the Pretreſs, and ſpoke thus to the

DIVINITY.

'I am about to abjure my Religion to oblige my Maſter the Ambaſſador.'

The *PRETRESS*

Bid him hold his Tongue, for here was nothing to do about Religion, but only to know how the Prince of *Wales* was born.

The

The *STEWARD*

Anſwered, 'That he had reſolved to tell all that he knew; but that he was 'only concerned in performing the Commiſſion he had from the Ambaſſador 'the Day of the Fire-works; which was to ſearch out ſome *Engliſh* (or other 'unknown Perſons) to borrow for them white Perriwigs, a genteel Dreſs, 'fine Linen, Cravats, and Cuffs of *French* Point; and to procure them Foot-'men to follow, as if they had been my Lords, or other of conſiderable Quali-'ty, that I had Orders to ſeat them at the Table to make a Figure, and fill 'ſeven or eight Places, becauſe that ſome of the States had no Mind to come.

The *PRETRESS*

(Perceiving that this Diſcourſe diſpleaſed Monſieur *Albeville*, who was preſent, who was concerned to do Things honourably on ſuch Occaſions; beſides, that what the Steward ſaid, did more make known what was done on the Day of Rejoicing for the young Prince, than to prove that he was of the Blood-Royal) made him retire.

As ſoon as the Steward had done, the Pretreſs introduced Monſieur *d'Albeville*.

The *DIVINITY*

Told him, 'That all the World was ſurpriſed to ſee what paſſed at this 'Day, and that it was a Thing that all People ſpoke of, that one would 'make a ſuppoſited Child for a legitimate.

Monſieur *ALBEVILLE*

Cried out in the Diſcourſe, calling Heaven and Earth to witneſs, ſaying, 'That it was a pure Scandal that he had cauſed from the Day that he had 'Notice of the Birth of the young Prince to make Fire-works, which had 'ſurpriſed the ſeven Provinces with their Beauty and Magnificence, where was 'to be ſeen the young Prince upon a Globe, in the midſt of a triumphal 'Arch, where theſe Words were written, which contain the Year of his Birth.

aVgVſta eX IaCobo Magno proLes DIV VIVat.

M.DC.LXXXVIII.

Which is,

That the Son of Great JAMES *live long*,

Upon this triumphal Arch you might ſee St. *George*, who repreſented the King, trampling under his Feet the Dragon of Rebellion, and aboliſhing the Teſt and Penal Laws: There one might ſee the good Conſcience of the Jeſuits, repreſented by the Woman that was near the Dragon, firm, and unmoved, notwithſtanding the Rigours of the Penal Laws. There was to be ſeen two guardian Angels near the Perſon of the Prince, to deliver him from the Ambuſcades of the *Quakers*, *Conformiſts*, and *Nonconformiſts*, from the *Preſby-*

Preſbyterians, the *Arminian* Biſhops, the *Calviniſts*, *Lutherans*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other Sects. There the Dragon was to be ſeen, devoured by its own proper Flames, while the Crown, and all other Figures were entire, which was a Prognoſtic, that his Majeſty ſhould bring about his great Deſigns: After this, ought the Heretic to maintain that the young Prince is not legitimate? and that all this hath been done for a ſuppoſited Child?

The Secretary of Monſieur *D'Albeville*

Came forwards with all Speed, and ſoftly put his Excellency in mind to add ſomething of a Number of imcomparable flying Squibs, Fire-pots, Rackets, Wheels, *&c.* which filled the Air full of Stars and Serpents, which proved that the Prince was legimate, becauſe they produced the Effect that was deſigned.

The *ORACLE*

Ordered the Jeſuits to enter, together with the Prieſts that framed theſe Fire-works.

He that compoſed the Inſcription came firſt, ſaying,

Non ſi commencia bene ſe non dal Cielo.

I have myſelf compoſed,

Veritas & Juſtitia fulcimentum Throni Patris, & erunt mei:

As Virtue and Juſtice are the Support of my Father's Throne, ſo alſo ſhall they be of mine. I have moreover compoſed this fine Device:

Religio & libertas amplexatæ ſunt:

Liberty and Religion are united. Adding, That this was convincing, and that he had not compoſed this for an Infant ſuppoſited.

The *Almoner* of the Ambaſſador of *France*

Came in his Turn, and ſaid, That he himſelf had compoſed a ſhort Prayer, which begun, *Ad Deum Optimum Maximum pro Rege, Principe, & Gente Britanico Precatio brevis*: To the Great God, for the King, Prince, and *Britiſh* Nation, a ſhort Prayer. After this, one ought not to queſtion, that the Prince of *Wales* was not legitimate.

A Jeſuit of the *S*———*ſh* Ambaſſador.

Preſſed hard, and being come in, ſaid, 'That he had diſtributed a general 'Alms that Morning, and given to the Poor ſeveral Shillings, and a Pint of 'Wine to every one to drink the Health of the young Prince, that all this 'might ſerve to prove and diſabuſe the vulgar Incredulity.

All the Domeſtics of Monſieur *Albeville*

Came in their Turn and ſaid, That they had laboured more than fifteen Days to put Things in Order, and prepare a moſt ſumptuous Feaſt; adding, That there could not remain any Doubt of the young Prince's Legitimacy, ſince the Ambaſſador had been at ſo great Expence.

All the Muſicians came alſo, and ſaid, That they had ſung that Day à very fine *Te Deum*, with excellent Muſic, and an incomparable Symphony, compoſed by Monſieur *Hacquart*, and that this alone was fully convincing.

The

The Players on the Violins came alſo and ſaid, That they were carried in a Boat during the Time of the Feaſt, and that they had played the *Follies of Spain*, the *Deſcent of Mars*, and many other fine Pieces proper to the Occaſion, for to divert the Ambaſſadors who were in the Palace of Prince *Maurice*; and that all this could not be done for a ſuppoſited Child.

Thoſe that had diſcharged the Cannon which came from *England* on purpoſe for this Day, came and ſaid, It was not reaſonable to ſuppoſe ſo much Noiſe made for nothing.

Thoſe that had pierced ſeveral Tuns of Wine came alſo and ſaid, That the Street was overflowed by ſix Fountains of excellent Wine, part Claret, and part White-wine of *France* and *Spain*; and one ought to believe that this was made for an illegitimate Child.

An Unknown POET

Deſired the Pretreſs to permit him to enter into the holy Cavern, to repeat ſome Verſes which he had compoſed for the Glory of the young Prince, on the Day of his Triumph: He being come in, ſaid

Some *Proteſtant* LORDS

Sliding in the Crowd, deſired the *Divinity* to give them Audience; one of them ſaid, 'That this young Prince had let fall his Sceptre while he was upon 'the Globe, and that this was an ill Preſage. Another ſaid, That they had 'given the *Hydra* but ſix Heads, becauſe it was ſaid they would not repreſent 'by it the ſeven Provinces. Another ſaid, that *St. George* was devoured by 'the Monſter inſtead of the Monſter being devoured by *St. George*, and that 'all this proves manifeſtly that the Child was ſuppoſited.

The *ORACLE*

Ordered the Pretreſs to introduce

Monſieur the PRINCE, *Madam la Princeſs* d'O—— *and Meſſieurs Le* ESTATS,

To ſee what they had to anſwer to ſo many Witneſſes, who had maintained the King's Side.

The Pretreſs went out of the holy Cavern, and was humbly deſired that ſhe would diſpenſe with them for a great many Reaſons, which was granted them.

The Pretreſs had Order to call

Dr. *B——t.*

Who being entred, ſaid to the

DIVINITY,

Who deſired her, That ſhe would diſpenſe with him from ſpeaking of the Affairs of *England*, for fear of ſaying too much: The

DIVINITY

Ordered him to tell his Thoughts of the Queen's Lying-in, and of the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*.

Dr.

Dr. *B——t*

Anſwered, 'That ſuppoſing the Prince of *Wales* was legitimate, and that 'the Queen was truly his Mother, as they would maintain; it is to be pre-'ſumed, that it was extremely the Intereſt of the King, at a Time when his 'People did with Difficulty obey him, to contrive that the Queen's Lying-in 'ſhould be made according to the Forms, by calling thither all the Peers of 'the Realm, as was always practiſed in the Court of *England*; becauſe it is 'known, that the People are naturally very difficult to perſuade, they ſcarce 'believing the Things they ſee.

Author of the Book, whoſe Title is, *The Miſchiefs that threaten the* Proteſtants *of* England,

Seeing that every one endeavoured to ſpeak, deſired the Pretreſs to permit him to recite a Hiſtory of *Puffendorf*, which proves, marvellous well, that is eaſy to ſuppoſit a young Prince, ſince we have in Hiſtories many Examples of it. The

ORACLE

Ordered him to recite the ſaid Hiſtory.

Puffendorf, a celebrated Hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the Kings of *Spain*, ſaith, 'After *John* II, his Son *Henry* the IVth, the Diſgrace and Infamy of that 'Crown, ſucceeded to the Kingdom of *Caſtile*; for ſince he was eſteemed im-'potent, to remove that Conceit from the People, he made one *Berrand Curva* 'lie with the Queen, and for a Recompence of that Service he made him 'Earl of *Deſina*. This Adultery produced a Daughter, named *Jane*, which '*Henry* proclaimed Succeſſor to the Crown. This Action is the more likely 'to be true, becauſe this Queen had ſome time after a Baſtard by another: But 'in fine, to diſcover this Cheat, and to exclude *Jane* from ſucceeding, they 'united together, and carried Things ſo high, that they expoſed upon a Thea-'tre the Figure of *Henry* dreſſed in all his Royal Ornaments; and after hav-'ing made a Proceſs againſt him, and brought an Accuſation againſt him, 'they ſtripped him of all his Cloaths, and threw him from Top to Bottom. 'After, they proclaimed *Alphonſus* King, Brother of *Henry*. But this Farce 'cauſed terrible Shocks, and furious Agitations in the Kingdom, which came 'to bloody Battles. At laſt *Alphonſus* died during theſe Troubles, in the Year "1468.

The *DIVINITY*

Ordered the three Siſters of Father *Peters* to be brought out of the Grote they were ſhut in.

The Pretreſs conducted them into the holy Cavern, being veiled.

The *ORACLE*

Told, 'That it was no longer Time to diſſemble; that wanting nothing 'but their Depoſitions, they ought ſeriouſly to reflect, and to ſpeak to him the 'plain Truth, that all the World did with Impatience expect the revealing 'this Myſtery.

She that ſtaid in *London*, ſaid, 'That ſhe had ſeen one *Peters* her Brother, 'go often into three different Houſes where there lived big-bellied Women, 'viz. a Baker's Houſe, a Sword-cutler's, and a Miller's, that ſhe had followed 'him, Step by Step, ſeveral Times, and ſhe had obſerved that he ſtopped 'oftenеſt at the Miller's, and that ſhe had obſerved, that this Woman had 'been brought to-bed without any body knowing what became of the Child.'

APOLLO

Seeing that the Queſtion had been long enough debated, made all the Powers be informed that he was about to pronounce the divine Oracle.

After the divine Cavern was ſhut of a ſudden, and the Pretreſs had ordered that they ought to waſh themſelves in the River *Hercinas*; after which, to make a Sacrifice to *Trophonius* and all the Family to *Apollo*, to *Jupiter*, to *Saturn*, to *Ceres*, *Europa* Nurſe to *Trophenius*, and not to eat during three Days of the Sacrificing, but of the Fleſh ſacrificed, and then appeared the laſt Time, the

DIVINITY

Accompanied with her Pretreſs, and there was heard throughout the Cavern many Voices, ſaying, *The Child ſuppoſited, the Monk reigning.*

The Commiſſioners of the High Court of JUSTICE

Eſtabliſhed by the Parliament to try *Charles Stuart*, came in a Body from the other World, cauſing a Sword of Juſtice and the Mace to be carried before them.

The Preſident *BRADSHAW*

Being placed in a Chair of Crimſon Velvet, thus ſpoke to the

DIVINITY.

'We have made an unjuſt Proceſs againſt *C. Stuart*. When ſhall we form 'a juſt one againſt *James* II. his Son?

The *ORACLE.*

When the Patience of the good *Engliſh* ſhall be weary of ſuffering a falſe Prince of *Wales* to be put upon them.

CROMWELL, one of the Members of the High Court,

Advanced for a Moment out of the Crowd, and ſaid, 'Jeſu my God! 'what is it they ſay of *James* II? all the World cries out, and complains 'againſt him.

ORACLE

Anſwers him, 'That King *James* II. is a good Jeſuit, and pretends to die 'a Martyr of that Society.

DUKE of *MONMOUTH*

Before he preſented himſelf to the Divinity, the Pretreſs made him kiſs the Statue of *Apollo* of *Claros*, and made him at the ſame time drink a Glaſs of Water, called *Lethe*, to make him forget his ſhameful Death, and ſaid,

'I made too much Haſte to Death, and I have loſt by it. O would to 'God I were now living! What a fair Occaſion ſhould I have to ſecure the 'Liberties of the *Engliſh* Nation.

The *ORACLE.*

'It is long ſince you have been predeſtinated by the Society to go reign in 'another World.

The Q. D——r to the *ORACLE.*

'Since the Death of the King my Huſband, I have had no Satisfaction at 'Court, where nothing rules but Jeſuitiſm; and as the Society is full of Fury 'and Rage when it attacks Hereſy, I have reſolved to go into *Portugal* to 'avoid the Storm that is riſing: They have ſo moved the People, that one 'is obliged to ſuffer the Suppoſititiouſneſs of the Prince of *Wales.*

The *ORACLE.*

'The Lightnings have flaſhed, and the Thunder grumbled: If you love 'Peace and Repoſe, ſtay not until the Bolts fall.

The EMPEROR.

The ſame Pretreſſes that yet afore conducted *Alexander* and *Veſpaſian* into the Sanctuary of *Hammon* came to introduce the Emperor *Leopold*, and having made him a Preſent of a Crown of Lawrels, conducted him into the holy Cavern, and ſaid to the

DIVINITY.

'I have already filled the Univerſe with the News of my Victories, ex-'tended the Frontiers of my Empire even to *Belgrade*; planted Chriſtianity 'in all the Moſques of *Mahomet*; delivered the Electors of my Empire from 'the *Ottoman* Fury; ſnatched off the Creſcent, and planted the Standard of 'the *Roman* Eagle on all the Towers of *Hungary*; made *Rome* to triumph, 'and the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt in the midſt of the Terrors of War; my Ge-'nerals being tired with ſo many Labours, ſollicit me to make Peace. What 'ought I do?

The *ORACLE.*

'*Leopold, Leopold*, if thou wilt believe me, hearken no more to *Loyola*, make Peace with the Creſcent (*Turks*), and War againſt the Sun (*France*).

Arch-duke *JOSEPH*, King of *Hungary*,

Having heard of the Surrender of that important Place of *Alba Regalis*, came on, and ſaid to the

DIVINITY.

'The Emperor my Father hath gained on one Side, and loſt on the other: '*France* hath promiſed not to break the Truce, and notwithſtanding he every 'Day advanceth on the *Rhine*, on the other Side, the Jeſuits promiſe him 'the Univerſal Monarchy, if he continues the War. I beg you to diſcover 'the Myſtery.

The *ORACLE.*

'The Jeſuits are Traytors to the Empire, baniſh them the Court. The

EMPRESS

EMPRESS

After ſhe had ended her ſhort Devotions at St. *Stephen's*, where *Te Deum* was ſung for the Proſperity of the Imperial Arms, ſhe came and ſaid to the

ORACLE,

'The Houſe of *Auſtria* hath triumphed over its greateſt Enemies, and if 'the Emperor my Huſband would believe me, we ſhould ſpill no more *Ot-* '*toman* Blood.

The *ORACLE.*

'When the Emperor ſhall have ſhed as much *French* as he hath of the *Ot-* '*toman* Blood, he ſhall ſecure his Conqueſts and have no more to fear.

The *GRAND SEIGNIOR*, Emperor of the *Turks*,

Seeing afar off the prophetic Temple, he approached the holy Cavern; the Entrance of which was covered with Leaves of Laurel, which beſpake the Succeſs of the Chriſtian Arms, and making ſeveral Sighs, ſaid to the

DIVINITY.]

La illa alha Mahomet *raſoul alha.*

The Great God, and our great Prophet *Mahomet*, my Brother *Sultan*, is dethroned, to raiſe me upon his Throne, and in deſpite of the Rage of my Janizaries, and of his Party, I have extinguiſhed the Fire that burned in the Heart of my Empire: Being unſkilful in the Art of War, I propoſe a Peace to the Chriſtian Emperor, and I yield him all his Conqueſts, adding thereto, even *Belgrade*, fearing that my Baſhaw ſhould betray me; and that the uncircumciſed Army do not advance to *Conſtantinople*, I have ordered my Treaſury to be carried into *Aſia*, Day and Night my Prieſts go to the holy Temple of *Sophia*, where the *Alcoran* is kept, and I ſend my Derviſes to *Mecca* and *Medina* to pray our great Prophet to have pity on the true Muſſulmen, and to deſire the State of *Venice* to make Peace. The ORACLE

Notredame Cent. 3. *Quat.* 11.

The KING of *S——n*, *CHARLES* the Second,

Afore he deſcended into the divine Cavern, he was ordered to ſpend a certain Number of Days in a little Chapel, which is named *Good Fortune*, or *Good Genius*; after which being introduced, he ſaid to the

ORACLE.

All other Princes reap Laurels in the Art of War, and extend the Frontiers of their Kingdoms; they become the Terror of their Subjects, and do a thouſand Exploits to eternalize their Names: For my part I am always the ſame, and inſtead of becoming great, I diminiſh, I ſow in ungrateful and barren Earth, which produceth nothing but Brambles. The Queen my Wife gives me no Heir, notwithſtanding the Pains I take to get her with Child. Oh! how happy is King *J.* the Second, my Couſin, to have a Son. Oh! that

the Queen my Wife had been heard by the Lady of *Loretto*. I desire you to tell me, what can make my Wife to have Children?

ORACLE.

You must have at hand a good Father, such as Father *Peters*.

King of *P——d.*

Having received Orders from the Pretress to make a Confession of all the Secrets of his Life, approached, and said to the

DIVINITY,

'I repent to have made so much Noise of my Victories gotten over the In-'fidels, and to have called the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire, un-'grateful. I repent me, of having amused the Czar of *Muscovy*, my Allies, 'in promising them a great many Things, I have not performed; I repent 'myself also, for having had more Concern, for Love of *France*, than for *Po-'land*; I repent myself, for having suffered the Emperor to take *Hungary*, 'since I might have partaken with him of the Plunder of the common Enemy; 'I repent my not taking *Caminieck* the last Campaign, when its Doors were 'opened to me, if *France* had not whispered in my Ear, stay, stay. I only 'ask the Crown of *Poland* for my Son.

The *ORACLE.*

The King of *France* is a Fox, and if you follow his Counsels, you will live in the Hatred of your People, and your Son shall never be King.

The *GRAND VIZIER.*

After having saluted the Oracle of *Trophonius*, and drank a Glass of the Water of *Hircinas*, descended into the Holy Cavern, and said,

La illa alha Mahomet *rasoul alha.*

The new Sultan, my Master, would honour me with the Charge of Grand Vizier, I beseech you inform me what shall be my Fate?

The *ORACLE.*

Take care of yourself, for the Neck of a Grand Vizier draws to it the Bow-string, as naturally as Amber doth a Straw.

The King of *D——k* to the *ORACLE.*

I am the Spy of the Northern Crowns, and when any Thing remarkable happens amongst my Neighbours, I inform the King of *France* of it, and the King of *England*; they promise me, so long as we continue Friends, we shall keep the Ballance equal between the Emperor and the other Princes of *Europe*. I answer, that I am content so far, but I doubt *France* will always play the same Play.

The *ORACLE.*

The King of *France* is often guilty of Deceits, take care of yourself.

The

The Elector of *S*——*y*,

Making his Prayers, paſſed by *Holland*, and after having ſaluted the Prince of *Orange*, entred into the Temple, and ſaid to the

DIVINITY.

'I love the *French* Wine, but not the *French*; but I like better the *Rheniſh* 'Wine; and I am of Opinion, that I ought to drink no other, although the 'King of *France* cries Day and Night in my Ears, my *Lewiſſes*, and my good '*Champaign* Wine. I beſeech you tell me what Side I ſhall take.

The *ORACLE.*

The Emperor's Side, and that of *Holland.*

After all Ceremonies were ended, and the Lot was going to be caſt, with much Reſpect and Veneration,

The Cardinal of *FURSTENBERG*

Being entered into the holy Cavern, in Haſte, overturned the Lots and Urns.

The Pretreſs being diſturbed, ordered him to ſpeak, and he ſaid to the

ORACLE.

'Was there ever a Pope ſeen ſo wilful and ſtubborn as ours now is? To have 'a red Cap, I have endeavoured above five Years, without Interruption, and 'do ſo at this Day to become Elector, and what way have I not tried? And 'I am not nearer it now than I was the firſt Year; If the King my Patron 'would have believed me, he ſhould have abandoned the Affair of the Fran-'chiſes at the Beginning, without making ſo much Noiſe about it, ſince the 'Advantage of being Maſter of the *Rhine*, and by that to intercept the Com-'munication of the Empire with *Flanders*, and ſo in few Years promiſe him-'ſelf the Conqueſt of *Holland*; it had been better to have made an Exchange 'of a Bull, with his Right of the Franchiſes, which is only —— without en-'deavouring to vex the Holy Father in his old Age.

The *ORACLE*

For to have a Bull, and to make the Holy Father agree with his eldeſt Son, it is neceſſary that Marſhal *d'Eſtree* quit the barbarous *Algiers*, to come and bombard the Holy See at *Rome.*

Dr. *MOLINOS*, the Cardinal *PETRUCCI*, the Cardinal *CICERO DON LIVIO DUC DE CICERI*, Nephew of the Pope, and other *Quietiſts.*

Dr. *Molinos*, ſtepping forwards, ſaid to the

ORACLE.

'Praiſed be God, the Holy Father hath made us accounted Heretics, and

'he

'he is one himſelf, if it is true, that he is a Quietiſt, as it is reported; the In-
'quiſition having examined him, were about ſhutting him up in the *Minerva*,
'if the Cardinal *d'Eſtree* (who betrayed me, as *Judas* did our Saviour) had not
'prevailed with him, that he ought to diſſemble, which ſaved him. I be-
'ſeech you to inform me, how long this Intrigue ſhall laſt.

The *ORACLE.*

In our Age the Power of the Holy See is a Tyranny, which ſacrifices all to its Intereſts.

Madam of *MONTESPAN.*

After much Ceremony ſhe whiſpered the God in the Ear, and aſked him what ſhe would; at laſt ſhe ſtopped her Ears with her Hands, and went out, coming in again, and ſaid to the

ORACLE.

'I have endured a great many Difficulties ſince my Affairs went backwards
'at Court, the good Man loves me no more, and the old Hag *Maintenon*
'hath done me the good Office; ſhe hath ſo buzzed the Ears of the King with
'the Merit of Monſieur *Scarron*, that it hath made him have a Mind to turn
'Poet. For my Part, not knowing to what Saint to pay my Vows, after
'having loſt the Great *Lewis*, I am reſolved to imitate *la Valliere*.

The *ORACLE.*

To learn to ſtring *Pater Noſters*, is a poor Life for *Monteſpan*.

Madam of *MAINTENON*

Took the Way of the Temple, accompanied by Father *La Chaiſe*, who entertained her with the new Converts of *France*, and the Hopes he had to ſee *England* in the ſame State, by the Care the Society took to provide a Succeſſor to the Crown; *Maintenon* being come near, ſaid to the

DIVINITY.

'That Father *La Chaiſe* had informed her, that his Penitent, by many re-
'peated Confeſſions, had owned, that he always had a Paſſion for the Fair
'Sex, that neither Age, nor the Severities of Penance, could ever reclaim him,
'we have a Mind to marry together, to the End that we may lead a good Life,
'and that there be no more Diſcourſe in the Royal Family of a Divorce. I
'beſeech you tell me, if I, being ſixty Years old, may yet be able to bring
'forth a Brother to the Dauphin; his Majeſty ſaith, he will keep only to me.

The *ORACLE.*

'The Fathers of *Loyola* have excellent Secrets, you being a Daughter of the
'Society, I would have Father *Peters* inform you how the Prince of *Wales*
'came into the World.

The

The Mareſchal of *ESTRES*, Vice-Admiral of *France* to the *ORACLE*.

'I have two great Deſigns to execute; the firſt obligeth me to deſtroy *Algiers*, and totally to burn that barbarous People out of their Neſts, and on the Aſhes of this rebellious Place, I ought to erect a Statue to his Majeſty, like to that which the Duke of *Tuillade* hath put up in the Place of *Victory*, to the End that the Name of Great *Lewis* may become the Terror of all *Africa*, as it is of all *Europe*, and that the Report of his great Victories may be conveyed by the Waters of the *Mediterranean* to the Ocean, and by the Ocean to the four Extremities of the World. And in the ſecond Place I have Orders to go as ſoon as I can to the Coaſt of *England* to make that rebellious Nation tremble at the Will of King *James*, and to oblige the Houſe of Lords and Commons to revoke the Teſt and Penal Laws.

The *ORACLE*.

Theſe *Barbarians* are turbulent, and reſolved to fight well; and the *Engliſh* expect only a contrary Wind to prove to King *J.* and to *Peters* his Almoner, that the Prince of *W.* is ſuppoſited.

The *SWISSES* to the *ORACLE*.

'The King of *France* our Uncle is at length tired with engaging us to the *Germans* in Wars: And we have managed the Affair ſo well, that he hath left poor *Geneva* in Peace. He is contented to ſee if we are afraid; but ſeeing the *Swiſſes* have always a good Stomach, and drink well, his Counſel of Conſcience have not judged it proper to bleed them; ſo that he is retired from us without bidding us farewel. We beſeech you to inform us if he will ever return again.

The *ORACLE*.

The King your Uncle often makes ſuch Braggings.

GENEVA to the *ORACLE*.

The King of *France* hath at laſt granted us a Truce for ſome Months, becauſe his Affairs preſs him a little too hard on the *Rhine*, his Pretenſions on the *Palatinate*, his Franchiſes at *Rome*, the Stubbornneſs of the holy Father, the Election of *Furſtenberg*, have ſo employed him, during the Spring, that he hath deſired us, by his Reſident, to excuſe him, if he defers the Buſineſs to a fitter Opportunity; beſides, that the new Converts cut him out ſo much Work, that he knows not which Way to turn him. In the mean time Father *La Chaiſe* makes him believe, that before he dies, he ſhall enter with his Coach and Horſes into the greateſt Church of *Geneva*, adding, that he ought to keep fair, and expect untill his Brother King *J.* hath equipped his Fleet.

The *ORACLE*.

Watch and pray, for you know not the Hour when the Thief will come.

The

The *ALGERINES* to the *ORACLE.*

The King of *France* is a terrible Champion; after having purged the Heretics out of his Kingdom, he imagines to purge the Sea of Pirates, and to make the Coaſts of *Barbary* a Deſert: This is a great Deſign, and worthy of a great Monarch; but the *Algerines* have already paſſed ſo many Times thro' the Fire of their Bombs and Carcaſſes, that they are become half Devils, that Hell-fire cannot burn them. If our Houſes were built ſo as his *Verſailles* is, it had been long ſince reduced to Aſhes, and the Palace of *M'ezemorto* had been nothing but a Tomb; but they are built of a certain Cement, which the Fire cannot hurt; and the three thouſand Bombs which the Marſhal of *Eſtres* diſcharged againſt us have done no more Harm than Bullets ſhot into the Air. Barbarian againſt Barbarian; he that is the moſt barbarous ſhall conquer: All the *French* that are in our Power ſhall be put in the Mouth of a Cannon; we have ſhot them the Conſul already, expecting to ſend them their King, if ever he fall into our Hands.

The *ORACLE.*

You ought to keep him Priſoner.

All the *ELECTORS* of the *EMPIRE.*

We are encompaſſed with the Claws of the Eagle, and the Paws of the Fox. The great *Leopold* on one Side engroſſes Villages, Provinces and Kingdoms. The great *Lewis* on the other Side ravages amongſt us, ſometimes as a Lion, and ſometimes as a Fox, making his Bombs thunder amongſt us; making a thouſand fair Promiſes; to one, to oblige him to ſell his beſt Places to them for their Liberty; to others, for to truck, exchange, or engage their Sovereignty. The great *Leopold* ſeeing all theſe Contrivances, adviſeth us, under hand, to have a Care of ſuch deluſive Promiſes. The great *Lewis*, on his Side, whiſpers us by his Spies, *Take Care of your ſelves*, Leopold *becomes too powerful for you*; *you will ſhortly become Slaves of the Houſe of* Auſtria. We beſeech thee tell us which is our true Intereſt.

The *ORACLE.*

Your true Intereſt is to join with the Emperor and the Empire, and to be of Opinion always, that the Fox will do his Endeavour to catch the Eagle and her Eagleſs.

The Archbiſhop of *Paris* to the *ORACLE.*

'I have hitherto done all the Good and all the Ill I could unto the Hugo-
'nots, in order to get a Cardinal's Cap, and I have only a Mitre. The Biſhop
'of *Camus* that is reputed a Heretic, and is really ſo in his Heart as well as
'the Cardinal of *Furſtenberg*, who is a very Libertine, given up to his Plea-
'ſures, hath got a Cap with eaſe; and I who daily ſing Veſpers, and aſ-
'ſiſt at the holy Offices with the Piety and Zeal of a greateſt Prelate, is it
'poſſible that I ſhould have nothing to cover my Ears in my old Age?

The *ORACLE.*

It is true indeed, you are a great Mimic; but the holy Father doth not reward Grimaces.

All

All the *CANONS* of the Chapter of *COLOGNE*

Came in a Body, and after having drank a Glaſs of the Water of the River *Hircinas*, and made a Sacrifice to the God *Trophonius*, they entered into the holy Cavern, and ſaid to the

ORACLE.

'The Cardinal of *Furſtenberg* is not worthy to wear the Electoral Bonnet, 'ſince the holy Father is not willing he ſhould; if we had the Power, neither 'ſhould the Prince of *Bavaria*; for we have received nothing from him. As 'to *Furſtenberg* we very much fear.

The *ORACLE.*

For fear leſt they ſtrangle you; for the ſure Charge is great, *Qualitas bona, Quantitas mala, aiunt medici*, The Phyſicians ſay the Quality is good, but the Quantity is ill.

All the Monks of *FRANCE*

Were carried by the Pretreſs into the Chapel of good *Genius*, and being firſt laid on the Earth, they entred the holy Cavern: After which the

DIVINITY

Ordered them to ſing ſome *Exaudions* in Muſic with a loud Voice.

Omnes Sancti in Cœlis, Exaudions, & Orate pro nobis, (All the Holy in Heaven, hear us, and pray for us) when the Choir began to repeat the *Ora pro nobis*, the Pretreſs ordered the moſt ancient and

VENERABLEST

To ſpeak, and they ſaid to the

ORACLE,

'At this Time we are the moſt powerful Part of the Government, under the 'Protection of a great King. We live in Peace, Eaſe, fatted with the Blood 'of the People; we fear neither War nor Peace, and heaping up Riches, we 'become ſo powerful, that we give Laws to the Princes of the Earth; and it 'is by us that Kings reign; we have ſecret Ways to inſinuate ourſelves, and 'every one of us endeavours to play his Part: We make Rich and Poor when 'we pleaſe; we affect to be counted Men of Eſtates, and to be wicked when 'we have a Mind, and under the cheating Maſk of Virtue and Vice, we ſe-'duce the People; Hypocriſy is the higheſt Degree of Perfection, and the 'wiſeſt, moſt pious, and honeſteſt amongſt us is a great Hypocrite: We have 'not made Virtue conſiſt in a ſevere Exerciſe of good Thoughts, as the an-'cient Pholoſophers did, who not having the true Way of enjoying this 'World, have lived in the Middle, between Good and Evil, without coming 'to Extremes: In ſhort, we have ſo well ſung for ſix or ſeven Months, that 'the Queen of *England* hath at length had a Son.

The *DIVINITY.*

Suppoſited.

Count *TECKELY*

Came out of this Den, imitating the Savage Beaſts, who ſuffer themſelves to be ſeen when the Hunters and Dogs are retired out of the Field.

The *PRETRESS*

Surpriſed to ſee him yet alive, made many Acclamations of Joy, crying *Helas, Helas*, and immediately preſented him with a Glaſs of the Water of the River *Hercinas* for ——— and made him ſit a Moment to reſt himſelf; after which he was conducted into the holy Cave, and ſpake thus to the

DIVINITY.

'You ſee here the moſt wretched and unfortunate Prince that ever was, 'notwithſtanding I am ſtill living, by the powerful Arm of the great God, 'who hath always preſerved me from the Hatred of the Emperor my capital 'Enemy; againſt the King of *France*, who hath betrayed me; againſt the 'curſed Race of the Jeſuits, who have tried a thouſand Ways to ſacrifice me 'to their Rage; againſt the Grand Seignior, who cares for me no more than 'I am ſerviceable to him; and in fine, againſt a thouſand and a thouſand 'Enemies, who are contriving my Death. You ſee me a Fugitive, and rob-'bed of a Crown, which the Arch-duke *Joſeph* wears for the Love of me: 'Yet notwithſtanding I have not loſt my Courage, and ſuch as you ſee me, 'I give a great deal of Trouble to my Enemies.

The *ORACLE.*

As long as thou liveſt thou ſhalt be between the two Rocks, always in Danger ——— the Fathers of *Loyola* have ſurrounded thee like ſo many hungry Wolves ſeeking to devour thee.

Monſieur le Cardinal de *CAMUS*

Being conducted to the holy Cavern, one of the Pretreſſes gave him her Hand to help him to go down, leſt he ſhould fall: Being come near, he made a Narration of his Hiſtory in an eloquent manner, and ſaid to the

ORACLE.

'You ſee here a Fiſherman, like other Men. Pardon, I beſeech you, the 'Term which ſeems to be contrary to the Cuſtom, ſince I have all Reaſon 'imaginable to praiſe myſelf, if I have any Regard to that great and auguſt 'Dignity the Purple hath raiſed me to. God be praiſed, I take a Glory to 'be humble, as much as my proper Nature will permit me. You have been 'informed, without doubt, that it is my Zeal, and that I endeavour to acquit 'myſelf of the Duty to which the Charge of Paſtor engageth me, by the 'Pains I take to gather together the poor Sheep ſtrayed about the holy Mo-'ther-Church. You know that I blame extremely the Ways of Rigour and 'Tyranny which is exerciſed, and that on the Conſciences of Perſons, whoſe 'greateſt Guilt is, that they pray to God in the Purity of their Heart: That 'I have preached, and ſtill do ſo, that this harſh Way is wholly oppoſite to

the

‘ the Chriſtian Religion: That I endeavour to prove it by all the Fathers of
‘ the Church, who never had any other Way than by Sweetneſs and Huma-
‘ nity: In ſhort, I have ſaid it, allowed in the Chair, and ſhall eternally ſay
‘ it, of the Reverend Fathers of the Society, who vomit out every Day their
‘ Gall and Rage againſt me. I leave them to their Opinions, and I have
‘ acted at preſent with ſo much Boldneſs, that the holy Father begins
‘ to approve of my Conduct, and his Majeſty on the other Side orders that I
‘ be taken for a Model and Example: In ſhort, you may ſee what I do, and
‘ what I have done hitherto: But one thing goes extremely to my Heart, and
‘ if I did dare to tell you, it is, that I am of the Opinion of thoſe poor
‘ People whom they perſecute ſo much. As to what remains to be ſaid, it
‘ is delicate; and I beſeech you, that it may be permitted that I may be ſuſ-
‘ pected ſuch, but that the Truth be never known.

ORACLE.

Janſeniſt, take Care of yourſelf.

The Duke of *BAVARIA.*

The Pretreſs having conducted him into the Cavern, made him drink a Glaſs of the Water of the River *Hercinas*, and bid him ſhut his Eyes, and ſpeak to the

DIVINITY.

‘ Since my Marriage with the Daughter of the Empire, I have always got
‘ Victories, and gathered Laurels, and the *Ottoman* War hath been my Ap-
‘ prenticeſhip. I have abandoned the Intereſt of *France*, in quitting a conſi-
‘ derable Penſion which ſhe gave me, becauſe it blotted my Glory, I have
‘ married my Siſter to the Dauphin of *France*, he hath coſt me nothing, and
‘ what I have loſt on one Side, I have gained on the other. I have failed in
‘ being Governor of the *Spaniſh Low Countries*, by a Grant which the King of
‘ *Spain* would have made me; but it gave a Jealouſy to *France*, and this Af-
‘ fair is put off to another Time. I have refuſed the Alliance of a Baſtard,
‘ that was offered me, becauſe it did not conſiſt with my Honour; beſides,
‘ it would have made me a Slave to a Crown that doth nothing but for Inte-
‘ reſt. At this time they court me more than ever, the Emperor, my Father-
‘ in-law, promiſeth me that there ſhall be no more Jealouſy between me and
‘ *Lorrain*, and that I ſhall have the ſole Command of all his Arms. The
‘ King of *France* promiſeth me that I ſhall ſhare with him in *Spain*, in *Flanders*,
‘ in *Milan*, in *Peru*, and *Mexico*, and in all the Goods of his Brother-in-law,
‘ after his Death; what Side ought I to take?

The *ORACLE.*

The Empire's Side, in preferring thy own Glory, to that of the Emperor, and all the Electors, to the Caſtles in *Spain*, and to the deceitful Promiſes of *France.*

The *PRETRESS*

Seeing coming the

PARTISANS of *FRANCE,*

Came before them by the Chapel of *Good Fortune*, before they entred into the holy Cavern.

The *PRETRESS*

Ordered, the moſt Antient to ſit in the Chair of *Mnemoſine*, and to make a long Diſcourſe; having ſhut his Eyes, and opened his Mouth, he ſpoke thus to the

DIVINITY.

'We are a Race curſed by God, bloody to the poor People, Diſturbers 'of the public Quiet, and Preſervers of the Royal Authority; without us, 'the Kings would be Sovereigns without Power, of Power without Arms, of 'Riches without Silver; we grow fat in the Midſt of Plenty and Poverty, and 'we have the Secret to find Money where there is none. In ſhort, great Di-'vinity, St. *Louis*, yet afore, was only a poor Saint of Wood, and we have 'made him at this Day a Saint of Gold, and when you ſhall ſee the Ambaſſa-'dors of the King of *Siam*, and of the King of *China*, wiſe Men come from 'the Eaſt, and powerful Kings ſend their Ambaſſadors from another World, 'let not this ſurprize you: You ought to know, that all the Powers of the 'Earth are obliged to give him Marks of their Submiſſion (becauſe this ſerves 'for his Glory.) In the mean time, he ſeems to have forgot from whence he 'came, that he hath forgot his good Friends, he is become ſo fierce of late 'Years, in relation to us, that we dare no more look upon him. And above 'all, ſince the Reverend Fathers of the Society have put him in the Head to 'chaſe away the Hugonots, without conſidering, that this doth us wrong; 'farther, he hath taken Care to purge us from time to time with good Taxes, 'for fear, leſt we growing too rich, we ſhould be able to make War with 'him; but the Revenue begins to diminiſh, and leſſens every Day more and 'more, by the great Number of Refugees who have quitted, and daily do 'quit, the Kingdom; who being the Fat and Strength of the Nation, and 'rich, and the beſt Paymaſters that we had, what ſhall we do now for Money?

The *ORACLE.*

Eſtabliſh real to ruin the Nobility.

The Reverend Father *TACHART* Jeſuit, and Ambaſſador of the King of *SIAM* to the Court of *France*,

Was no ſooner arrived at the Sanctuary of *Hammon*, but all the Pretreſſes of the Divinity went out to ſee his Dreſs, there was one who would have him dance; the Reverend Father having lifted up his triangular Bonnet, ſaluted him with a Kiſs, praying him to excuſe him, and to introduce him into the holy Cavern; the twelve Mandarins that accompanied them were ordered to ſtay in the Chapel of *Good Genius*, the Reverend Father *Tachart* being come near, ſaid to the

ORACLE,

'I am the Ambaſſador of a great King, and I come from the other World 'to make an Alliance between *Mahomet* and the Chriſtians. The Society have

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'chosen me, an Apostle, who ought to plant the Gospel in the Kingdom of 'Siam. I have persuaded the King of *Siam* to send his Son to the Court of 'France, for to learn the Art there of converting Heretics, to the End that 'we may suddenly go to hunt the new Converts through all the *Indies*, I have 'already introduced into the chief Commands of the Kingdom the principal 'Members of our Society, and the King of *Siam* himself is a zealous Catholic, 'who hath been a zealous Idolater.

The *ORACLE.*

It much concerns the Society, for the Execution of their great Designs, to transport to the *Indies* a naval Army of *French* Dragoons.

Monsieur Le Marquis *de LOUVOIS*, and Monsieur *de VAUBAN*, Engineer-General of *France*,

Having a Mind to visit the frontier Places, to see if all be in a good Condition on this Side of the *Rhine*, in case the Emperor and his Allies should openly oppose the Election of the Cardinal of *Furstenberg*;

The *PRETRESS*

Seeing them appear,

Monsieur the Marquis of *LOUVOIS*

Came on first, and was conducted, without Loss of Time, into the Chapel of *Good Genius*, where he saluted the *Apollo* of *Claros*, in passing, and from thence he came into the holy Cavern, and spoke thus to the

ORACLE.

'His Majesty is for War, and I for Peace; he is resolved to make his 'Troops enter *Cologne*, and make *Furstenberg* Elector, in despite of the Pope 'and the Empire, and for my Part, I am of a contrary Opinion; I represent 'to him the pitiful Condition that *France* is in at this Time, its Coffers are 'empty, its Trade ruined, the new Converts ready to put off the Mask at the 'first Signal. I represent to him all the Electors of the Empire, and *Holland*, 'expecting War with Impatience, Prudence is my Counsel, and as long as 'we fish in troubled Waters, I shall be always for Peace, fearing to lose in one 'Campaign what we have gained in six.

The *ORACLE.*

'So long as the *Ottoman* War shall last, the deceitful Promises shall do more than powerful Enemies.

Mosieur *de VAUBAN*,

Who was busy in considering the Avenue to the holy Cave, and had already drawn on his Tablets all that he saw curious in the Chapel of *Good Genius*, he was ordered by the Pretress to meddle no more with his Tablets, but to speak his Business, and to retire as fast as he could; having shut his Eyes, and opened his Mouth, he spoke to the

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'We have no Reſt Day nor Night, and we are in a perpetual Motion, as 'the Water of a River that runs without ceaſing; and we run from Province 'to Province, from Place to Place, and from Frontier to Frontier; they may 'call us Fools. The Glory of our great Monarch, to which we ſacrifice all 'our Pains and Travels, is at preſent a great Idol we adore, which will erect 'to us eternal Monuments, which all Ages will admire; all the Monks of 'France, chiefly the Jeſuits, ſay that the King is immortal, and that the Em-'pire, as well as all the other Potentates of *Europe*, will be obliged to ſubmit 'to his Yoke, and to rank themſelves under his Obedience; we beſeech thee 'inform us what will be the Deſtiny of the Great *Lewis*.

The *ORACLE.*

The Great *Louis* hath Enemies without Number, who expect only the Reverſe of the Medal, That he always endeavours for Peace, in making a Shew of declaring War, and this is his great Policy.

The Count *de RAUNTS*, Ambaſſador of his Imperial Majeſty to the Chapter of *Cologne*,

Having received Order from the Emperor, and Electors of the Empire, to go immediately to the holy Cavern, came forwards, and ſaid to the

ORACLE.

'*France* hath endeavoured, for many Years, by his Money and his Menaces, 'to make the Cardinal of *Furſtenberg* Elector of *Cologne*; the Emperor hath 'ordered me to repreſent to the moſt Illuſtrious and Moſt Reverend Chapter 'of *Cologne*, that the ſaid Cardinal, although a *German* by Birth, is gained to be 'a Slave to the Crown of *France*: That he hath oftentimes betrayed the Em-'pire, and its Members: That he brought the War within the Dioceſe, and 'made it a bloody Theatre: That he diſmembred *Straſburg* from the Empire, 'and delivered the Citadel of *Liege* to a powerful Stranger: That at this Day 'he quarters the *French* in the ſtrong Places of the Dioceſe: That he fortifies '*Bonn* with the *Louis* of Gold which the King his Protector lends him, in hopes 'of being reimburſed by him, in reſigning *Cologn* to him.

The *ORACLE.*

The Empire is a Machine difficult to manage, and *France* will conquer it all, ſo long as Miſunderſtanding reigns amongſt them.

All the *MONKS*, and all the *PRIESTS* of the *Spaniſh Low Countries*, to the *ORACLE.*

'Since the Queen of *England* was brought to Bed, we are ordered by the 'Holy Father, and all the Clergy of *Spain*, to ſing *Ora pro nobis*, and to pray 'our Lady of *Loretto*, that the Queen of *Spain* may be with Child alſo. If 'the Princeſs of *Orange*, and her Siſter the Princeſs of *Denmark*, were not

'Heretics,

'Heretics, we could at the ſame time pray for them, and they ſhould have 'no Cauſe to complain, if it happen that they remain barren, while all the 'other Princes of *Europe* have Reaſon to rejoice at their Fruitfulneſs.

The *ORACLE.*

In Barrenneſs, Father of marvellous Effect, as well as the Aſſiſtance of ſome good Father.

The moſt Serene Republic of *VENICE*

Came forward, attended by all the Senators; *Moroſini* ſpoke, in quality of the Doge, and ſaid to the

DIVINITY,

'We have purged one Part of *Greece*, the *Adriatic Gulph*, the *Morea*, and 'ſome of the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, of infamous *Mahometiſm*, and we are 'about placing the Standard of Chriſtians in all the Churches of *Conſtantinople*. 'The Ports of the holy *Sophia* are open to us, the Impoſtor *Mahomet* ſhall 'ſhortly have no Sanctuary, but the fearful Deſarts of *Arabia*, the Emperor, 'our Ally, ſollicits us to make Peace; all *Italy* repreſents to us that *France* 'makes Advantage of our Conqueſts. If we ſuffer him to paſs the *Alps*, and 'if he advance on the *Rhine*, what ought we to do?

The *ORACLE.*

All *Europe* enjoys Peace in the Eaſt, and wiſh the War were in the Weſt. But ſince you have gone ſo far, take *Candia* to aſſure the Conqueſts.

The King of *SIAM* to the *ORACLE.*

'I have ſent the Reverend Father *Tachart*, of the Society of Jeſus, in Qua- 'lity of Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*, there to treat of 'the Means to convert my People from Idolatry, and to break Commerce 'with the *Hollanders*. Part of the Pagods of my Kingdoms are already con- 'ſecrated to Chriſtianity, and have purged them of *Marmaſets*, and of falſe 'Gods, with which they were filled. The Reverend Father *Tachart* hath 'counſelled him to put in their Places the Statues of St. *Lewis*, and St. *Ignatius*. 'On the other Part, I have ſet out a Fleet, and I have built Fortreſſes on the 'Frontiers of my Countries, and the King of *France* hath ſent me Engineers, 'and he deſires me to ſend my Son to him, that he may be taught the Art of 'Reigning. The Jeſuits perſuade me to be willing that the Dragoons come, 'as Miſſionaries, from *France*, to convert my People. I beg of you to inform 'me what I ſhall do.

The *ORACLE.*

A good Dragoon is a good Apoſtle, but hath no Faith, Law, or Baptiſm.

The King of *PERSIA* to the *ORACLE.*

'We are at the End of the World, if it be true that the Evangeliſt of Jeſus 'Chriſt is preached through all the habitable Earth. There is no other Diſ- 'courſe, but of making new Converts, as if the Son of God was come. The 'King of *Siam*, my Brother, hath choſen rather to embrace the Croſs than the

'*Alcoran*,

'*Alcoran*, and a great many open the Ports of the Eaſt to the Fathers of *Loy-*
'*oyla*, who advance in Troops, and aſſemble in the *Indies* like wild Loupes.
'If the Prophets accompliſh their Prophecies, and my Brother the Sultan is
'driven out of *Europe*, *Conſtantinople*, and all the holy Places of our Prophet
'*Mahomet*'s Repoſe, will be purged of *Mahometiſm*, and I only ſhall be left
'in *Aſia*; I beſeech you what muſt I do to continue the Circumciſed, that
'they may ſpread over the World like an univerſal Fire. And will not
'they reduce to Cinders the Moſques of the great God, if we do not take hold
'of this Opportunity?

The *ORACLE.*

The ſureſt Remedy that can be, is to make a great Rampart Wall from *Iſpahan* to the Frontiers of *Perſia*, which may make a Tower of a Kingdom, to hinder the Fathers of *Loyola* from entering.

The *Canada*, or *New-France*, to the *ORACLE.*

'There is no finer Countries in the World for the chaſing the new Converts
'than this is, if the Fathers of *Loyola* will believe us, one paſſeth whole *Ame-*
'*rica*, and principally into *Canada*, where are ſeveral great and vaſt Cham-
'paigns, Mountains and Foreſts, where the Land flows with Milk and Ho-
'ney, where the Taſte and Delicateneſs is to be preferred to the beſt Chicken
'in *France*. If the Great *Lewis* was well counſelled, he would let them ſing
'no more in his Kingdom, for fear that *France*, in the End, ſhould become
'a frightful Deſart, where none but the Society of Jeſuits inhabit.

The

The Catholic ALMANACK for the YEAR 1687.

Containing both the *Roman* and *Engliſh* Calendar; with Catalogues of the Popes, from St. *Peter* to this preſent *Innocentius* XI. and of the Kings of *England* and Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, from the Year 600. to the Reformation.

January XXXI.

New M. 3 d. 55 m. aft. 7 ni. | Full M. 18 d. 27 m. af. 12 noo.
Firſt q. 10 d. 24 m. af. 12 noo. | Laſt q. 26 d. 28 m. p. 1. aftern.

1	a	*Circumciſion.*	Eluan. B. Mid. C.	
2	b		1000 M.	
3	c		Fintan. Ab.	
4	d		Melorus M.	
5	e	Teleſph. P. M.	Edward K. C.	
6	f	*Epiphany.*	Peter Ab.	
7	g		Cedda B.	
8	a		Wulfine B.	
9	b	*1 p. Epiph.*	Brithwald B.	
10	c		Adrian Ab.	
11	d	Hygini P. M.	Egwin B.	
12	e		Bennet Ab.	
13	f		Kentigern B.	
14	g	Hilar. Ep. S. Felic. M.	Mau. & Br. V. M.	
15	a	Pauli 1. Er. S. Mauri A.	Ita Ab.	
16	b	*2 p. Ep.* Mar. P. m. S.T.	Henry Her.	
17	c	Antonii Ab. Dup.	Caradock Her.	
18	d	Cat. S. Pe R. dup. Priſc.	Deicola Ab.	
19	e	Canu. S. l. S. Marii, &c.	Wolſtan B.	
20	f	Fab. & Seb. m. Dup.	Rich Ham. Her.	
21	g	Agnet V. M. Dup.	Malcalla. Ab.	
22	a	Vincent & Anas. M. S.	Maimbodus M.	
23	b	*Sept.* Ray. Sem. Tr. Em.	Theorith. V.	
24	c	Timoth. E. M. Sem.	Cadock Ab.	*Term beg.*
25	d	Con. S. Paul Ap. Dup.	Paul Diſ. Pat.	
26	e	Polycarp Ep. M. Sem.	Bathildis Q. Fr.	
27	f	Jo. Chryſoſt. Ep. dup.	Algina V.	
28	g	Agnet ſecundo.	Sexulph B.	
29	a	Francis Sal. Ep. Sem.	Gildas Sen.	
30	b	*Sexag.* Mart. V. M. S. Tr.	Gildas Jun.	
31		Pet. Nolaſci Con. Dup.	Wilgis Ab.	

February XXVIII.

New M. 2 d. 13 m. af. 6. mor. | Full M. 17 d. 26 m. af. 7 mor.
Firſt qu. 8 d. 38 m. aft. 12. ni. | Laſt q. 23 d. 47 m. p. 10. foren.

1	d	Ignat. Ep. m. Sem.	Brigit V.	*Faſt.*
2	e	*Purific. B. V. M.* Dup.	Lawrence B.	
3	f	Blaſii Ep. m. Sem.	Weroburg. Ab.	
4	g	Andreas Corſ. Sem. l.	Gilbert C.	
5	a	Agathæ V. M. Sem.	Indract. &c. m.	
6	b	*Quinqua.* Dor. V. M.	Inas K.	
7	c	Romualdi Ab. Dup.	Augulus B.	
8	d		Elfleda Ab.	
9	e	*Aſh-Wedneſday.* Apol-	Thelian B.	
10	f	lon. V. M.	Trumvin B.	
11	g		Sedm. Simp. C.	
12	a		Edilwald Her.	*Term ends.*
13	b	*Quadrag.*	Ermenilda Q.	
14	c	Valent. m.	Fechinus Ab.	
15	d	Fauſtin & Jovit. m.	Sigfride B.	
16	e	*Ember Week.*	Oſwy K.	
17	f		Tinan B.	
18	g	Simeon Ep. m.	Ethelſtan B.	
19	a		Acca B.	
20	b	*2 Sunday of Lent.*	Ulrick Her.	
21	c		Cymbert B.	
22	d	Cat. S. Pet. Anti. Dup.	Ethnea V.	
23	e		Milburga Ab.	*Faſt.*
24	f	*Mathiæ Ap.*	Ethelbert K.	
25	g		Furſeus K.	
26	a		Milwida V.	
27	b	*3 Sund. of Lent.*	Elvius B.	
28	c		Oſwald B.	

March XXXI.

New Moon 3 d. at 4 aftern. | Full M. 18 d. 17 m. aft. 12 night.
First q. 10 d. 49 m. aft. 8 ni. | Laſt q. 26 d. 47 m. aft. 10 foren.

1	D		David B.	
2	e		Chad B.	
3	f		Winwalock Ab.	
4	g	Caſ. Sem. S. Lucii P.M.	Owen C.	
5	a		Piran B.	
6	B	4 *Sund. of Lent.*	Fridolin Ab.	
7	c	Tho. Aqu. D. Dup. SS.	Eſterwin Ab.	
8	d	Perp. Fel.	Felix B.	
9	e	Francis Vid. Rom. dup.	Alured Ab.	
10	f	Quadraginta m. Sem.	Himelin Her.	
11	g		Lictphard B.	
12	a	Gregorii P. D. dup.	Brian K.	
13	B	*Paſſion Sunday.*	Cungarus Her.	
14	c		Ceolulph K.	
15	d		Ariſtobu. B. m.	
16	e		Adoman C.	
17	f	Patric Ep. C. Sem.	Patrick B.	
18	g		Edward K. M.	
19	a	*Joſephi C.* dup.	Alkmund m.	
20	B	*Pal. Sun.* Joac. C. du.T.	Cuthbert B.	
21	c	Benedict. Ab. dup.	Herebert Her.	
22	d		Hamund B.	
23	e		Finguar, &c. M.	
24	f	*Holy Thurſday.*	Lanfrank B.	
25	g	*Annuntiat. B. Mariæ.*	William M.	
26	a		Alfwold B.	
27	B	*Eaſter Sunday.*	Rupert B.	
28	c	*Eaſt. Mond.*	Albert B.	
29	d	*Eaſt. Tueſd.*	Geleaſius B.	
30	e		Patton B.	
31	f		Adr. & Cad. C.	

April XXX.

New M. 2 d. 8 m. af. 2 morn. | Full M. 17. d. 18 m. p. 2 after.
First q. 9 d. 25 m. p. 2. aftern. | Laſt qu. 24 d. at 4 afternoon.

1	g		Agilbert B.	
2	a	Fr. de Paula C. dup. Tr.	Ebba Jun. Ab.	
3	B	*Low Sunday.*	Richard B.	
4	c		Gundley K. Her.	
5	d	Vincent Fer. C. Sem. l.	Aſſer B.	
6	e		Elſtan B.	
7	f		Bernacus Ab.	
8	g		Lothardus B.	
9	a		Giſla & Rict. V.	
10	B	2 *p. Eaſter,*	Paternus C.	
11	c	Leonis P. C. dup.	Guthlake Her.	
12	d		Mechtild V.	
13	e	Hermenegil. M. Sem.	Elfleda Wid.	*Term*
14	f	SS. Tiburtii M. &c.	Ethelwolph K.	*beg.*
15	g		Paternus B.	
16	a		Maxent. V. M.	
17	B	3 *p. Eaſt.* S. Anicot. P.M.	Stephen Ab.	
18	c		Erardus B.	
19	d		Elphegus B.	
20	e		Cedwal K.	
21	f		Anſelm B.	
22	g	Sot & Cali P. M. Sem.	Briſtan B.	
23	a	*Georgii M.* dup.	Etheldred K.	
24	B	4 *p. Eaſter.*	Mellitus B.	
25	c	*Marci Evang.* dup.	Egbert Ab.	
26	d	Cleti & Mar. P. M. Se.	Leofrick B.	
27	e		Walburga Ab.	
28	f	Vitalis M.	Ivo B.	
29	g	Petri M. dup.	Paul B.	
30	a	Cath. Sen. V. dup.	Erconwald B.	

May XXXI.

New M. 1 d. 44 m. p. 12 noon. | Full Moo. 17 d. at 2 morn.
First quar. 9 d. at 8 in morn. | Last qu. 23 d. 12 m. af. 8 ni.
New Moon 30 day, 24 min. after 12 at night.

1	B	*S. Phil. & Jac. Ap.* dup.	Asaph B.	
2	c	Athanas. B. dup.	Ultan Ab.	
3	d	*Invent. of* ✠ dup. SS.	Walter Ab.	
4	e	S. Monica Sem.	Ethelred K.	
5	f	Ascen. Dom.	Richard K.	
6	g	Joan. à port. Lat. dup.	Edbert B.	
7	a	Stanisl. E. M. Sem.	John B.	
8	B	*Appar. S. Micha.* dup.	Wire C.	
9	c	Gregor. Naz. E. C. dup.	Beatus C.	*Term*
10	d	Antonin. Sem. l. Gord.	Henry B.	*ends.*
11	e	& Ep. M.	Fremund. M.	
12	f	Nerei, Achil, &c. M. S.	Remig. B.	
13	g		Merwin B.	
14	a	Boniface M.	Editha Sen. Ab.	*Fast.*
15	B	*Whitsunday.*	Dympna V. M.	
16	c	Ubaldi Ep. C.	Simon Stock C.	
17	d	*Ember Week*	Carantocus C.	
18	e	Venant. M. Sem. Tr.	Sewal B.	
19	f	Petri Cæles. Tr. Pud.	Dunstan B.	
20	g	Bern. Sen. C. Sem. Tr.	Ethelbert K. M.	
21	a		Godrick Her.	
22	B	*Trinity Sund.*	Const. the Great.	
23	c		William M.	
24	d		Robert B.	
25	e	Mar. Mag. Paz. Se. Urb.	Aldelm B.	
26	f	*Corp. Christi.* Phil. El.	Aug. Ap. Eng.	
27	g	Joan. P. M.	Beda C.	*Term*
28	a		Theocus Her.	*beg.*
29	B	2 *p. Pent.*	Ergontha Ab.	
30	c	Felic. P. M.	Hienna V.	
31	d	Petronil V.	Guithelinus B.	

June XXX.

First q. 8 d. at 1 in the morn. | Last q. 22 d. 8 m. bef. 1 mor.
Full M. 15 d. 30 m. p. 10. mor. | New M. 29 d. 31 m. p. 1. aft.

1	e		Winstan M.	
2	f	Marcellin, &c. M.	Malcolu K.	
3	g		Pega V.	
4	a		Petrock Ab.	
5	B	3 *p. Pent.*	Boniface B.	
6	c	Norbert E. C. dup.	Gudwall B.	
7	d		Robert Ab.	
8	e		William B.	
9	f	Prim. & Feliciani M.	Columba Ab.	
10	g		Margaret Q.	
11	a	*Barnab. Ap.* dup.	Egbert K.	
12	B	4 *p. Pent.* S. Bas. &c. M.	Cunera V. M.	
13	c	Anton. de Padua. dup.	Odulphus C.	
14	d	Basil. mag. E. C. dup.	Brandan Ab.	
15	e	Viti, &c. M.	Eadburga V.	*Term*
16	f		Mayne Ab.	*ends.*
17	g		Botulph Ab.	
18	a	Marci & Marcel. M.	Adolph B.	
19	B	5 *p. Pent.* S. Gervas M.	Burjene V.	
20	c	Silverii P. M.	Transl. Ed. K. M.	
21	d		Edgmond M.	
22	e	Paulin E. C.	Alban Protom.	
23	f		Ediltrud Q. Ab.	*Fast.*
24	g	*Nat. S. Joan. Bapt.*	Bartlemew Her.	
25	a		Amphibalus M.	
26	B	6 *p. Pent.* Joan & Pauli	Adelbert C.	
27	c	M. Sem.	Sezinus B.	
28	d	Leo P. C. Sem.	Sethrida Ab.	*Fast.*
29	e	*Peter & Paul.*	Hugo M.	
30	f	Com. S. Paul. dup.	Theodatus B. M.	

July XXXI.

First q. 7 d. 51 m. p. 4. aftern. | Laſt q. 21 d. 13 m. p.8. morn.
Full M. 14 d. 24 m. aft. 6 ni. | New M. 29 d. at 4 in morn.

1	G		Jul. & Aaron M.	
2	a	Viſit B. V. Dup. Proc.	Oudock B.	
3	B	7 *p. Pent.*	Guthagon Her.	
4	c	Elizab. Q. Port. Sem.L.	Oda B.	
5	d		Modwena Ab.	
6	e		Sexburg. Q. Ab.	
7	f	Marg. Q. Scot. Sem. l.	Tran. Th. Cant.	
8	g		Edgar K.	
9	a		Ethelb. Q. Ab.	
10	B	8 *p. Pen.* Sep. Fra. M. Tr.	Grimbald Ab.	
11	c	Pius P. M.	Withburga Ab.	
12	d	John Gaulb. dup. Nab.	Kilian M.	
13	e	Anaclet. P. M. Sem.	Mildreda Ab.	
14	f	Bonavent. E. dup.	Marcellinus C.	
15	g	Henry Emp. Sem.	Swithin B.	
16	a		Oſmund B.	
17	B	9 *p. Pent.* S. Al. C. Sem.	Kenelm K.	
18	c	Symphoroſ. &c. M.	Edburga V.	
19	d		Dimanus C.	
20	e	Margaret V. M.	Alfwitha Q.	
21	f	Praxed. V.	Ethelburga Ab.	
22	g	Mary Magd. dup.	Kenulphus K.	
23	a	Apollin. E. M. dup.	Vodinus B. M.	*Faſt.*
24	B	10 *p. Pint.* Chri. V. M.	Ruf. & Ulfal. M.	
25	c	*James Apoſt.* Chriſt.	Adler B. M.	
26	d	*Ann M. V. M.*	Chriſtina V.	
27	e	Pantaleon M.	Joſeph of Arim.	
28	f	Nazar, &c. M. Sem.	Sampſon B.	
29	g	Martha V. Sem. Fel.	Ger. & Lu. B. C.	
30	a	Abdon & Sennon M.	Tatwinus B.	
31	B	11 *p. Pent.* Ig. C. dup.	Neotus C.	

Auguſt XXXI.

First q. 6 d. 38 m. af. 6 morn. | Laſt q. 19 d. at 3 in afternoon.
Full M. 13 d. 21 m. af. 3 mor. | New Moon 27 d. at 8 night.

1	c	Petri ad Vin. dup. Mac.	Ethelwold B.	
2	d	Stephen P. M.	Kinedus Her.	
3	e	Invent. S. Step. M. Sem.	Domitius C.	
4	f	Domin. C. dup.	Ivo B.	
5	g	Mary ad Nives Dup.	Oſwald.	
6	a	Transf. Dom. dup. Xyſ.	Henry B.	
7	B	12 *p. Pent.* S. Caj. S. Tr.	Claudia Ruffin.	
8	c	Cyriac. & Soc. M. Sem.	Briocus B.	
9	d	Roman. M.	Hugo B.	*Faſt.*
10	e	*Laurent. M.*	Henry K.	
11	f	SS. Tiburt. & Suſan. M.	Gilbert B.	
12	g	Clara. Dup.	Alcuin Ab.	
13	a	SS. Hippol. & Caſſ. M.	Wigbert M.	*Faſt.*
14	B	13 *p. Pent.* S. Euſeb. C.	Werenfrid C.	
15	c	*Aſſumpt.* B. V.	Margaret V.	
16	d	Hyacint. C. Dup.	Alexander C.	
17	e		Thomas C.	
18	f	Agapit. M.	Helena Emp.	
19	g		Clitancus K.	
20	a	Bern. Ab. dup. S. Ste. R.	Oſwind K.	
21	B	14 *p. Pent.*	SS. Arw. Fr. M.	
22	c	Timoth. & Soc. M.	Arnulph. Her.	
23	d		Juſtinian M.	*Faſt.*
24	e	*Barthol. Ap.*	Alice V.	
25	f	Lewis K. Sem.	Ebha Sen. Ab.	
26	g	Zephryn. P. M.	Bregwin B. C.	
27	a		Decum. Her. M.	
28	B	15 *p. Pent.* Aug. dup.	Hermacharus B.	
29	c	Decol. S. Jo. Bap. dup.	Stebba K.	
30	d	Felic. & Adauct.	Fiaker Her.	
31	e	Raym. Non. C. Sem.	Aidanus B.	

September XXX.

First qu. 4 d. at 6 at night. | Laſt q. 18 d. 16 m. p. 9. morn.
Full M. 11 d. 30 m. p. 9. mor. | New M. 26 d. 30 m. af. 12 noo.

1	f	Giles Ab. SS. 12. Frat.	Elpheg. Cal. C.	
2	g		Adaman Ab.	
3	a		Manſuetus B.	
4	B	16 *p. Pent.*	Swibert B.	
5	c		Altho Ab.	
6	d		Magnus Ab.	
7	e		Leofgar B.	*Faſt.*
8	f	*Nativ. B. V.* S. Adr. M.	Ethelb. Q. Ab.	
9	g	Gorgon M.	Oſmana V.	
10	a	Nicholas Tol. Dup.	Otgerus C.	
11	B	17 *p. Pent.* SS. Prot.	Wulſhildis Ab.	
12	c	& Hyacint. M.	Eanſwida Ab.	
13	d		Turgottus B.	
14	e	Exalt. S. Crucis. dup.	Gelduinus Ab.	
15	f	Nicomed.	Editha V.	
16	g	Cornel. Cypria. M.	Ninian C.	
17	a	Impreſ. ſtig. S. Fran. S.	Steph. & Soc. M.	
18	B	18 *p. Pent.*	Winoch Ab.	
19	c	Janu. E. & Soc. M. dup.	Theodore B.	
20	d	Euſtach. & Soc. M. dup.	Heriſwide Q.	*Faſt.*
21	e	*Matthew Apoſt.*	Guryallus B.	
22	f	*Ember Week.* Maurit.	Hia V.	
23	g	Lini. P.M. Sem.S.Thec.	Alfwold K.	
24	a	V. M.	Winnibald Ab.	
25	B	19 *p. Pent.*	Theodoric. Ab.	
26	c	Cyprian & Juſtin. M.	Hedda Ab.	
27	d	Coſ. & Dam. M. Sem.	Sigebert K.	
28	e	Wenceſlaus Sem. l.	Lioba Ab.	
29	f	*Ded. S. Mich. Ar.*	Roger. B,	
30	g	Jerome D. dup.	Honor.	

October XXXI.

First q. 4 d. 10 m. af. 2 morn. | Laſt qu. 18 d. at 3 in morn.
Full M. 10 d. 49 m. aft. 6 nig. | New M. 5 d. 50 m. p. 10. ni.

1	a	Remig. E. C. Sem. l.	Waſnulph Her.	
2	B	20 *p. Pent.* S. Angel,	Thomas B.	
3	c	guard. Dup.	SS. Ewa. Fr. & M.	
4	d	Francis C. Dup.	Edwin K.	
5	e	Placid. & Soc. M.	Wilfrid Jun. B.	
6	f	Bruno C. Dup.	Ivy C.	
7	g	Marc. P. M. SS. Ser.&c.	Oſitha Q. M.	
8	a	Bridgit Vid. Sem.	Keyna Her.	
9	B	21 *p. Pent.* S. Dioniſ.	Ro. Groſ. Teſt. B.	
10	c	&c. M. Sem. Tr.	Paulinus B.	
11	d		Ethelburga Ab.	
12	e		Wilfrid Sen. B.	
13	f	Edward K. C. Sem.	*Edward K. C.*	
14	g	Calliſt. P. M. Sem.	Burchardus B.	
15	a	Tereſa V. Dup.	Tecla Ab.	
16	B	22 *p. Pent.*	Lullus B.	
17	c	Hedwiges Vid. Sem. l.	Ethelbright M.	
18	d	Lucas Evang. Dup.	Ethbin A.	
19	e	Peter of Alcant. Sem.	Frideſwid Ab.	
20	f		Kenr. & Offæ K.	
21	g	Hilarion Ab. SS. Ur-	Urſul. & Soc. M.	
22	a	ſulæ, &c. M.	Melanius B.	
23	B	23 *p. Pent.*	Edilburga Ab.	
24	c		Maglorius B.	*Term*
25	d	Chryſant. & Dariæ M.	Vall. & Pol. V.	*beg.*
26	e	Evariſt. P. M.	Eatta B.	
27	f		Rumbald B. M.	*Faſt.*
28	g	*Simon & Jude, Ap.*	Alfred. K.	
29	a		Elfleda V.	
30	B	24 *p. Pent.*	Egelnoth B.	
31	c		Foillan M.	*Faſt.*

November XXX.

First q. 2 d. 22 m. aft. 12 noon. | Last q. 16 d. at 11 at night.
Full M. 9 d. 26 m. af. 6 morn. | New M. 24 d. 38 m. af. 8 ni.

1	D	*All Saints.*	Ciſſa Ab.	
2	e	All Souls.	Vulganius B.	
3	f		Winefreda M.	
4	g	Charl. Borom C. dup.	Clarus M.	
5	a	Vit. &c.	Malachias B.	
6	B	25 *p. Pent.*	Iltutus Ab.	
7	c		Willebrord B.	
8	d	4 Coronat. M.	Willohade B.	
9	e	Ded. Baſ. Sal. Dup.	Kebius B.	
10	f	Triphon & Soc. M.	Juſtus B.	
11	g	Martin. E. Dup.	Jeron M.	
12	a	Martin P. M. Sem.	Lebuinus.	
13	B	26 *p. Pent.* S. Didac.	Dubritius B.	
14	c	Sem. Tr.	Laurence B.	
15	D		Machutus B.	
16	e		Edmund B.	
17	f	Greg. Thau. E. Sem.	Hugo B.	
18	g	D. Baſ. Pet. & Paul dup.	Fulco C.	
19	a	Elizab. Vid. Dup. Pon.	Ermenb. Q. Ab.	
20	B	27 *p. Pent.*	Edmund K.	
21	c	Præſent. B. M. Dup.	Columban Ab.	
22	D	Cæciliæ V. M. Dup.	Pega V.	
23	e	Clement P. M. Sem.	Eadſinus B.	
24	f	Chryſog. M.	Chriſtina Ab.	
25	g	Catharin. V. M. Dup.	Alnoth M.	
26	a	Peter Alexan. E. M.	Egbert Ab.	
27	B	*Advent.*	Oda V.	
28	c		Edwold Her.	*Term*
29	D	*Faſt.*	Baruch Her.	*ends.*
30	e	*Andrew Ap.*	Theanus C.	

December XXXI.

First q. 1 d. 16 m. af. 7 at ni. | Last q. 19 d. 5 m. af. 8 at night.
Full M. 8 d. 31 m. af. 8 at ni. | New M. 24 d. 30 m. af. 10 for.

1	f		Virgilius B.	
2	g	Bibian. V. M. Sem.	Weede B.	
3	a	Francis Xav. Dup.	Lucius K.	
4	B	2 *Adv.* S. Barb. V. M.	Birinus B.	
5	c	Sabba Ab.	Eanflede Q.	
6	D	Nicol. E. C. Dup.	Congellus Ab.	
7	e	Ambroſ. Ep. D. Dup.	Odwald Ab.	
8	f	Concept. B. V. Dup.	Agatha Q.	
9	g		Elgiva Q.	
10	a	Melchiad. P. M.	Daniel B.	
11	B	3 *Adv.* Damas P. M. Tr.	Boyſil Ab.	
12	c		Elfreda V.	
13	d	Luciæ V. M. Dup.	Judocus Her.	
14	e	*Ember Week.*	Edburga Ab.	
15	f	Euſeb. E. M.	Hilda Ab.	
16	g		Colmanus C.	
17	a		Tetta Ab.	
18	B	4 *Advent.*	Daniel B.	
19	c		Macarius Ab.	
20	D		Mathild Q.	*Faſt.*
21	e	*Thomas Ap.*	Euſtachius Ab.	
22	f		Hilclid Ab.	
23	g		Ithwara V. M.	
24	a		Ruthius C.	*Faſt.*
25	B	*Nativ. Chriſt.*	Gregory C.	
26	c	*Stephen.*	Tatheus Her.	
27	D	*John Ap. & Evan.*	Gerard C.	
28	e	*Innocents.*	Walſtan C.	
29	f	*Thomas Cant.*	Thomas Cant.	
30	g		Ralph Ab.	
31	a	*Silveſt. P. C.*	Ethernanus C.	

A continual Succeſſion of the Popes of Rome, *from St.* Peter *to this preſent Time, with the Year of our Lord in which each Pope died.*

ST. Peter *ſate at* Antioch *7 Years, at* Rome *24*	69	S. Felix III. C.	530	Hadrianus III.	885
S. Linus, Mart.	80	Bonifacius II.	531	Stephanus VI.	891
S. Cletus, M.	93	S. Joannes II. C.	535	Formoſus	896
S. Clement, M.	102	S. Agapetus, C.	537	Bonifacius VI.	897
S. Anacletus, M.	112	S. Silverius, C.	540	Stephanus VII.	900
S. Euariſtus, M.	121	S. Vigilius, C.	559	Romanus	901
S. Alexander I. M.	132	S. Pelagius I. C.	559	Theodorus II.	901
S. Sixtus I. M.	142	S. Joannes III. C.	572	Joannes IX.	905
S. Teleſphorus, M.	154	S. Benedictus I. C.	577	Benedictus IV.	906
S. Hyginus, M.	158	Pelagius II.	590	Leo V.	907
S. Pius I. M.	167	S. Gregorius Mag. & I. C.	604	Chriſtoferus	907
S. Anicetus, M.	175	Sabinianus	605	Sergius	910
S. Soter, M.	179	S. Bonifacius III. C.	606	Anaſtaſius III.	912
S. Eleutherius, M.	194	S. Bonifacius IV. C.	614	Lando	912
S. Victor I. M.	203	S. Deuſdedit, C.	617	Joannes X.	929
S. Zepherinus, M.	222	S. Bonifacius V. C.	625	Leo VI.	929
S. Calliſtus I. M.	226	Honorius I.	638	Stephanus VIII.	931
S. Urbanus I. M.	233	Severinus,	639	Joannes XI.	936
S. Pontianus, M.	237	Joannes IV.	641	Leo VII.	939
S. Antherus, M.	238	S. Theodorus, C.	649	Stephanus IX.	946
S. Fabianus, M.	253	S. Martinus I. C.	654	Marinus II.	946
S. Cornelius, M.	255	Eugenius I.	654	Agapetus II.	955
S. Lucius I. M.	257	Vitalianus,	669	Joannes XII.	963
S. Stephanus I. M.	260	S. Adeodatus, C.	676	Leo VIII.	965
S. Sixtus II. M.	261	Domnus,	677	Benedictus V.	965
S. Dioniſius, M.	272	S. Agatho, C.	682	Joannes XIII.	972
S. Felix I. M.	275	S. Leo II. C.	684	Domnus II.	972
S. Eutychianus, M.	283	S. Benedictus II. C.	685	Benedictus VI.	974
S. Caius, M.	296	S. Joannes V. C.	686	Bonifacius VII.	975
S. Marcellinus, M.	304	Conon, *or* Cuno,	687	Benedictus VII.	984
S. Marcellus, M.	309	S. Sergius I. C.	701	John XIV.	985
S. Euſebius, M.	311	Joannes VI.	705	John XV.	996
S. Miltiades, M.	313	Joannes VII.	707	Gregorius V.	999
S. Sylveſter I. Confeſſor	335	Siſinnius	708	Silveſter II.	1003
S. Marcus, C.	336	Conſtantinus	714	John XVI.	1003
S. Julius I. C.	352	S. Gregorius II. C.	731	John XVII.	1009
S. Liberius, C.	367	S. Gregorius III. C.	741	Sergius IV.	1013
S. Damaſcus I. C.	384	S. Zacharias, C.	752	Benedictus VIII.	1024
S. Siricius, C.	398	Stephanus II.	752	John XVIII.	1033
S. Anaſtaſius I. C.	402	Stephanus III.	757	Benedictus IX.	1045
S. Innocentius I. C.	417	Paulus I.	767	Gregorius VI.	1046
S. Zoſimus, C.	418	Stephanus IV.	772	Clemens II.	1047
S. Bonifacius I. C.	423	Hadrianus I.	795	Damaſus II.	1048
S. Cæleſtinus I. C.	432	S. Leo III. C.	816	S. Leo IX. C.	1054
S. Sixtus III. C.	440	S. Stephanus V. C.	817	Victor II.	1057
S. Leo Magnus & I. C.	461	S. Paſcalis I. C.	824	S. Stephanus IX. C.	1058
S. Hilarius, C.	467	Eugenius II.	827	Nicolaus II.	1061
S. Simplicius	483	Valentinus	827	Alexander II.	1073
S. Felix II. C.	492	S. Gregorius IV. C.	844	S. Gregorius VII. C.	1085
S. Gelaſius I. C.	496	Sergius II.	847	S. Victor III. C.	1087
S. Anaſtaſius II. C.	498	S. Leo IV. C.	856	B. Urbanus II.	1099
S. Symmachus, C.	514	Benedictus III.	858	B. Paſchalis II.	1118
S. Hormiſda, C.	523	Nicolaus I.	867	B. Gelaſius II.	1119
S. Joannes I. C.	526	Hadrianus II.	872	B. Calliſtus II.	1124
		Joannes VIII.	882	Honorius II.	1130
		Martinus II.	884	Innocentius II.	1143

Celeſtinus II.	1144	Innocentius V.	1276	Alexander V.	1410	Paulus IV.	1559
Lucius II.	1145	Hadrianus V.	1276	Joannes XXII.	1415	Pius IV.	1565
Eugenius III.	1153	Joannes XX.	1277	Martinus V.	1431	Pius V.	1572
Anaſtaſius IV.	1154	Nicolaus III.	1280	Eugenius IV.	1446	Gregorius XIII.	1585
Hadrianus IV. Anglus.	1159	Martinus IV.	1285	Nicolaus V.	1555	Sixtus V.	1589
		Honorius IV.	1287	Calliſtus III.	1458	Urbanus VII.	1590
Alexander III.	1181	Nicolaus IV.	1292	Pius II.	1464	Gregorius XIV.	1590
Lucius III.	1185	S. Celeſtinus V. C.	1294	Paulus II.	1471	Innocentius IX.	1592
Urbanus III.	1187	Bonifacius VIII.	1303	Sixtus IV.	1484	Clemens VIII.	1605
Gregorius VIII.	1187	Benedictus IX.	1304	Innocentius VIII.	1492	Leo XI.	1605
Clemens III.	1191	Clemens V.	1314	Alexander VI.	1503	Paulus V.	1621
Celeſtinus III.	1198	Joannes XXI.	1334	Pius III.	1503	Gregorius XV.	1623
Innocentius III.	1216	Benedictus X.	1342	Julius II.	1513	Urbanus VIII.	1644
Honorius III.	1227	Clemens VI.	1352	Leo X. *under whom* Luther *riſes.*	1517	Innocentius X.	1654
B. Gregorius IX.	1241	Innocentius VI.	1362			Alexander VII.	1667
Celeſtinus IV.	1241	Urbanus V.	1370			Clement IX.	1670
Innocentius IV.	1245	Gregorius XI.	1378	Hadrianus VI.	1523	Clement X.	1676
Alexander IV.	1260	Urbanus VI.	1389	Clement VII.	1534	Innocent XI. *who now preſides in St.* Peter's *Chair.*	
Urbanus IV.	1264	Bonifacius IX.	1404	Paulus III.	1549		
Clemens IV.	1268	Innocentius VII.	1406	Julius III.	1555		
Gregorius X.	1276	Gregorius XII.	1410	Marcellus II.	1555		

A Catalogue of the Kings of England, *from the Time of St.* Auguſtine *converting this Nation to Chriſtianity, till the Reformation.*

KYnegilſus	611	Ethelwolph,	837	Edmond Ironſide	1016	Henry III.	1216
Senwalch	643	Ethelbald,	857	Canute,	1017	Edward I.	1274
Sexburga,	672	Ethelbert,	862	Harold,	1036	Edward II.	1307
Eſcuin,	674	Ethelred,	867	Hardy Canut.	1040	Edward III.	1326
Kentwin,	677	Alfred,	872	St. Edw. Confeſ.	1042	Richard II.	1377
Cedwella,	686	Edward,	901	Harold.	1066	Henry IV.	1399
Ina	688	Athelſtane,	924	Will. the Conqu.	1069	Henry V.	1413
Ethelard,	728	Edmund,	940	Will. Rufus,	1088	Henry VI.	1422
Cuthred,	741	Edred,	946	Henry I.	1100	Edward IV.	1460
Sigibert,	754	Edwin,	955	Stephen,	1135	Edward V.	1483
Kinulph,	755	Edgar,	959	Henry II.	1155	Richard III.	1483
Bithricus,	784	St. Edward,	975	Rich. Cœur de Lion	1189	Henry VII.	1485
Egbert,	800	Egelred,	979	John,	1199	Henry VIII.	1509

A Catalogue of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, *from St.* Auguſtine, *till the Reformation.*

ST. Auguſtin,	596	Athelard,	871	Rodolph,	1114	John Stratford,	1333
St. Lawrence	619	Plegmund,	889	William Corvel,	1122	John Ufford,	1348
St. Mellit,	619	Athelin,	915	Theobald,	1138	Tho. Bradwardin,	1349
St. Juſtus	624	Wolfhelm,	924	St. Thomas,	1161	Simon Iſlip,	1349
St. Honorius	633	St Odo,	934	Richard,	1173	Simon Langhorne	1366
Deuſdedit	655	St. Dunſtan,	959	Baldwin,	1184	William Witleſly	1368
St. Theodore	668	Ethelgar,	988	Reginald,	1191	Simon Sulbury	1375
Brithwald,	692	Syricius,	990	Hubert Walter,	1193	Will. Courtney,	1381
Tacwin,	731	Africus,	995	Stephen Langton,	1207	Thomas Arundel,	1396
Nothelm,	734	St. Elphegus,	1006	Richard Magnus,	1223	Henry Chichley,	1414
Cutbert,	742	Living,	1013	St. Edmond,	1234	John Stafford,	1443
Bregwin,	759	Agelnote,	1020	Boniface,	1244	John Kemp,	1452
Lambert,	762	Eadſin,	1038	Robert Kilwerby,	1272	Tho. Bourchier,	1454
Ethelard,	793	Robert,	1050	John Peckham,	1278	John Morton	1487
Wulfred,	807	Stigand,	1052	Rob. Winchilſey,	1294	Henry Dean	1501
Theologild,	829	Lanfrank,	1070	Walter Reynolds,	1313	William Warham,	1504
Celnoth,	830	St. Anſelm,	1093	Simon Mepham,	1327	Reginald Pool,	1555

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The End of the Second Volume.